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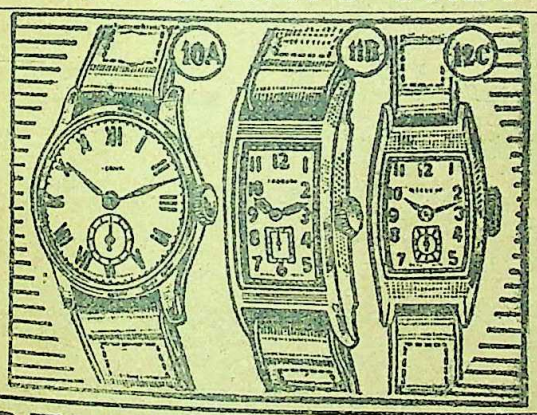

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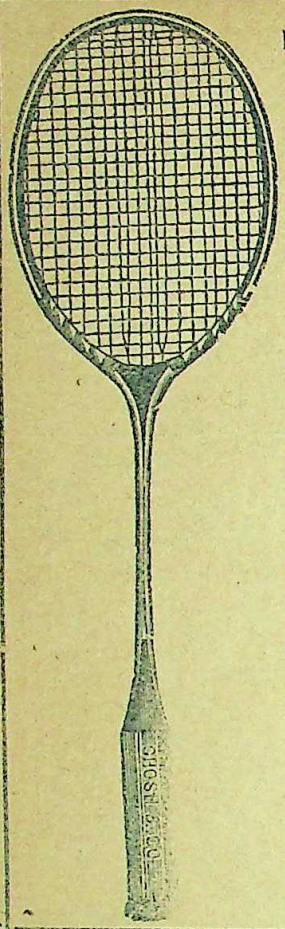

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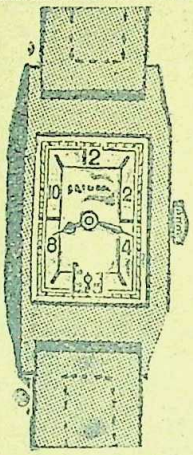

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THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY 1950

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NOTES

India Becomes A Republic

The Union of India has become a Sovereign Republic. Republic Day has been celebrated all over the country by pomp and pageant and by speech and acclamation. Brave words have been uttered and noble resolves made and thus a new chapter in the history of India has been opened. The question now remains—before us and likewise before the world—as to how that chapter will read as the days pass in the nation's life.

The newly elected President, to whom we extend our felicitations exhorted the nation thus to rededicate itself to strive along the path traced by the Father of the Nation :

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President-elect, in a message to the nation said: "We must rededicate ourselves on this day to the peaceful but sure realization of the dream that had inspired the Father of our Nation and the other captains and soldiers of our freedom struggle, the dream of establishing a classless, co-operative, free and happy society in this country. *We must remember that this is more a day of dedication than of rejoicing, dedication to the glorious task of making the peasants and workers, the toilers and the thinkers fully free, happy and cultured.*

"We must not forget even for a moment, that ours is a tremendous responsibility, the responsibility of carrying into each cottage and home of this country, the message of cheer and culture, of freedom and prosperity, of life and light.

"We must remember that our ancestors are wishfully looking to us for the completion of the mission which history and Providence are placing on our shoulders on this historic day. With firm resolve, with clear vision, with steady steps, we must march forward to the fulfilment of this glorious mission.

"*We must remember that our future is in our hands and it shall be what we make of it.* We must all throw ourselves into unceasing and incessant creative activity on the farms and the factories, in the school rooms and the laboratories, in the council chambers and the administrative offices. Let not a minute, nay, even a second, be wasted in idle patter or destructive action, and, God willing, ours shall be a country full of milk and honey in the near future."

The Prime Minister's message was characteristic :

"Undoubtedly, January 26, 1950, is a day of high significance for India and the Indian people," declared Pandit Nehru.

Calling upon them "to found our republican freedom on the basic factors on which Gandhiji laid stress throughout his career—high character, integrity of mind and purpose, a spirit of tolerance and co-operation and hard work"—Pandit Nehru asked them to "shed fear and hatred and think always of the betterment of the millions of our people."

Pandit Nehru said: "Events crowd in upon us and because of this quick succession we are apt to miss their significance. *Some of us give messages on each occasion exhorting people to great endeavour and even these messages become stale from repetition.*

"Yet, undoubtedly, January 26, 1950, is a day of high significance for India and the Indian people. It does mean the consummation of one important phase of our national struggle. That journey is over, to give place to another and perhaps more arduous journey. A pledge is fulfilled and every fulfilment of a pledge gives satisfaction and strength for future endeavour.

"There is a peculiar appropriateness about this January 26, for this day links up the past with the present, and this present is seen to grow out of that past. Twenty years ago we took the first pledge of independence. During these 20 years we have known struggle and conflict and failure and achievement. The man who led us through apparent failure to achievement is no more with us, but the fruit of his labours is ours. What we do with this fruit depends upon ourselves. The progress of a nation is dependent upon many factors, the basic factors are those

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on which Gandhiji laid stress throughout his career —high character, integrity of mind and purpose, a spirit of tolerance and co-operation and hard work. I can only suggest to our people that we should found our republican freedom on these basic characteristics and shed fear and hatred from our minds and think always of the betterment of the millions of our people.

"We are fortunate to witness this emergence of the Republic of India and our successors may well envy us this day, but fortune is a hostage which has to be jealously guarded by our own good works and which has a tendency to slip away if we slacken in our efforts or if we look in wrong directions. Jai Hind."

Sardar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, in a message to the nation said: "We worked hard to achieve our freedom. We shall have to strive harder to justify it. Let us resolve to play our true and active role of responsible citizens of a free country which has yet to stand on its feet and to attain its full stature.

"Exactly twenty years ago today, the people of India took a solemn pledge of complete independence. Behind that pledge was the determination of a whole people and the strength which comes of faith in one's destiny. Although we obtained independence on August 15, 1947, it was not complete in the sense of the pledge that we took. Today, by the grace of God, that pledge has been completely fulfilled.

"On this auspicious occasion, it is quite natural that our thoughts should turn to the Father of the Nation under whose inspiration and guidance we took that pledge and due to whose leadership we achieved success in our mission. Unhappily, he is not amongst us, but he is watching us from above, and I have no doubt his blessings and good wishes are with us on this supreme occasion in our national history.

"The day on which India attains republican status will be written in letters of gold in its history. With the disappearance of all traces of foreign rule, we become in law and in fact our own masters, and it will be now for us to make or mar our future. It will, however, take time for us to recover from centuries of exploitation and bondage; considerable sacrifices will yet be necessary before sufficient quantity of fresh blood can flow in India's veins.

"We worked hard to achieve our freedom. *We shall have to strive harder to justify it. Let us not, therefore, celebrate this occasion with any light heart.* On the other hand, let us resolve to play our true and active role of responsible citizens of a free country which has yet to stand on its feet and to attain its full stature. May Divine guidance and bounty be with us all."

But the question remains, "How stands the Union?" Does the State still remain firm and four-square on the solid foundation of the sanction of its nationals? We attained Freedom on August 15th, 194 and today:

We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a *Sovereign Democratic Republic* and to secure to all its citizens:

Justice, social, economic and political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all;

Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;

In our Constituent Assembly this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do *hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.*

What of the Future?

The Day has passed and we have to ask, "What of the prospects of the morrow?"

The tasks ahead of the nation and its guides and leaders are more formidable than ever. In all truth there is no occasion for exuberance or light-heartedness. Let us adduce foreign opinion, from no less an authority than Walter Lippmann, who recently surveyed the position in India and Pakistan in person. We give extracts—not in chronological order—from his columns in the *New York Herald Tribune*:

> If they can settle down together and can govern themselves, there is no evident reason for fearing that they will be invaded or infiltrated and overcome from within. Communism, as such, is not now an important positive force in India and Pakistan. The threat which must be feared and constructively forestalled is not a Communist dictatorship but disintegration descending into anarchy.
>
> The task of the Pakistani and Indian leaders is to establish governments which are benevolent and democratic in purpose among the profoundly undemocratic masses. Were they to fail—and the margin of safety is thin—the immediate outcome is not likely to be a powerful totalitarian Communist state but the break-up of both India and Pakistan into provincial and tribal principalities. Some perhaps may be animated by a primitive Communism. Many more would probably be animated by various kinds of bossism, warlordism and by weird brews of superstitious and depraved and fanatical native Fascism.
>
> It would be folly to underestimate the difficulty of establishing strong and effective government over such masses of people in so vast a region, and to do it on the basis of the adult suffrages of over 100,000,000 illiterates, who have no common language in which any of their leaders can address them all.
>
> The overriding question is whether the unifying and centralizing forces can overcome the disruptive and the separatist. On that the future depends. Whether India can conquer anarchy will determine whether India can exercise influence in Asia, whether India can begin to solve for herself

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and to use successfully foreign capital and aid, the monstrous condition of poverty, ignorance, superstition and human injustice which comes down from time immemorial.

No words can put adequately the immensity of the task or the grandeur of the goal which the India leaders have set themselves. If they are to succeed, they must be able to count upon the patient and persistent will of their distant friends to learn to understand them candidly and then to help them wisely.

With regard to India's foreign policy and the conditions precedent for its success he says :

For despite all the obvious and enormous differences in position, history and outlook between the Americans then and the Indians today the fundamental pattern of Indian foreign policy is extraordinarily like the original American foreign policy. There are no end of things in the Indian way of life which may be, perhaps always, mysterious to all but a few Western minds. But the present foreign policy of the Indian Government is not one of the mysteries. Like our own during the epoch of the founding fathers it is in all its essentials—in its aspirations, limitations, and reserves—the natural expression of the vital interests of a new state.

India must struggle to survive before it can take the risks of wider and more adventurous commitments.

Before we ask ourselves whether we wish this policy to succeed, we might ask ourselves what are the conditions under which it could succeed. In summary form I think they are these :

One, that India is able to establish with the consent of a population that is nine-tenths illiterate a sufficiently strong central government over her vast territory—despite the separatist tendencies of her religious communities, her dozen principal languages, her ancient castes, and her provincial ambitions and vested interests.

This but one side of the picture. It is time that we all realized the grimness of the future, taken all-over. Truly the Republic day should have been a day of meditation, in silence and in prayer.

The Festive Wine has been poured and drunk, but to-day, in the uneasy aftermath, there is a lurking suspicion as to whether the Day did mean the dawn of a new era. The speeches ring hollow and the resolutions sound weak because in the light of the day—after, they all seem to be mere echoes from the past, lacking in substance and wanting in strength. As if, to put it in the words of the Immortal Poet,

"Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air ;
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve ;
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on—"

Congress Divided

The most ominous portent of the future lies in the schisms within the Congress. After the passing of the Father of the Nation, to whom all our leaders to-day are paying lip-homage, there seem to be no power that can control the forces that are splitting its ranks. It is useless to deny that the "Haves" and "Have-nots"—and mock "Haves" as well—between them are out to destroy each other in their tussle for power and control over the State.

One such incident, in which the main actors were Shri J. C. Kumarappa and Dr. Prafulla Ghosh, was commented upon by Shri K. G. Mashruwala, in the *Harijan* of 1st January in an article titled "Unfortunate". We would state here that we fully endorse what Shri Mashruwala wrote on that occasion. The rejoinder from Shri Kumarappa and Shri Mashruwala's dignified comments are reproduced hereunder from the *Harijan* of January 22. It appears under the caption "A Brother's Indictment":

"Shri J. C. Kumarappa indicts me as follows :

"I have seen your article *Unfortunate* in *Harijan* of the 1st instant. It was good of you to have 'accepted' my version of the story ! For a reader who has not the background of what had happened, it will not be so easy to understand. I am sorry, therefore, that some of the crucial facts did not find expression in the article. Neither Dr. Ghosh nor I had any cause for anger whatsoever; if there was any feeling at all, it must have been a reflection of the exasperation prevalent throughout the country; nor was there any idea of *Satyagraha* involved, hence your surmises are wrong as I pointed out when I saw you.

"What happened had been stated by Dr. Ghosh to you in his letter of the 11th December, 1949. The West Bengal Government procures rice at Rs. 12|12|- per maund and sells at Rs. 17|8|- per maund. I added that the right of the Government can arise only if it had already done its duty in the production of grain by help tendered in various ways. If not the Government has no right to claim any part of the production. If under such circumstances, Government with its backing of the police, comes to take away part of the production, the Government would play the role of a robber. When a robber comes to take away the valuables there is no duty laid on us to disclose where the jewellery has been kept. Hence, I said, 'I can well understand the people doing away with their grain.' When a highwayman appears is it wrong to throw away one's gold watch in a bush by the side? The Government does not appear as a 'hungry enemy' to be fed. We should never object to such a course. But the Government appears, under the present circumstances, as a profiteer and a looter who is well fattened already. If you had half the concern you had shown towards the Government for the sufferings of the peasants you would have fully endorsed my statement. People do not work so that the Government should make money out of them. On the other hand Government exists so that the people may prosper."

"I hold no brief for Government. I do not mind severest criticism of Government policy and administration, specially where it is against the interest of the poor. I do not see eye to eye with so many things which the Government has been doing, and in my own way protest against them. I could not refer

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to the criticism against procurement rates and Government help to cultivators for I had in my hand at the time the correspondence between the West Bengal Government and Shri J. C. Kumarappa, and a press statement of that Government, which showed different approaches to the question. It required a more careful study of the whole problem and I had no means of doing so. Shri J. C. Kumarappa and Dr. Ghosh, who had evoked the Government statement, could have met the Government defence of their policy by a studied reply; but Shri Kumarappa simply replied that his criticism did not refer to West Bengal, but the All-India Procurement Plan, as he had no detailed information regarding West Bengal; and Dr. Ghosh, I understand, made no reply at all. Under the circumstances, I had to keep clear of that subject altogether, and examine only the remarks pertaining to sabotage. And, on that point, the above letter does not seem to call for any modification of any remarks."

We have perused with great care both the articles, and we are fully cognisant of the repercussions of the incident, living as we do in Calcutta in these troublous times. We would content ourselves by saying that the least that we can say about Shri J. C. Kumarappa, is that he has been "played for a fool"—as the Americans say—by Dr. Ghosh and his party.

Sardar Patel in Calcutta

Speaking of Calcutta and Bengal, we have to comment on Sardar Patel's visit to Calcutta and his speech on the Maidan on the 15th of January. We reproduce the speech in full at the end of the editorials in this issue, because it will put on record that even by a personal visit Sardar Patel was unable to obtain a correct or comprehensive picture of the situation. The fault lies with those who were asked to supply him with the requisite information. We mean that the information given was inadequate and grossly incorrect in many particulars. But then this is the result of the "Ivory Tower" seclusion into which our leaders have gone.

Within ten days of the speech, lawlessness started again all over the area. South Calcutta, which has been virtually a territory ceded to the lawless elements since over a year, led in the disturbances that totally marred the Republic Day celebrations. We have to consider the reasons therefor soon. It is not possible, within the limits of these notes, to treat with the matter in detail, so we would just indicate a few salient factors.

Sardar Patel paid eloquent tribute to Bengal when he said that if Calcutta or Bengal dies, none in India can live. But in practice a studied neglect of the vital problems of Bengal has continued to make matters worse. Behind a cry of "problem province," problems, not totally impossible of solution, are left unsolved. Bengal's primary problems are want of living space, *refugee rehabilitation* and *regulation* as also unemployment. None of these can be solved without active co-operation of the Central Government. Cooch Behar has come to Bengal but Manbhum, Dhalbhum and the Bengali-speaking areas of Santal Parganas and Purnea still remain outside. In the matter of refugee rehabilitation, Bengal has received compared to the Punjab, a step-motherly treatment from the Centre. An aimless and aggrieved floating population is bound to create mischief. *To-day this capacity for mischief is being regimented by a whole host of utterly unscrupulous scoundrels, who are out for illicit gain. And the West Bengal Government's knock-kneed policy with regard to mock-refugees has thrown the Government into disrepute.* The third factor, of frustration, arises mainly out of food shortage, unemployment and lack of proper shelter. A planned dispersal of industries in rural areas can provide more employment but that can be done only with the assistance of the Centre. As things stand today, there is a marked tendency to reduce employment of Bengali people in Bengal. A glance at the service lists for Income-tax, Railway, Customs and such other departments of the Central Government that function in Bengal will show that the wholesome convention of employing more people of the province in which these departments are situated is not being followed here.

Sardarji has dwelt on the immediate problems of this province, but there as well he has approached them from an oblique angle. Persons running the present Government had been sent to the Bengal Legislature not with a view to take up the administration but only to function as a party-controlled opposition to the Muslim League. When entrusted with the administration they have miserably failed as they were bound to do. At the first opportunity in the South Calcutta election, the people expressed their desire in unmistakable terms. As regards the police, the less said the better. It suffices to mention that even on the historic day of January 26, no Government existed in a large portion of Calcutta for several hours. The Calcutta Police Chiefs have failed in all three essential functions of police—namely, detection, prevention and investigation of crimes both ordinary and political. The London Metropolitan Police has attained its present efficiency through reorganisations involving disimissal of thousands of officers and laying the greatest emphasis on the character and quality of personnel. Here in Calcutta our Administrators seem to believe that efficiency has nothing to do with the character and integrity of personnel, it lies solely in increasing expenditure on guns, tear-gas shells and radio-fitted vans. And finally we are constrained to say that West Bengal's problems would never be solved, if it has to depend either on King Log or on King Stork for administration. A Government has to command the respect of the people if it wants co-operation.

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Nehru's Non-Aggression Pact Offer

The Government of India has received Pakistan's reply to their formal proposal for joint declaration to be made by the two countries ruling out war as a means of settling any of their inter-State disputes. The offer was publicly announced by Pandit Nehru and was followed by a formal note to Pakistan. The reply of Pakistan is understood to have been receiving urgent consideration of the Government of India but the result of this consideration is not yet known.

On January 17, at Karachi, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, replying to a short notice question in the Pakistan Parliament said that Indo-Pak joint declaration that "two governments will not go to war" as suggested by the India Government will carry conviction to no one unless it is supported by some concrete action. The Prime Minister was replying to a question whether in view of the present tension in India and Pakistan the Government proposed to refer all disputes such as canal water supply, evacuee property, trade agreement, etc., to the United Nations or International Arbitration Court.

The Pak Prime Minister said that he made it clear in his public utterances that "conflict between India and Pakistan will be ruinous for both." Pakistan, therefore, had always worked for peaceful settlement. Towards the end of November last the India Government made proposal to Pakistan that a joint declaration be made by India and Pakistan that they will not go to war and suggested that all disputes be settled by private negotiations and in case of failure the disputes be referred to a third party. It had always been the stand of Pakistan that the peaceful settlement of outstanding questions will remove the cause and fear of war. Main disputes were Jammu and Kashmir, Junagadh, canal waters, evacuee property, assets of Pakistan held by India.

It was suggested as regards Kashmir both Governments should reaffirm the desire to implement U.N.C.I.P.'s resolution by having a free plebiscite, Government should abide by arbitration for Junagadh, canal waters be referred to International Court of Justice, assets, State Bank and sterling due to Pakistan under payments agreements be referred to arbitration. As regards the evacuee property it was suggested that as canal waters had great bearing on the question it should be decided first. The evacuee property dispute then could be referred to mediation and if that failed the dispute could be settled by arbitration.

The Pak Government further suggested that arbitration in each case should cover the difference over procedure and provision that both Governments should abide by arbitration. Subject to acceptances of these suggestions the Pak Government agreed to negotiate details and on reaching an agreement make joint declaration of "no war."

The Pak Prime Minister further disclosed that India Government made a counter proposal that both the Governments should first 'condemn resort to war' and set up agency by mutual agreement for the purpose or by agreed reference to some appropriate international body recognised by both for the settlement of disputes.

The Pak Government's reply stated that the "only way to promote peace" is to resolve major disputes and mere declaration will not carry conviction to any one for which the Government had put up precise suggestions. Liaquat Ali Khan regretted that India Government had not accepted these suggestions and reconsidered agreeing to a binding formula instead of any declaration on general terms which was of doubtful value. He said Pak Government was awaiting India's reply and Pakistan was ready to examine any precise methods for settling the disputes. Pakistan felt, though disputes could not be settled the procedure could be laid down for both parties entering into firm commitments which would in course of time lead to solution.

Pakistan Prime Minister reiterated that his Government was not only willing but anxious to have just and speedy solution for they believe that it is the only way to lasting peace.

Meanwhile, India continues to follow her soft-heart policy to the sister Dominion and the sister on the other side of the frontier is busy in making war-like preparations. Almost simultaneously with the publication of India's offer and closely following it, the undermentioned incidents of significance have taken place :

(1) *Massing of troops on Assam Frontier.*—January 17.—Considerable surprise is expressed by observers here at the reported concentration of Pakistani troops along the entire border opposite to Assam. Heavy movement of troops, which was noticed throughout the last fortnight, has now assumed an unusual proportion. Many villages in the border areas of Sylhet District, mainly inhabited by Hindus, have been requisitioned on a mass scale by the Pakistan Government for what is described as emergency purposes and are declared to be prohibited areas.

Pakistani convoys, which is generally mobile, moves to border areas during night.

In many villages inside Pakistan opposite to Assam, villagers are being given military training and have been armed. Regular members of the Pakistani armed forces including border militia and Ansars, while moving in formation on their route march, usually raise slogans, *viz.*, "Chalo Chalo Shilling Chalo."

It is reported that when responsible Pakistani officers both civil and military, visit border areas, they are generally greeted by their men with anti-Indian slogans which are responded to by their superiors.

Recently a few Pakistani officers in uniform entered the Indian Union territory near Dawki in disguise but as soon as they were challenged by the Assam Home Guards they fled towards Pakistan.

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Another Pakistani army officer, holding a high rank, was arrested and kept under custody pending further investigation. He came to Shillong and was found engaged in prejudicial activities.—(*Hindusthan Standard*).

(2) *Stoppage of Goods and Passenger traffic to and through Pakistan.*—January 18.—The Government of Pakistan have asked the Government of India that no passengers or their luggage should be booked to any station in East Pakistan or across East Pakistan. The East Pakistan authorities have also banned the transit of goods from India *via* East Bengal Railway. This will be effective from the night of January 19-20, 1950.

It is also learnt that a very large number of wagons, more than a thousand, destined for stations in India are now held up in East Pakistan. The Government of India have taken up the matter with the Pakistan authorities for the release of these wagons.

The Government of India have sent a note to the Pakistan authorities for the early release of these wagons carrying valuable goods to India. No information is yet available here as to the actual contents of these wagons.

The Pakistan Government's decision not to issue through tickets to railway passengers from their Dominion to stations in India and not to honour tickets issued by the Indian railways to Pakistan is in contravention of the Inter-Dominion agreement on the subject reached in May last and amounts to a virtual embargo on passenger and goods traffic, it is stated.

On an average, eight passenger trains run each way from Calcutta to Pakistan daily and approximately a total of some 80,000 passengers travel between the two Dominions. There is a large population of Hindus and Muslims in Calcutta whose homes are in Pakistan.

The Pakistan Government's action which is said to be unilateral will cause considerable hardships to the Pakistani working population in Calcutta and elsewhere. It means that those wanting to go from Calcutta to stations in East Pakistan must buy fresh tickets at the Pakistan border to resume their travel by Pakistan railways.

The Pakistan Government have also informed the Government of India that no goods traffic will be accepted from Assam to Calcutta unless the Government of India are prepared to deposit rupees ten lakhs with the State Bank of Pakistan. They made a similar demand some months ago, but India contended that these accounts could be settled in the ordinary course.

The Pakistan Government's latest order, it is stated, is designed to "blockade" Assam and indirectly force the Government of India to recognise the superficial value of the Pakistan currency. The early completion of the Assam-Calcutta rail link by India, however, in record time has saved what might otherwise have been a serious problem.

(3) *Ban on Afghan Goods Traffic to India.*—Amritsar, January 19.—The Pakistan Government has banned the booking of Afghan goods from all stations of North-Western Railway. Pakistan papers arriving here are conspicuous with extensive propaganda against Afghanistan and West Bengal. The *Pakistan Times* alleges that India is carrying undeclared war against Pakistan.

(4) *Armed Raid on Kashmir.*—Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad, acting Prime Minister of Kashmir, told a Press Conference at Srinagar on January 23 that on the night of January 17 last, 30 to 40 Pakistanis armed with sten guns made a 17-mile incursion into Kashmir territory and ransacked the village of Kazinizam, 16 miles from Jammu. Four persons were killed, one seriously wounded, one kidnapped and some property looted.

Synchronised with these incidents, well-planned pressure tactics on East Bengal Hindus also continues with the same vigour and deep-laid plan. Only two of the typical processes of terrorisation are given below (both reported by the *Hindusthan Standard*, dated January 10) :

(1. *Attack on Women in Barisal Village.*—It is reported from Bhandaria in Barisal (East Bengal) that the villagers, both Hindus and Muslims, in a joint memorandum to Mr. Nurul Amin, Premier, East Pakistan, urged his Government to remove the present District Magistrate of Barisal immediately. They held him (D.M.) responsible for the police excesses upon the women-folk in connection with the dacoity in a Hindu house at Bhandaria on November 25 last.

It is also learnt that a deputation on behalf of the villagers will proceed to Dacca shortly and wait upon His Excellency, Khwaja Nazimuddin, Governor-General of Pakistan, and apprise him of the situation arising out of the police excesses. The deputationists, it is understood, will request the Governor-General to pay a visit to Bhandaria to have a true picture of the police excesses there.

It may be mentioned here that some top-ranking police officials went to Bhandaria recently and investigated the reported incident. The Officers-in-Charge of Bhandaria P.S. and Katalia P.S. have already been suspended from service. The leading Hindus and Muslims of that locality made similar statements before the investigating officers who came from Dacca.

Sj. Satin Sen, M.L.A., Congress leader, also visited the place on December 23 last. The alleged communal policy of the present D.M. has created discontent amongst the Hindus.

(2) *Mass Arrest of Hindus.*—It is reported from Barisal that the Superintendent of Police with about 100 armed constables raided Kalaskati, a well-known village of Barisal District, on January 4, on receipt of a mischievous telegram from the Muslim Leaguers of that locality against the Hindus over the beef-cooking ceremony. The S. P. arrested Sj. Binode Lal Kanjilal and Sj. Narendra Nath Chatterjee, Headmaster, Kalaskati H. E. School under Section 7(3) of Ordinance VI of 1946. They were brought to Barisal at night and produced before the Court of S.D.O. (S) next day. Petitions for bail and classification were moved by

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Mr. Abani Ghosh, Advocate. But the S.D.O. (S) refused their bail and remanded them to jail hazat till January 19, as Division III prisoners.

The news of the arrest was received by the Hindus in general with dismay and it has created discontent among Congress workers. Binode Babu is a veteran Congressman and a close associate of Sj. Satin Sen. Sj. Sen is not at Barisal now.

According to the latest information received from Kalaskati, it is learnt that two more batches of armed police consisting of about 200 constables with some officers of Barisal headquarters reached Kalaskati on January 7 and joined the waiting force there.

Searches and arrests of Hindu villagers are being made indiscriminately. More than 200 Hindus between 15 and 60 years of age have already been arrested. Earlier, Sj, Rajeswar Roy Chowdhury, premier Zamindar of Barisal and others were arrested.

As a result the Hindus of Kalaskati and its neighbouring villages are leaving their hearths and homes. Due to the communal policy of the district authorities great panic is prevailing in all parts of the district and large-scale exodus, it is feared, is to follow soon if all such police excesses upon the villagers are not stopped immediately.

The same method is followed in other districts as well. Incidents in East Bengal districts have perturbed the West Bengal Governments, because if they are allowed to continue, large-scale exodus from East Pakistan may not be impossible. West Bengal Government in a communication to East Bengal Government, have drawn their attention to the recent incidents reported to have taken place in Khulna and Barisal districts, a spokesman of West Bengal Government told pressmen at the Secretariat on January 21.

The spokesman added that West Bengal Government have in the communication requested East Bengal Government to take necessary steps so that there may not be any renewed influx of refugees into West Bengal from the affected areas. West Bengal Government have also requested East Bengal Government to inform them about the present situation in those places.

The spokesman said that no reply had yet been received from East Bengal Government to the suggestion made by West Bengal Government that the monthly conference of Chief Secretaries of the two Provinces which was not held for the last two months, should be held in February next.

The Conference was not held in December, the spokesman added, on account of the sittings of Bagge Tribunal and the conference had also not been held in January.

The Pakistan Government seems to be much more alert about publicity in both the Dominions. It permits circulation of utterly fantastic stories of oppression on Muslims in Indian Union including chopping off of the noses and ears and burning of the hair and beards of Muslim Railway passengers in India (published in *Azad*, January 9), and burning of mosques under orders of and in the presence of government officials in Indian Union (*Azad*, Jan. 9). At the same time it has started protesting against editorial articles written with utmost restraint in Indian Union newspapers, notably the *Jugantar* (Bengali daily) and the *Hindusthan Standard* in Calcutta. We do not yet know whether the Government of India or the Government of West Bengal have set up any machinery to scan Pakistan papers and keep a record of false propaganda in that Dominion.

Time has now come for the Government of India to put an end to the present soft-heart policy towards Pakistan and start speaking and acting in the way that Pakistan understands.

Asia's Bastion against Communism

We have reasons to believe that the policy-makers of the West have started to develop "second thoughts" on the wisdom of the partition of India forced by Britain and approved of by the United States. For, it is hard to believe that the former could contemplate the ending of her authority over India without the consent of the latter. Britain had been maintaining a balance of power in Asia for about a century and a half. This has been disturbed now creating some sort of a vacuum.

Even the new policy-makers of Britain, the leaders of the Labour Government, understood the significance of the change forced on them by losses incurred during two World Wars. We find Mr. Ernest Bevin, Britain's Foreign Secretary, giving expression to his anxieties on February 15, 1947 when he and his Government had almost decided to draw out of India. The years since then have not minimized those anxieties. Therefore, the words in which these were framed are worth recalling, as these would help us to understand the growing complexities of the present tension between the United States and the Soviet Union.

> "Often in the Foreign Office, I stand and look at the map of the world. I see *the Indian Ocean and the great contour of the sub-continent of India* and ask myself: Will India be a stabilising place for peace in the world?....I see the threat of Russian imperialism and the financial imperialism of the United States and see ourselves in the middle, establishing liberty wherever we can. I say to myself: Will there be conflict? Will there be war? Will those great countries clash and bring us into a war more terrible than anything we have ever known?"
>
> "And then I say: 'India is the key to the situation.' If that key can be held in security and peace, then the peace of the world can be held for hundreds of years . . . ."

Evacuee Property Problem

The Government of India has recently had published a brochure on this problem the solution of which appears to defy the collective skill of representatives of the two Governments—Indian and Pakistani. Even a cursory glance at it will force the conclusion on the mind that the latter has no wish to solve it. And with a cleverness that deserved a better cause to be served, they have been

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practising deceptions that can be prolonged at peril to their own interests.

We are given in this brochure the many instances of deception in the practical execution of solutions solemnly agreed to. It appears that there had been a Ministerial Conference held at Lahore on July 22, 1948 to consider a scheme submitted by a Joint Official Committee in March previous. Shree Gopalaswamy Ayyanger, Minister without portfolio, represented India; Janab Ghaznafar Ali, Minister for Refugees, Pakistan. This particular committee had recommended "a Government-to-Government" exchange of agricultural property, the debtor Government paying to creditor Government the difference in value in the shape of Bearer Bonds of "a general issue current at the time."

Pakistani representatives pressed a contention that in the absence of more and complete data on the subject, they could not come to any definite conclusion. So, it was unanimously resolved that "special Revenue Officers" be appointed in this behalf; copying of revenue records be started forthwith "and a special Judicial Committee" be set up to "supervise and expedite the whole work." When it came to giving shape to this recommendation, to complete the exchange of agricultural records, delaying tactics started. While the Indian Government supplied the records of East Punjab, of Delhi, of the States of Patiala, Nabha, Jhind, Kapurtola and Faridkat, the Pakistan Government contented themselves with supplying the records of West Punjab only; those of Sind, N.W.F. Province, Baluchistan, and of the States of Bhawalpur, Khairpur and other States have not been received yet.

No agreement could be reached with regard to urban immovable property, and finally it was decided that "the Joint Urban Assessment Board recommended by the Joint Official Committee for preparing a list of all urban evacuee immovable, locality-wise" in both the States be set up, and "its function enlarged to include assessment of the value of the property." The scheme suggested by the Joint Official Committee in regard to movable property was accepted. And how were these recommendations implemented? The Joint Urban Assessment Board which was to have prepared lists of urban property-owners, the rents due for their property, and the assessed value thereof, was never allowed to be set up. The agreement on "movable property" was broken from the start; the Pakistani Government started "taking over" the properties, no compensation was paid; a hunt after these was undertaken, and these were seized on one excuse or other. To take one of the many instances, recorded in the brochure; the Kashmir Express Company's Godowns at Rawalpindi where many other than Muslims had stocked their belongings were seized in spite of the protest of the European Manager; when the Government of India lodged a protest they got the reply that goods had got mixed up with others in the common dump and could not be identified.

The last plea urged on behalf of this Government was that as the Pakistan Cabinet had not ratified the agreement of July 22, 1948, there could be no going forward. But this did not stand in the way of their using evacuee property for the benefit of Muslim refugees or otherwise allowing their proteges to profit. The West Punjab Evacuee Property Ordinance, the West Punjab Ordinance (extended to the whole of West Pakistan), Ordinance No. XVIII of October 18, 1948 and Ordinance XIX of the same date dealing with "restoration of the economic life of Pakistan" came in handy to deprive Indian evacuees of the value of their properties, of rents and income derived therefrom.

The Government of India could only lodge protests when they came to realise the full import of these confiscatory measures. They kept their own people in the dark about these, evidently with the doubtful object of keeping their minds unruffled by resentment against Pakistan. Even their patience appears to be exhausted. Hence this brochure which is not generally available. We have a certain feeling that this secrecy is part of the policy of appeasement to which the Nehru Government appear to have surrendered themselves.

Jute and its Problems

The trickeries of the East Bengal Government with what they fondly hope to be a monopoly product of their cannot be ultimately successful. For, if these continue longer, other countries will strive to break this monopoly. Meanwhile, Pakistan's Central Ministry of Food and Agriculture announced sometime back that the area under their jute crop for 1949-50 was 15,59,000 acres as against the 18,77,000 acres as announced in the final report of the previous year, a drop of 17 per cent; the crop also had a drop of 32.9 per cent. Heavy rains are said to be responsible for it.

Since then, there has started an "undeclared war" between Bharat and Pakistan over this "golden fibre" and the former has decided to go in for more acreage under it. And every country appears to be busy finding substitutes for it. A News Agency wired from Havana in Cuba such a find. The writer has attempted to dramatize the advent of this new fibre. And we share it with our readers.

"I may be changing history," exclaimed a Cuban workman with a grin as, having seen a 325-lb. sack of sugar fall 12 feet to the floor, he found it unbroken. The sack was made of a fibre called kenaf, which Cuban hope will be a competitor to jute.

India and Pakistan produce about 98 per cent of the world's jute—a product used in tremendous quantities particularly in the U.S.A., the U.K. and Latin America.

The U.S.A. alone buys some 2,50,000 maunds of jute fibre a year as the basic material for rugs, matting, sacks and many other products. Latin America uses 30,00,00,000 jute sacks a year. Cuba required almost 4,00,00,000 sacks each year for its sugar industry. Britain also is a heavy consumer.

Cuba sees the growth and manufacture of kenaf products as a new crop, a new industry and a source of money in world markets. Brazil, Peru, El Salvador, the Dominion Republic and Haiti are among other countries with an eye on developments.

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A distant cousin of the cotton plant, kenaf, technically known as hibiscus cannabinus, grows in many parts of the world. It is related also to jute and another fibre called roselle. Shortly after World War II American plant especialists began a frantic search for a fibre and El Salvador was busy even earlier.

The Cuban Government, which started its experiments in 1942, has just renewed an annual appropriation of Rs. 2,28,000 to carry on the work, in which experts of the U.S. Department of Agriculture are co-operating as part of President Truman's "Point Four Programme" of aiding under-developed countries.

Production of kenaf is high, some experimental tracts having brought a yield of 3,500 lbs. of fibre on one acre.

Colombo Conference

This Conference of the "British" Commonwealth's Foreign Ministers, held on January 9 last and the six days succeeding, has re-emphasized again the dependence of this group of States on the help of the United States of America, the holder of the purse-strings of world-wealth in the midst of universal poverty. The Foreign Minister of Australia, Mr. Spender, confessed as much when he said that "no aid programme (aid to under-developed countries in Asia and Africa) could be successful or effective without American assistance." We have had an experience of the availability of this assistance by the haggling over a loan of a million tons of wheat begged by the Prime Minister of India when he toured the States and was being lionized there. And we have often wondered how the aims of the Commonwealth Plan and President Truman's "Four Point" Plan could be reconciled when the great Republic could do it alone and win credit and prestige thereby. This dilemma is reflected in the comments of the London *Times* on its appraisal of the results of the Colombo Conference.

> "It may be found that it is only possible to stop Communism in Asia by encouraging political and technical revolutions hardly less thorough in character. Before the full value of the work can be gained two things must be done: the wasteful and dangerous quarrel between India and Pakistan must be ended and the British Government must find a way to work as closely with the U.S.A. in Asia and the Pacific as it does in Europe and the Atlantic."

The London paper has for a century and half been known as the voice of the ruling classes of Britain. The coming into power of the Labour Party has not made any change in its status.

Colombo Conference

"Few meetings in Commonwealth history have been more important than the Colombo Conference," declared Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, just before his departure from London.

"Not the least important thing about it," he added, "is that it will be held in Ceylon. In going there the Ministers from the other Commonwealth countries want to do honour to Ceylon for whose Government and people they have high regard.

"But that is not their only reason for meeting there. They want to get nearer to some of the problems which they must discuss; to talk about them in the atmosphere of Asia; to look at them through the eyes of Asia. And they want to show the world how the Commonwealth binds East and West together, how its partnership links free nations in all the continents in perfect equality and friendship for their common good.

"We shall talk, of course, about many different subjects. But all the time, whatever the item on the agenda, we shall really be dealing with the fundamental questions of peace and human welfare; how to prevent a third World War, how to strengthen Democracy, how to secure co-operation between Asia and the West by which a new hope can be brought to the toiling masses of the East.

"Mr. Spender said, on January 5, that the destiny of Australia is irrevocably conditioned by what takes place in Asia, and Mr. Menzies said the day before *that the happiness of Australia will, in the long run, depend upon the well-being of the simplest citizen of India or China. That is true not only of Australia, it is true of us all.* Only if we believe it, only if we are resolved to end the hunger and grinding poverty of a thousand million people in the East have we the moral right to resist the spread of authoritarian rule.

"We do believe it; we are resolved to end poverty in all the continents; we believe it can and should be done by the generation now alive. The nations of the Commonwealth have struggled for centuries for personal freedom, democratic institutions, and the rule of law in national and international affairs. Without these things there can be no true progress, material or moral. The meeting in Colombo is a symbol of our conviction that these things are as vital to Asia as to us. In all our work there we shall never forget the immense difficulties which the World War has left behind; but we shall have also a constructive faith in the dynamic forces which it has released.

"The High Commissioner for Ceylon said at his farewell party to the British delegation the other day that the Commonwealth today is greater than it ever was in its history. I believe it will be still further strengthened by meetings of which, I hope, Colombo will only be the first."

Observing that the Colombo Commonwealth Conference has been initiated by the Asian members of this "family of nations," the London *Star* writes:

"New stars—not all of them red—have risen in the East. The sweep of Communism through China and into the lands lying between China and India is perhaps the biggest change in world political affairs since the Russian Revolution.

"But it is not the whole story. The Eastern peoples would have become nations with a new part to play in world affairs whether Communism came

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along or not. There will be no Communism at Colombo. Rather, the statesmen gathered there—especially from India and Pakistan—will be concerned with measures to show the hundreds of millions of Oriental people that the democratic way to the new world is the best.

"A host of complex problems are involved. While the Colombo gathering must be limited in its scope and powers—it cannot, for example, settle the overdue matter of a peace treaty with Japan—it can go a long way towards closing the old breaches between East and West.

"No more striking evidence could be found of a new spirit and a wider horizon among peoples long distrustful of the West than the decision of Tibet to send Ministers to represent her in India, China, Britain and the United States.

"Hitherto Tibet has been a land cut off altogether from contact with the modern world. This lowering of ancient barriers is remarkable evidence of a new outlook.

"The achievement of independence by Burma, Indonesia and Viet-Nam after India and Pakistan, has come just in time if Democracy is to hold off Communism in South-East Asia."

The Conference of Foreign Ministers at Colombo considered two subjects of major international importance—a peace treaty for Japan and the political and economic conditions prevailing in the countries of South-East Asia.

The full text of the communique issued at the end of the two sessions reads: "In the morning the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers discussed the subject of a Japanese peace treaty and there was a free exchange of views of their respective governments.

"There was general agreement that a peace treaty should be concluded at an early date.

"In the afternoon meeting, the Ministers took up the study of political and economic conditions prevailing in the countries of South-East Asia.

"The official economic meeting continued its examination of developments arising out of the Washington discussions of September, 1949, and of the short-term dollar position of the sterling area."

No decisions were taken on the matter of a Japanese peace treaty—nor was it expected that they would be. The vital interests of other nations—especially the U.S.A.—would preclude such action. The basis for the discussion was a memorandum prepared by the British delegation and circulated on January 10. It is possible that a working party will be set up to continue the consideration of this problem. All delegation leaders took part in this round-table discussion which is, of course, of special interest to Australia and New Zealand in view of their geographical proximity.

The very far-reaching decision as to whether democratic nations should attempt to make a peace settlement with Japan without the co-operation of Russia and China—if that is still not forthcoming—is obviously a matter which will require further consideration.

Interest centred mainly on the report of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Commissioner General for South-East Asia, when the delegates turned to the subject of political and economic conditions in that part of the world. Mr. MacDonald gave a first hand account of conditions in those countries, having recently visited Siam and Indo-China, in addition, of course, having unrivalled knowledge of Malaya and Singapore.

The Conference benefited, too, by personal accounts given by two other Ministers—Pandit Nehru who last November received the then Foreign Minister of Burma, U. E. Maung, in New Delhi, and Mr. P. C. Spender, Australian Minister for External Affairs, who had talks with President Achmed Soekarno in Indonesia on his way to Ceylon.

Of Emperor Bao Dai's regime in Indo-China reliable sources report, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald said that although the Government had started with many handicaps, it had made much firm and commendable progress. The French had made substantial concessions to the Emperor and might make more when the regime had proved itself further as a responsible Government.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, it is reported, did not express any definite view on whether the regime should be granted recognition, although he did point out that it would be wrong to regard the Government as a mere puppet of the French. It was, in fact, strongly nationalistic.

The Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru added his contribution to the subject of Indo-China and he stressed that no barrier against Soviet imperialism could be regarded as strong unless the states forming that barrier were politically content. Pandit Nehru declined to recognise the Bao Dai Government.

One of the outstanding achievements of the Colombo Conference is the recognition of Asia as an area of special urgency. The conference has endorsed Britain's new foreign policy of extending links with western Europe. The need for aiding the economic development in the backward countries of South East Asia as a concrete measure for stemming the surging tide of communism in this part of the world has been fully understood. The intention to set up a consultative committee representing the Commonwealth Governments is a part of the series of recommendations for furthering economic developments in South East Asia. The proposal to set up such a permanent committee in Australia—provided the Governments agree—was made by the Australian Minister of External Affairs. Under the proposed scheme it is intended to provide the backward countries of South East Asia, firstly, with food and consumer goods; secondly, with technical advice and assistance; and finally, with capital equipment. It is not assumed that this plan

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envisages the inclusion of commonwealth countries only. Burma and Siam, for example, may also be included. The greatest importance of this conference seems to be that it marks a step forward towards a shifting of the emphasis in foreign politics from Europe to Asia.

"Constructive Criticisms"

Rulers of States develop a habit of resenting criticism, however valid, and call for "constructive criticism." The new rulers in India are not free from both these traits. They appear particularly resentful of criticism of the deterioration in the economic life of their people which they have not been able even to halt. Taking notice of this foible of theirs, the savant of Banaras, Babu Bhagawandas, put forward certain "constructive criticisms" which should be widely known. We reproduce some of these below :

> "Please follow Mahatma Gandhi's advice in respect of rationing. Abolish it. But, I add, not wholly ..Permit free sale, but also have ration-shops. Give purchasers option. This will prevent disappearance of goods on one hand and excessive charges on another.
>
> Bear in mind always that human beings (as well as animals) commit all sorts of crimes for (a) food primarily, (b) property next—infants quarrel for toys —(c) spouse and children. In the old words, (a) *loka-eshana*, (b) *vitta-eshana*, (c) *dara-suta-eshana*....
>
> Therefore, suspend all schemes, especially the more showy and grandiose ones, except those which directly, or indirectly, in the short run, subserve these three ineradicable 'appetites.'.....
>
> Control first and foremost that which most needs control—population. You try to control everything else (more or less ineffectively, because corruption among your public servants and black markets flourish apace), but do not even think of controlling that which needs control most. Realise that 14,000 mouths are being added daily to India's population. Food diminishes; mouths to be fed increase.....
>
> Do not try to do what you and your subordinates are not qualified for. Do not try to do everything. In the last of my series of articles above-mentioned, I quoted an American writer to the effect that whenever and wherever the Government took over a private concern there was always a loss. This in the U.S.A., where men are far more efficient and honest than here.
>
> Reduce the number of taxes to the number absolutely unavoidable. Thereby you will avoid immense waste of public and private money, and save much serious annoyance and discomfort to the public.
>
> Respect private property. You dislike socialism and communism; quite rightly. But you are yourself doing what they wish to do. You are depriving the word 'property' of all meaning. This indiscriminate abolition of all zamindari and immense increase of income-tax and sur-tax mean nothing else. Make haste slowly.
>
> Compare the numbers of your ministers and of the staff in your secretariats at the present time with those during the British regime. You will see very great increase in numbers and very great decrease in efficiency and vast delay in disposal of work and deterioration in its quality.
>
> Avoid 'herd-education.' Promote technical vocational education, in accord with the congenital aptitude of the pupil, which should be carefully ascertained with the help of 'career-masters' as in Britain.
>
> To conclude with the most important items :
>
> (a) Control and reduce population;
>
> (b) Promote vocational technical education, so as to bring suitable bread-winning work and appropriate worker together;
>
> (c) Allow private enterprise in trade."

Babh Bhagwandas is a "wise man of the East" if there be any amongst us here and now. The Nehru Government should pay heed to his "constructive criticisms."

Andhra Province

Legal purists may tell us as to why our Telugu-speaking countrymen desired so much to have their separate province constituted before January 26, 1950, the day on which Bharat becomes a Sovereign Republic.

They have not got all that they wanted—for instance a place for a capital in the city and the port of Madras. The Nehru-Patel-Sitaramayya Committee, appointed at the Jaipur Congress, had made the exclusion of Madras from the Andhra Province-to-be a condition precedent to the Government agreeing to constitute a province for them. And the leaders of the Andhra people, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya amongst them, had some difficulty in persuading the rank and file to accept the Committee's *dictat*.

But the line is not "all clear" before them. The Kanarese-speaking people who desire as fervently the constitution of a separate province out of areas distributed under three or four administrations, have entered vigorous protests against the inclusion of Kanarese-speaking tracts in this Andhra Province. We remember to have seen a Central Government directive that three Taluqs—Sub-divisions—in the Bellary district are to be kept out of the Andhra Province. The Kannadigas, however, speak of six such Taluqas in this district—Alur, Adoni, Rayadruga amongst them, of Kannada areas in the Anantapur district, and certain other Kannada *enclaves* in Telugu and Tamil-speaking areas. These claims are subjects to be pressed before the Boundary Commission as and when it is set up by the Central Government.

Besides, there are other difficulties in the way. A section of the Andhra people themselves appear to be against the immediate setting up of a separate Andhra Province. They live in the interior districts of Cuddapah, Ellore, Bellary and the Anantapur districts, popularly known as Rayasaleema. Two causes appear to have influenced this attitude. One is the fear of their coastal friends, educationally and in other ways far in advance of them, as also the fear that their areas which have been waiting for modern irrigation facilities may be neglected by the more fortunate of their brethren. A deputation of their representatives pressed these arguments on Pandit Nehru.

But these difficulties cannot for long halt their ambition which is as old as that of Oriyas. The latter have been marching forward upheld by the exaltation of a goal reached. The Andhras will be found as

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capable of rising to the great occasion. We wish our Andhra friends all success in their new life though it appears they may have to wait for many more months before they reach their goal.

Social Education in Bharat

Bharat's Central Education Minister, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, dashed to the ground all hopes of educational re-construction and its extension amongst the people. Addressing the Central Advisory Board of Education in session at Cuttack on the 8th January last, he indicated the causes.

> "Our intention was to provide for an amount of Rs. 11 crores for 1949|50 as this would enable us to start the basic education programme and undertake preliminary work for social education. Our financial position, however, enabled us to provide only Rs. 6 crores. Within six months of the adoption of this year's budget, we have had to face a financial crisis of such magnitude as to force a reduction of ten to twenty per cent. in the already approved budgets. Instead of going ahead, as we had originally planned, we suddenly realised that we had to retreat. For 1949-50 we had to surrender about Rs. 153 lakhs out of a total budget of about Rs. 588 lakhs. The result is that a country with a population of almost 350 millions and with hardly 14 per cent literates cannot provide more than Rs. 4-1|2 crores for about 50 millions from its central revenue for education."

We do not desire to complain. But we have a right to ask the Education Minister whether he is prepared to state as frankly that the Education budget, Central and Provincial, is being rightly used. Whether they, we mean the Education Ministers and their advisers, had not acted unwisely in trying to carry their programmes through on their own methods, giving non-official agencies hardly a decent chance to give a trial to schemes that might have involved less waste of the resources available. We do not know what these high-brows have done in other Provinces. But from our experience of the West Bengal Government's activities in the line, we can unhesitatingly say that money has been wasted in grandiose paraphernalia.

World Health Organization

The United Nations Organization has failed of its political purpose and promise. But certain other activities sponsored by it hold promises for the good of that broad strata of the world's peoples that are not interested in power-politics though they have to suffer for their connivance at it. One of these is being organized under the World Health Organization which has remained unrepresentative because the Soviet Union has strangely enough refused to join it as a member.

But the Organization, with its centre at Geneva has been spreading its activities and influence over the far spaces of the earth. In India it has opened a Seminar at Mysore. Its line of activities has been made known to us through an interview which Dr. Sourin Ghosh, Director of Health Education in West Bengal, had with Miss Helen Martikaineu, Health Education Consultant with the World Health Organization.

Miss Martikaineu has had wide experience such work gathered during her ten years' work Health Education Consultant with the Uni States Public Health Service. We quote hereunder description of the newly-opened Seminar's objective

> . . . the Seminar is being sponsored by UNESCO which, as you know, is one of specialised agencies of the United Nations hav its headquarters in Paris. In co-operation with Government of India, the UNESCO arranged Seminar for the purpose of studying the over- problem of illiteracy and developing pract schemes of adult education, particularly amo people living in rural areas . . . the Seminar very well represented. Delegates from about countries in this region of the world attended. V interesting and lively aspects were discussed s as health and home problems of rural adult edu tion, methods of teaching literacy and extend Basic Education among the rural people. T delegates stated their problems, the progress m so far in their respective countries and earnes suggested improvements that could be made solve the problems and to help the people in th own countries.
>
> We should like to have more reports like these

Damodar Valley Project

Financial difficulties appear to threaten execution of this project on which the hopes of economic renovation of West Bengal depends to a la extent. The Chairman of the organization, set up by Central Government of India, has left for the Uni States to arrange for a loan from the Internatio Monetary Bank, product of a U.N.O. resolution really controlled by the United States Government will try to enlist the services of American special who possess thorough practical knowledge of mu purpose irrigation and flood-control projects. Engine in India seem to be of divided opinion with regard the results of this project when it is given ultim shape.

Of these the Honorary Adviser to the Damo Valley Corporation, Mr. L. K. Elmhirst, spoke hopefully in course of an All-India Radio spe delivered on December 2 last. We have to thank Government of India Ministry of Information making it available to us. Mr. Elmhirst is not new Bengal. He was brought to her service in 1921 Rabindranath Tagore, and for long years it was contributions in the shape of money and planning had maintained the Sreeniketan experiment-sta of Rabindranath's constructive nationalism. Du the war years he was engaged in work that had development bias ; in 1944, Governor Casey appoi him Agricultural Adviser, and he recalled in speech the "first note" he had written in July, for the Minister and Governor urging "immed and combined operations over the Damodar."

By "combined operations" Mr. Elmhirst appe to suggest not only that West Bengal and B

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should combine to fight the common foe against the erosion of the Valley's soil and the floods that cause in one week Rs. 20 crores' damage but that the engineer and the people should combine their skill and labour power to push these enemies of prosperity back to extinction.

What is possible for them to do was indicated by Mr. Elmhirst from a recent experience gathered by him at Laldaha, a village near Sreeniketan. Meeting his old friends of the village in the Village Hall, built by their own labour and money, sitting on the ground, he asked them :

"How many of you have had malaria this year ?"

Ans.: "Not one. Through our Health Co-operative every household has taken strict measures of control."

"What about your tanks ?"

Ans.: "Through our Fishery Co-operative we leased all the tanks but two from the owners three years ago on a plan worked out with the Director of Fisheries who came here to help us. So we have no mosquitoes, and a fine harvest of fish."

"Whilst we talked, the children of the village were playing a vigorous game on the village playground, with much shouting and laughter and enormous energy. This, I said to myself, is a people's revolution. These village people have taken their destiny into their own hands. With such a spirit the villages in the Damodar Valley would also win their own victory and a richer and fuller freedom than they have ever known before."

These had been Rabindranath Tagore's dreams and aspirations—the village people will be able to take their destiny into their own hands. May the State in India help in bringing nearer the day of their fulfilment !

Ply-Wood Industry

In December last there had been held a three-days conference at Calcutta convened by the Central Ministry of Agriculture to consider the problems of the ply-wood, the match-wood and the tea-chest industries. The Inspector-General of Forests presided over the deliberations ; the other participants were officers of the Central Government, of the West Bengal Government, of the Forest Department of the Andaman Islands, and representatives of the ply-wood industry and of the Indian Tea Association.

The difficulties in the way of these industries were many—supply of wood, and its price being the most pressing. Before the partition the wood came mainly from Assam and East Bengal ; now the Andaman Islands appear to be the main sources of supply. In price also our tea-chest industry cannot stand competition with the foreign one. For instance, Finland tea-chest sold at Calcutta at Rs. 6-4 each as against Rs. 6|12 of the native manufacture.

Even at this price the nearly 200 tea-chest factories in and about Calcutta cannot meet the whole needs of the industry. The requirement of tea-chests is about 25,000 tons, whereas the local supply available is only 12,000 tons. There are other factors involved, one of which appears to be discrimination against the small-scale factory. From the report of the proceedings immediate relief does not appear probable.

"National Anthem"

The makers of the songs of a country occupy a special place in the affections of her people. Of these immortals Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Rabindra Nath Tagore, both born in Bengal, are names to conjure with in India. Their songs—*Bande Mataram* and *Jana-Gana-Mana Adhinayaka*—possess priority in the estimation of their people. And we have watched with pain and dismay the way in which the songs have been dragged into the arena of controversy. The idiosyncrasy of one person is responsible for it. And we cannot tender support to the manner in which the choice of a "National Anthem" has been managed to the indignation of millions of men and women.

The Provincial Congress Committees, numbering more than 25, have with one or two exceptions, accorded support to *Bande-Mataram* song as the "National Anthem" of the Republic. They are supposed to represent dynamic public opinion in India. The Constituent Assembly was not given a chance to give its verdict.

It has happened, therefore, that the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly, Babu Rajendra Prasad, should voice the Nehru Government's divided mind. This he did on the 24th January last.

> "At one time it was thought that the matter may be brought before the House and decision taken by the House by means of a resolution. But it has been felt that instead of taking a formal decision by a resolution, it is better if I make a statement with regard to the national anthem; and I, therefore make this statement.
>
> "The composition and the music of the song known as *Jana-Gana-Mana* shall be used for official purposes as the national anthem, and the song of 'Vande Mataram,' which has played a historic part in our struggle for freedom, shall be honoured equally and shall have equal status with it."

We are sorry that Babu Rajendra Prasad should have agreed to sponsor such a sophistry. But there it is. It has long been coming. Since 1938, when the opposition led by Ramananda Chatterji, who was not an idol-worshipper, and others in Bengal had been able to influence Gandhiji to advise patience, that the hand of vandalism was stayed. But, it has been biding its time. The decision on the matter has been postponed from day to day; and now comes the *ex cathedra* dictum.

Calcutta University

Interest in Calcutta University affairs was renewed by the exposures that took place in September last. The Chancellor could not disregard the expressed and unexpressed desire that an enquiry into the sources of corruptions—Press, Accounts and Examinations—should be held. He responded to this demand, and appointed a Committee with the late

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Brojendra Lal Mittra as its Chairman. It is widely talked about that the Committee has submitted its findings, and certain of the charges have been brought home to particular persons in the administration of the University. And a sadistic pleasure is anticipated by the exposures made in these reports. Hence, a cry for their publication has become insistent.

But complaints have reached us that the manner of the enquiry has not been above criticism. It is said that no opportunity was given to certain persons to vindicate their honour; that findings have been arrived at on the basis of evidence that would be found to be suspect or not sustainable when subjected to proper examination. If this complaint has any basis, we are afraid that the Enquiry Committee's findings would lose weight.

While on the subject, we may call the Vice-Chancellor's attention to the inadvisability of persons whose names have appeared in the exposures remaining where they were. This has enabled many persons to brazen it out and spread the contagion of their dishonesty throughout the University. Sree Charu Chandra Biswas should have looked into this aspect as soon as he stepped into the responsible position he occupies today. It is never too late to mend, however.

School Jubilees

The Bethune Vidyalaya has been celebrating the centenary of its foundation, the Brahmo Girls School its Diamond Jubilee and the Saroj Nalini Memorial Association its Silver Jubilee. These three institutions, devoted to women's education in Bengal, stand as symbols of that awakening which beginning during the twenties of the 19th century have in course of a century and quarter helped to transform middle class life in India. That was the time when the Victorian poet could confidently sing of women's cause being men's. That impulse has carried East and West to a new realization of the place of women in the evolution of modern social values. Today women do not subscribe to Tennyson's faith; they have started to go in their own way, disdaining the help of "mere man." This has revolutionized social conduct in its widest ramifications, and it is difficult to imagine a turning of the hand of the clock. On the occasion of these Jubilee celebrations we wish God-speed to these three institutions. May they help build up the India of the free!

Atom Bomb's Use

The Chancellor of the Washington University, Dr. Arthur Compton, told a gathering of scientists at Poona, assembled on the occasion of the 37th Session of the Indian Science Congress of the discovery of the atom bomb by U. S. scientists and its release over Nagasaki and Hiroshima. The potency of this weapon of mass destruction, thus demonstrated, led to Japan's unconditional surrender on August 7, 1945, three months after Germany had laid down her arms. Dr. Compton spoke of the anxious thought and spiritual strain through which the scientists and administrators of his country passed in debating to use or not to use this bomb. He related the story of his talk with Mr. Stimson, the then War Secretary, in which the latter spoke of the choice before them "We must not think in terms of the life of the United States but of humanity." But ultimately the former prevailed.

A recent number of the *World-Over Press*, a U. S. interpreter of news and views, has published a report submitted to the War Secretary in June, 1945, by a Committee on the Social and Political implications (of the atom bomb) appointed by the Metallurgical Laboratory of Chicago. The following quotation will enable our readers to analyse and judge the considerations that had weighed with the members of this Committee, and had led them to say that "these considerations make the use of nuclear bombs for an early attack against Japan *inadvisable*." The fear expressed there is more than ever justified by the experience of the last four years.

> "The military advantages and the saving of American lives achieved by the sudden use of atomic bombs against Japan may be outweighed by a wave of horror and revulsion sweeping over the rest of the world . . .
>
> "From this point of view, a demonstration of the new weapon might be made before the eyes of all the United Nations on the desert or a barren island . . . After such a demonstration the weapon might perhaps be used against Japan if the sanction of the United Nations (and public opinion at home) was obtained after a preliminary ultimatum to Japan to surrender . . .
>
> ". . . If the United States were to be the first to release this new means of indiscriminate destruction of mankind, she would sacrifice public support throughout the world, precipitate the race for armaments, and prejudice the possibility of reaching an international agreement on the future control of such weapons."

Neither the Allied Nations nor the U.S.A. public were consulted, as suggested in the Report; President Roosevelt lived to watch the success of the atom bomb experiment. But he died suddenly in April, 1945, and it fell to his successor, President Truman, to give the fateful order.

Cochin-China

The Government of Communist China has given recognition to the Viet Nam Government set up under Dr. Ho Chi-Minh struggling to throw out the "puppet" administration set up under French auspices with ex-Emperor Bao Dai of Cambodia at its head. Pandit Nehru, in course of a statement made in Colombo, announced that he could not recognize Bao Dai as he is upheld by non-Asian army formations; he explained himself further by saying that a cardinal

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principle of the policy followed by him was to withhold recognition from administrations whose defence and foreign affairs were controlled by non-Asian Powers. This policy, consistently followed, would have consequences that would not affect France alone.

Even French papers have told us that 90 per cent of the area of Viet Nam comprising Annam, Tongking, Laos and Cambodia is under the control of Dr. Ho's Government; Bao Dai's is confined to certain coastal towns and ports. But the latter enjoy the patronage of many of the leading Powers of the West represented in the United Nations Organisation. We have seen statements made by the politicians of the United States that they disapproved of the French regime in Viet Nam which has forfeited the support of all but a few of her 2,30,00,000 people.

But in practice they are found to be recognizing it. Their "Marshall Aid" contributions enable France to divert a part of her resources in money and fighting power to crush the resistance movement that grew when Japan had been in occupation. It took over the fight when the French came in at the tail of victorious powers—United States and Britain—against their policy of restoring the *status quo* as it had existed in 1940. Indonesia has after 4 years of fight been able to upset the colonial order. So will Dr. Ho Chi-Minh.

The core of this "resistance movement" had been constituted by the Annamese League for Independence or Viet Minh; its leader was Dr. Ho, "a little man who looks like an ascetic philosopher," to quote a U.S.A. commentator. Today 90 per cent of Indo-China follow him; not Bao Dai's but his writ runs over the four provinces of this "insurgent" State. This one fact should be recognized as the writing on the wall by the United States at least. She has seen the failure of her China policy of sheer opportunism.

Economic Resources of South-East Asia

Western Powers have been developing increasing concern over the economic re-construction of this portion of the earth. President Truman's Point Four Plan and the "Commonwealth" Plan discussed at the Colombo Conference during the second week of January last are signs and symbols of this desire to help the under-developed countries of the world. But these Plans appear to be motivated by political purposes—one of which is the halting of the Communist menace which thrives best on poverty and malnutrition. It is not fully realized by the protagonists of these Plans that Communists have another weapon of offence; it is to stir up and activize discontent in the name of Self-determination, of the Self-respect of subject peoples. This right has been denied in practice by many of the Western Powers.

However, we are glad that they have grown conscious of their direct and indirect responsibilities in this matter. But we in India have been forced willy-nilly to take a hand in it. Attempts are, therefore, being made to keep us informed of the needs and requirements of the peoples of this vast continental area. Exhibitions of South-East Asia's products, natural and industrial, are being held; booklets are being published describing their potential wealth and its neglect due to ignorance of the native populations. The Commercial Museum, maintained by the Calcutta Corporation—a pioneer venture for a Municipality to organize and keep alive and active for about 15 years—about six months back held an Exhibition of Far East Asia's resources, and published a booklet on these.

This may look immediately profitable. But we must beware of the political consequences of such direction; we should recall the words of the late President Wilson of the United States of America spoken at Turin, Italy in 1919 after victory won over Kaiser's Germany.

> "The plans of the modern world are made in the counting house. Men who do the business of the world now shape the destinies of the world.....The country is dominated by the capital invested in it."

Brojendra Lal Mittra

The death of this eminent lawyer in his 75th year took place on the Republic Day. We share the grief of his family.

A Law member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, a Prime Minister of the Maharaja of Baroda, an Acting Governor of Bengal during British regime, Brojendra Lal had gathered experiences which would have proved of value under the altered circumstances of India. He will be remembered for being able to persuade the Maharaja of Baroda to "accede" to India in the middle of 1947 when a section of the "Princely Order" under the leadership of the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Nawab of Bhopal, were contemplating a stab at India's unity. The example of Baroda heartened other Princes amongst whom the Maharaja of Bikaner was most prominent. The "lapse of paramountcy" suggested in the Memorandum on States Treaties and Paramountcy prepared by the Cabinet Mission's Secretariat and handed over on June 12, 1946, was turned thus to India's advantage. Brojendra Lal's lead has made easier Sardar Patel's policy of States integration.

Nagendra Nath Rakshit

We have to record with sorrow the death of this Bengalee industrialist who left many of his life's works unfinished at his 64th year. Founder of the National Iron and Steel Company and of the Tata Foundry, he showed by his life and conduct that there were other interests in life that deserved as sincere devotion as money. Of these the consolidation of Bengalee culture and of its spread through India had occupied the first place in his heart. He was the power behind the Prabashi Banga-Bhasha Prasar Samiti—Society for the spread of Ben-

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galee language outside Bengal. For his devotion to this cause he risked unpopularity at Jamshedpur, the seat of his financial and industrial activities. But he marched ahead, heedless of consequences.

Braja Sundar Roy

The death at 75 years of Braja Sundar Roy removes a notable figure from the scholastic world of Bengal. The Braja Mohun College of Barisal, the City College of Calcutta, the Keane College of Shillong were institutions that he served. He was during the few years of his life editor of the *Indian Messenger*, organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, and his scholarly articles on comparative religion were a feature that enhanced the value of this paper.

Sardar Patel's Calcutta Speech

It is after a long time that I have found it possible to have your *darshan*. I have been ardently desiring to meet you all. Several times I thought to but on account of my physical incapacity, I could not come to Calcutta. After months of waiting, by the grace of God, it has now been possible for me to come and meet you. I have to say a few words on this occasion, which, I hope, you will think over and try to realise their full import.

I am fully alive to the sorrows and difficulties of Bengal. Day and night I think of them, and my heart bleeds in sympathy for your afflictions. But in spite of these sorrows, troubles and tribulations, I still have faith in the people of Bengal. Bengal and its people have faced many a difficulty in the past. This is not the first time that they have been so afflicted. Ever since the foundations of India's freedom were laid, Bengal has had to bear the brunt of all troubles. It has done so courageously and with a stout heart.

When the foreign Government was here and we tried to remove it, Bengal and its people took a leading part in that struggle. They suffered tremendously and bore their sufferings with faith, courage and bravery. India is deeply grateful to Bengal for all this. It can never forget the debt it owes to Bengal.

When another Government, half foreign and half indigenous assumed power, the troubles did not end; in fact, they worsened. The other half, of course, consisted of the Muslim League in which there was no man of our own. You had to suffer grievously under them. How can Bengal, or even the rest of India, forget those days of "direct action" and the situation in Calcutta which followed in its wake. You survived those shocks also.

Then came the Tragedy of Noakhali. How can India or you forget those dark days. The pages of History in which these chapters have been written cannot be eliminated. When the time came to determine the future of Bengal, Gandhiji came here, he went to Noakhali, shared the joys and sorrows of the suffering humanity and then came and stayed in Calcutta.

Due partly to a desire to share your sorrows and partly in anger, the people of Bihar retaliated, then the fire spread all over northern India. You know the subsequent history. It was in such a situation and with an eye on the future of the whole of India that we came to an irrevocable decision that the foreign Government must go.

We felt that as long as Englishmen were here there was neither prospect of peace nor of amity and concord between the two communities. We decided that, if necessary, India should be partitioned, but that could be accepted only if Bengal and Punjab were also partitioned.

What an irony of fate! We resisted the partition of Bengal when it was planned by the British 40 years before the partition of India actually came about; you sacrificed your all to avoid the catastrophe of partition. India was with you; subsequently, we had to accept the partition of another conception. At that time there was no dissentient voice. All accepted it as an inevitable fact.

We also decided, however, that we could not accept partition without the City of Calcutta. The leaders of the Muslim League were not prepared for it. They did not desire this "motheaten" Pakistan. They wanted to engulf the other portions, to which they had no claim. However, they could not succeed in their designs, and the partition became an accomplished fact.

Even after accepting partition, however, there was a blood bath. We were separated from our own brothers and sisters across the border. Bengal suffered grievously on that account. The wounds which were inflicted on it have not yet healed; in fact, the sores are increasing to face such a situation, you want courage and bravery of a high order, you want also patience and fortitude.

This is the time when you have to prove your mettle, you have to suffer all this in silence, but in full expectation of the good days to come. You must make sure that you do not spoil the prospects with your own hands. After all, it is only in difficulties that men have to be cautious.

When better times come they can afford to relax. Anger or haste will not avail you. Our brothers, both Hindus and Muslims, have been separated from us. All of us do wish that people on both sides of the frontier should prospect, but for that both sides must be patient, brave and prudent. Who does not know the pangs of Bengal?

Those friends, who were with us until yesterday have now become foreigners today. But how can this be in practice? They are for us still what they were before and the problem of how we can go to their help stares us in the face. There is, however, no room for despondency. If we can express sympathy with the people of South Africa and run to their assistance, it is much easier to do so in the case of people of Pakistan.

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Artificial boundaries cannot separate them from us. Our relationship and economic and political ties cannot be broken. Difficulties and obstacles are there and must be removed. But for that we must set our own house in order.

Lakhs of people have come away from Pakistan. They have left their all, their hearths and homes and their dear ones. Many people try to mislead them that Provincial and Central Governments are doing nothing. This, however, will not benefit them. Their troubles will not be relieved that way. I know them full well and I myself want to help them out in the best manner possible, but before we can do so, it is necessary that there should be peace and security.

Today, the whole of India feels concerned to read every day something or the other happening in some part of Calcutta. Bombs, crackers, burning of tram-cars, attacks on police, arrests, fasts in jail—these are the incidents that are reported under prominent headlines.

It is natural that in such circumstances people outside the province should feel that there is general lawlessness in Calcutta, and the machinery of Government has broken down. It is only when you come here and see the normal life of the City going on unchecked that you realise that all this is the work of some young men who have gone astray.

These handful of youths wish to upset the peace and tranquillity of the whole city. They wish to terrorise or overawe the whole population and the Government. I do not know what they wish to gain out of it. I can understand Communist ideology, but cannot understand what they will achieve as a result of murderous assaults and other tactics.

I am, however, pained that while millions live in this city, they are unable to express themselves or act in opposition to the machinations of these wrong-doers. They are content to leave matters to the police and Government. That is all wrong. If there were a foreign Government, they would have dealt with this menace as they did before, but we cannot act in the same way.

After all, those who are doing these acts are our own people. The police is also our own. The Government is also our own. If you feel dissatisfaction with your Government, you can replace it. Some months ago, the Prime Minister came to Calcutta. He told you that, if you wanted to change the Government, you could do so by holding fresh elections and he thought those elections should be held if you wanted. After all, whoever comes in our places will be our own men.

We are not afraid or ashamed of facing an election, but when we examined this question at some length, we found various difficulties. There were no voters' lists, fresh voters had to be registered, we had many refugees who had come from East Bengal and whose claims to record their votes had to be taken into account.

We wanted to do away with communal representation. All these difficulties were there. We had also to consider that the next election on adult franchise was not far off and then, even in the election agitators will try to reap their harvest. We, therefore, consulted your Government and the leaders of public opinion in Bengal to find out if they wanted elections even under these conditions. All of them said that they did not want it, and we gave up the idea. When we announced our decision, all papers welcomed it. They, however, said that the new elections should be held early.

We, ourselves, want to hold these elections early, but this is the first time that we have given the right to vote to crores of people. It will entail an expenditure of millions and concentrated efforts to prepare electoral rolls and take other necessary measures for the holding of an election. Nevertheless, we have got to be ready for it, and Government will do their best, but in the meantime it is up to you to see that the proper atmosphere is created, in which free and fair elections could be held.

At the same time, we cannot stand silent and inactive. Government has to be carried on. If you are not satisfied with the Government you have, the only way to change it is through the ballot box or by revolution. Bombs, attacks on police and crackers do not symptomise a revolution. All this is the cult of lunatics and the work of mad men.

I do understand when people tell me that the young men are suffering from a sense of frustration, that they do not know whither they are going, or what is in store for them. I sympathise with them, but the remedy for it does not lie in the tactics which are being followed. In fact, it will only postpone the day of their relief and amelioration. They will spoil whatever good is being done. I fully realise the sorrows and sufferings which they have to bear, but in the past also you have suffered and braved it all. Thirty lakhs of people lost their lives from sheer starvation. No one dared to raise any voice then. To-day your own police, seventy per cent of which is Bengali, is attacked with stones and bullets and not a single voice is raised.

Instead accusations are levelled that they are terrorising our people and committing excesses. People say that there is no civil liberty. I ask you: "Where is civil liberty gone? Has it been taken to the United Kingdom? Was there more civil liberty when people dared not do anything even when millions suffered, or is it now when people can do practically what they like."

They can criticise whomsoever they want, and they can throw bombs and attack the police. I warn you that if these tactics are not stopped, the civil liberty which you enjoy will disappear. These few people

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will take it away. You have either to face that prospect or to stop these nefarious activities.

No democratic Government can flourish on police batons. We have got used to calling the police bad names in the past. We have to change that mentality. The police, which we maligned, was different from the police which is serving you to-day. They are volunteers. They are bearing the burden of a great responsibility. At the same time, the burden of their salaries on us is not as much as it should be, because we cannot afford it. You should have respect and sympathy for these guardians of law and order. If you do not, you will regret it. I read in the papers that Rs. 20,000 were spent on holding this public meeting. Instead of worrying as to how much was spent, you should ask yourself as to why it was spent. It was not long ago when we could hold meetings at will without the presence of so many policemen. We had policemen then, but that was not to protect us, it was to watch us. But now our ways have changed. Some of us have learnt to create mischief for the sake of mischief, and it is then that the police is needed to maintain peace and tranquillity.

All this is due to our weakness. Our Congress organisation has been weakened. Our own army of volunteers does not command the same influence and there is also not that same spirit of service.

All these defects must be remedied. I talked to the police officers as well as to the Ministers of Government. I also talked to political leaders. I heard what they had to say. I appealed to them not to get themselves involved in useless activities instead of devoting themselves to the real work of reconstruction.

I know the students are restless. They study in classes where they do not have even sufficient elbow room. They work in shifts. Whether and what they can learn in these circumstances beats me.

I do not know what all these thousands of graduates who are coming out of colleges every year learn. I hope it is not merely to agitate and create mischief. Nor do I hope that they read literature which sometimes you see on posters. They cannot digest it. They will very soon get indigestion, if they go on reading that rotten stuff.

Calcutta is the centre of industry. It was at one time the capital of India. Now it is the capital of industry. For our prosperity, we need both agricultural and industrial wealth. In the industrial field, Bengalees do not play their due part. Their young men are to be found in small numbers in industrial installations. Instead of making a grievance of it, you should really enquire why it is so.

Why should they not take to industrial occupations? Why should they not become captains of industry? I want to appeal to those who own these industries and those who do not, to realise each other's duties. They have to share the troubles of Bengal together and to understand each other. To-day, each province is autonomous. There can be no questi of one overlording the other. There should, there fore, be no barriers.

Provincialism is bad. It narrows one's vision a prevents one from thinking in terms of the larg whole. We lose our sense of perspective as citize of a great India. We forget our duties as sons of t motherland. To-day, people ask for separation their province. Bengalees want more room for e pansion. It is my earnest desire to help Bengal its hour of need, to the maximum of my capacity.

It was for this reason that, when people Bengal claimed Cooch Behar, I went into the wh question and came to the conclusion that their cla was just and proper. Then I tried my best to p suade everybody so as to make the process of merg easy. We succeeded in that, and Cooch Behar now part of Bengal.

You know how I succeeded in persuading mo than six hundred Rulers to give up their sovereign and to accept the schemes of integration and dem cratisation. All this has gone through without a trouble and with the consent of everybody. Wh ever tried to create trouble had to break his ow head. They all helped me.

I want you to help me in the same manne Your troubles and difficulties are all known to m I want to help you as best as I can, but you hav to allow for the fact that my health is not as goo as it used to be. I have also to think of many oth problems, the solution of which is in the interests this province as much as in that of the rest of Ind and the absence of solution of which is bound affect it adversely.

It is only with your co-operation that I can away with all the police that is now stationed here prevent mischief. I never had so much protecti as I have now, although I feel, like Gandhiji, th nobody would desire to kill me, but the police wou not just let me have my way. Why is it so?

It is because a few young men have gone astra It is not in anger that they have done so. The young men have been misguided and misled into and once, having been misled, they have become us to wrong ways.

Nothing else now enters their head except persist in the ways of folly. We have to change this atmosphere.

We have to devote ourselves to the art of pea We have to run our Government. We have to p sue our normal avocations. We have to cre wealth for our existence and also for improvem in our own standards of living. We have to run industries. We must explain to labour that we reg it as our duty to see that they get their due.

The industrialists should be prepared to sacri their profits in the interests of their country. Bla marketing, profiteering, cornering of business, all must go. They must also lend a helping hand

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Government in dealing with commodities that are scarce and seeing that the task of distribution is performed smoothly and efficiently.

Some young men say: Why worry about them, do as was done in China. We have yet to see what will happen in China. In Russia, where there was a revolution, whatever position has been reached to-day is the result of untold sacrifices. They had to put in tremendous efforts before they could organise their industries and agricultural life on a planned pattern.

To-day America is the richest country in the world. When it became free, it took several years to make the Constitution. We drew up ours in three years, in spite of the difficulties with which we were faced in the very first two years of our existence as a free nation.

To-day India has been fully consolidated. It was never like that before. The whole of India is now painted in one colour. America took years to become rich. You should read that history. As compared to that our freedom is only two years' old and you want us to perform miracles within that short period. You want us to distribute wealth equally.

What is there to distribute? There are a few rich men I admit; but what are they as compared to the rich men in America. If we distribute the little wealth that they have accumulated, it would make little difference to our poverty.

If we wish to uplift India, the rich have to shed their greed, labour has to work loyally and farmers have to give up their surplus. Instead, we have frequent calls for strikes of all varieties, such as, stay-in-strikes. All these are injurious to the national welfare. If we are unfortunate and foolish, a time for strikes may come but I do not think that it will be necessary if we conduct ourselves in the true spirit of our culture and civilisation.

Our culture and ancient civilisation dictate that we should settle our disputes amicably. Nobody said anything when the rich men made money during the war. We sat quiet then. They flouted our instructions and did not reveal their income-tax—we are now after them, but we do not get anything. Then they talk of nationalisation. How can those, who do not know how to run their own household, run a whole industry. If they wish to do so, they can; but then you will see the result.

We do not have either the means or the agency for taking over control over industries. We have taken upon ourselves a part of the business of industrialists, we are running shops. We are controlling various channels of trade. But we are making a mess of it. Gandhiji advised us to remove controls. We did so, but very soon we found that the experiment had failed and we had to reimpose control.

It is then that people charge us that we do not know our own mind. It may be so. India is a big country. It used to be run on prestige. 55 to 60 per cent of the key services were manned by Englishmen. They have all gone. The revolution, about which our young men shout, has already taken place. Now we have to consolidate our freedom.

The time is for reconstruction not revolution. The future of India we can make or mar, during the next five years. In the formative period, all have to work. It is only by mutual love and affection that we can do so. We cannot do so by coercion or by hatred.

Inter-provincial rivalries or inter-communal or inter-sectional disputes will only prevent us from making any progress. Today if you like you can shift the centre of industry from Calcutta, but that will not serve our purpose. I want young men to be patient during this formative period.

My complaint to you is that you feel as if this is not your own work. Two young men can get a whole tramcar emptied in order to further their own nefarious designs. This is unworthy of the citizens of a free India. Instead, you should capture these young men and put them right.

I gave the same advice to the newspaper editors, as some of them speak with two voices. Then we hear of fasts and people express sympathy with those who fast. Do they realise why these people are fasting? Is it in sympathy with Government which is faced with the scarcity of foodgrains or because they are not satisfied with what they get. Think of all that they are getting now.

I know in jail they are given Rs. 250 as outfit allowance. Then they get Rs. 2-8 a day for their maintenance. Mark this figure. Look at your refugees. How many can get that much then, on top of it, they get allowances for their dependants. When they are pampered so much, why should they remain out. Why should they not go to jail.

Some of them make out as if they fast, although they take four meals a day. Some certainly starve in order to get more privileges, as if those that they have are not enough. I cannot understand how people can sympathise with such complaints, yet they complain against the police when they deal with these fasts in a manner laid down by law.

I warn you that if we cannot give the police the respect and position that are due to them as police of a free country, we shall lose our freedom. I agree that it is the duty of the police to behave with courtesy and consideration.

I am sometimes told that they do not do so, yet when I read the newspapers, I only read of the stories of the police bearing the brunt of attacks of bombs and stones. When they retaliate, there is a hue and cry; but, when they are attacked, not a dog barks. Some time ago, they fired at a mob.

Everybody shouted and some of them were put on trial. What happened, they were all acquitted. Is this the way that you expect a Government to function? You cannot digest freedom, unless you learn to discharge your duties. You should make people

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understand their duties and responsibilities. They say these young men have gone underground. How can they go underground in our own midst ?

Those days when such a thing was possible should have gone long ago. Today it is not a question of going underground against a foreign government. It is a question of going underground against your own Government. It is the duty of those with whom these miscreants take shelter to hand them over to police.

We have to share the burden of civil liberty along with the police ; otherwise, we shall not be able to safeguard our freedom.

I would, therefore, advise you to face your difficulties with courage and patience. When we achieve peace and tranquillity, we can devote ourselves to the art of amelioration. We know that our brothers and sisters in Pakistan are in sore straits. If all of them come out, we have no space to keep them here, at the same time, we must find a way out.

Before we can do so, we have to set our own house in order, we have to strengthen ourselves and make the foundations of our freedom strong. We have to increase our wealth in order to meet the demands of modern economy. Farmers have to produce as much as possible ; keep as little as they need and give the rest to Government at prices fixed by it. Instead, some of our men go and advise them to dictate their own price.

Do they realise what they are talking about ? From where will government get the money to pay the farmers ? It will have to get it from the farmers themselves. They make all sorts of charges against Government. Do they realise that when a closely knit administrative machinery was functioning 30 lakhs of people died of starvation in this very city without any murmur ?

Nobody has been allowed to die of starvation during the two years that we have been in office. It has cost us crores, but we have seen to it that people get sufficient food for sustenance.

We should also make sacrifices for the relief of the poor. Formerly the middle-classes and others, who could afford, used to sponsor charities for the relief of the poor. Now the middle-classes are also in difficulties.

We have, therefore, to organise the relief of the poor on a broader basis. Every Indian must now share the troubles of their fellow-men for these few years of our formative period. By tightening our belts now, we shall be laying in store for the future. It is not too much to ask we call upon you to postpone happier times by a few years.

If Calcutta or Bengal dies, none in India can live. It is only when Bengal can take its place in India's polity and get the leadership which it had before that we can say that we have put matters right.

This is, therefore, my last appeal to you. Put your own house in order and work together. Sufferings and troubles are the badge of our life. Floods and famines have brought untold misery to you. You have suffered all this in silence, bravely and courageously. How can you quail now when you are faced with lesser troubles ?

Those who are not Ministers say that the Ministry is not good, that it has this defect and that. If the Ministry goes and others take its place, those who will go out will say the same thing of their successors. If we ourselves go on running down our own men, who appreciate these difficulties and who will take remedial action ?

After all people will get the government that they deserve. If people themselves do not behave responsibly, how can they expect to make any impression on the Government ? I, therefore, implore you to co-operate together in a great endeavour and build the future of our country on the lines of peace, prosperity and happiness.

You must think over what I have told you. I cannot come here frequently. There was a fire burning inside me that brought me here and I have unburdened myself. I plead before you in all humility to remove the canker of provincialism from the city.

Calcutta gives shelter and sustenance to people from every province, it cannot afford to look at matters in a narrow parochial spirit. There is room for everybody in this big city. They should all live in peace and amity.

Lend a helping hand to Government to remove your present troubles, improve the atmosphere of the city and create wealth which you can then distribute. Learn to work together, instead of working apart.

You must forget that the police is tyrannical and dishonest. If you have complaints against police make it to Government. You must remember that theirs is a very difficult and unenviable task. They are doing that as faithfully as they can.

I appealed to the newspaper proprietors to help in the improvement of the atmosphere in this city. I appeal to the general public to set the tone for the newspapers, so that they can also do their duty. We should have our own volunteers for dealing with these trouble-makers. It is only then that Calcutta and Bengal can live in peace and its people can dedicate themselves to the tasks of relief and amelioration.

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THE COMMONWEALTH AGREEMENT AND INDIA

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By D. N. BANERJEE,

University Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

I. Introduction

The Agreement reached at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, held in London in April, 1949, has been cried up or cried down, more or less, with an equal vigour and enthusiasm, and sometimes, I may add, with an equal lack of understanding. It has been acclaimed by some people as "bold", "great," "historic" and "momentous." It has been condemned by others as a "great betrayal," a "great national blunder," "the greatest mistake committed by the Congress Party after the partition of India," a "triumph for British diplomacy," and an "outrage on the national sentiments of the Indian people". Such a sharp difference of opinion amongst our leaders on the question of the Commonwealth Agreement is, perhaps, natural and inevitable in the present circumstances of our country. An attempt has been made in this paper to deal with what appears to me to be the true nature of the vexed Agreement, mainly from the standpoint of constitutional law and practice. Incidentally, I shall also consider how far India's continued membership of the Commonwealth of Nations will be compatible with its proposed republican status.

II. The Agreement

The Statement issued on 27th April, 1949, from No. 10 Downing Street at the conclusion of the London Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, said :

"During the past week the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon and the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs have met in London to exchange views upon the important constitutional issue arising from India's decision to adopt a Republican form of constitution and her desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth.

"The discussions have been concerned with the effects of such a development upon the existing structure of the Commonwealth and the constitutional relations between its members.

"They have been conducted in an atmosphere of goodwill and mutual understanding and have had as their historical background the traditional capacity of the Commonwealth to strengthen its unity of purpose, while adapting its organization and procedures to changing circumstances.

"After full discussion the representatives of the Governments of all the Commonwealth countries have agreed that the conclusions reached should be placed on record in the following Declaration :

"'The Governments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, whose countries are united as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and owe common allegiance to the Crown, which is also the symbol of their free association, have considered the impending constitutional changes in India.

"The Government of India have informed the other Governments of the Commonwealth of the intention of the Indian people that, under the new Constitution which is about to be adopted, India shall become a sovereign, independent Republic. The Government of India have, however, declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the King as the symbol of the free association of the independent nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.

"The Governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth, the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed, accept and recognize India's continuing membership in accordance with the terms of this Declaration.

"Accordingly, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon hereby declare that they remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations, freely co-operating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress'."

It is obvious from the Statement quoted above that the Joint Declaration by the representatives of the eight Commonwealth countries, embodied therein, was really an instrument of compromises—a kind of improvised political device—intended to reconcile two apparently inconsistent factors, namely, India's decision to adopt, as a sovereign, independent State, a republican form of constitution, and her desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth. Since India desired, obviously on the ground of expediency, to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations, she had to accept the position that the King (of the United Kingdom) would be "the symbol of the free association of the independent nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth." But this has created, to my mind, a constitutional anomaly. Although I am one of those persons who believe that in her present circumstances and in the context of international politics today, it would be both economically and politically expedient for India to remain in close and friendly association, on terms of absolute equality, with the other members of what is now called the Commonwealth of Nations, yet I find it rather difficult, as a student of constitutional law and practice, to reconcile the proposed status of India as a sovereign, independent *Republic* with the (suggested) position of the King as the Head of the Commonwealth of which the republican India will be a member, along with others the existing basis of whose membership, however, is not going to be changed by the new Commonwealth Agreement. So far as the latter are concerned, there will be no change in the royal titles and they will remain "united by a common allegiance to the Crown"—as, presumably, contemplated by the Statute of Westminster, 1931.

It has been stated—and I think very rightly—, that although "the King will have a symbolic status

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recognized by India, he will have no constitutional functions so far as India is concerned." In view of this, it would have been well if the use of the word "Head", in reference to the King alone, had been avoided so far as India was concerned, and the Commonwealth had been declared simply an "Association of Free and Independent States comprising Monarchies and Republics, voluntarily united for the pursuit of peace, happiness, liberty, and prosperity." The King to whom the other countries of the Commonwealth would continue to owe a common allegiance, and the proposed President of the Indian Republic might alternately be the President of this Association of Free and Independent States. As it is, the new Commonwealth Agreement has, from a strictly constitutional point of view, created, so far as the proposed Indian Republic is concerned, a rather anomalous and confusing position.[1]

It is not at all surprising, therefore, that Mr. Robert G. Menzies, Leader of the Australian Opposition, remarked on 28th April, 1949, with reference to the Agreement :

> "How a nation can become a Republic by abolishing allegiance to the Crown and at the same time retain full membership of a united Commonwealth which is and must be basically a Crown Commonwealth is a complete mystery."

At the same time, it must be stated that those persons who seriously maintain the view that India's continued membership of the Commonwealth of Nations, purely on a voluntary basis, even after she has formally declared herself a sovereign, independent Republic, will really mean that she will continue to be a part of *the British Empire* or that she will in effect remain a *Dominion*, take, to my mind, a perverse view of things and are, speaking constitutionally, wrong. The Commonwealth Agreement has no legal significance, and the proposed Commonwealth of Nations is not going to be a Super-State. I believe that the Hon'ble Sardar Patel was right when he stated in the course of his Address to a Press Conference, held at New Delhi on 28th April, 1949 :

> "As a Dominion we have been, like other members of the Commonwealth, owing allegiance to the Crown. When we accepted this position, we made it quite clear that this was for the time being and that the question of our future status was one to be decided by the Constituent Assembly as a sovereign body with complete freedom. We had already passed an Objectives Resolution in the first session of the Constituent Assembly. That resolution stands and shall remain the corner-stone of our Draft Constitution, and our republican status clearly forms a part of that objective.
>
> "Throughout, however, we have never flinched from our objective of our republican status, and never has the problem been of modifying that status in order to suit such form of association with the Commonwealth as might be evolved. On the other hand, it has been our endeavour to determine that form of association without in any way affecting or departing from our republican status . . .
>
> "India's status of a sovereign, independent Republic is, by no means, affected, because there is no question of allegiance to His Majesty the King who will merely remain a symbol of our free association as he would be of other members . . .
>
> "So far as our Constitution is concerned it will remain republican both in internal and (in) external spheres. You will notice that the King's headship of the Commonwealth is limited to being the symbol of the free association of its independent member-nations."

When he was asked at the Press Conference to state what the functions of the King would be as the Head of the Commonwealth, Sardar Patel replied :

> "So far as his functions are concerned, they are hardly any. But he gets a status. He is, as mentioned in the *Communique*,[2] a symbol of the free association of all these units."[3]

And when he was asked as to whether it would, in view of the fact that the King had always been a symbol, "make any difference whether he was the Head of the Commonwealth or the Head of the Indian Government", Sardar Patel very rightly replied :

> "It does make a lot of difference if he is the Head of the Indian Government."

In reply to some further questions at the Press Conference, Sardar Patel declared that, although "there are obligations of friendship and association and also advantages" arising out of the membership of the Commonwealth, yet the right of a member of the Commonwealth to secede from it at will was not affected by the New (Commonwealth) Agreement. Nor was the question of trade relations amongst the members of the Commonwealth "covered by the Agreement", as this matter would have to be considered separately.

Thus it is clear from what has been shown above that under the Commonwealth Agreement the King will have no constitutional functions so far as India is concerned ; nor will he be the King of India as he is now, as soon as India declares herself a sovereign independent Republic. Our Prime Minister Pandit Nehru also stressed this point when he said, in the course of a broadcast from New Delhi on 10th May 1949 :

> "It must be remembered that the Commonwealth is not a Super-State in any sense of the term. We have agreed to consider the King as the symbolic Head of this free association. But the King has no function attached to that status in the Commonwealth. So far as the Constitution of India is concerned, the King has no place and we shall owe no allegiance to him."

Again :

1. It may, however, be argued, as Mr. M. Ramaswamy of the Mysore High Court has done in an article published in *The Indian Law Review* (Vol. III, 1949, No. 2) that the King's Headship of the Commonwealth of Nations "is only courtesy arrangement devoid of any constitutional significance." Still, the whole arrangement looks somewhat anomalous.

2. Regarding the Commonwealth Agreement.

3. *i.e.*, the Member-States of the Commonwealth.

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"We took a pledge long ago to achieve Purna Swaraj (complete independence). We have achieved it. Does a nation lose its independence by an alliance with another country? Alliances normally mean mutual commitments. The free association of *sovereign Commonwealth nations*[4] does not involve such commitments. Its very strength lies in its flexibility and its complete freedom. It is well-known that it is open to any member nation to go out of the Commonwealth if it so chooses."

It is also worthy of note in this connexion that there is no reference at all in the new Constitution of India either to the British Crown or to the British Parliament exercising any authority in India, except as permitted by the said constitution itself for the transitional period. In view of all this, we are constrained to observe that those who say that the Republican India will, under the Commonwealth Agreement, be, after all, nothing else than a Dominion, do not really talk sense.

Nor does it follow from the Commonwealth Agreement that there must have been some previous commitment on the part of India, or some secret understanding between her and the other members of the Commonwealth. Pandit Nehru, our Prime Minister, has emphatically repudiated any such thing on several occasions. For instance, in the course of an Address to Indian students in London on May 2nd, 1949, he stated :

"Some misinformed people have suggested that there have been secret agreements and that India has become a party to the Atlantic Pact . . .

"I categorically state that this is complete nonsense. We have no secret agreements and have joined no political *bloc* . . .

"We have chosen to stay in the Commonwealth because we did not want to live in isolation and because it confers on us benefits which do not take away our sovereign status."

Again, in the course of a broadcast from New Delhi, on 10th May, 1949, he declared :

"I wish to say that nothing has been done in secret and that no commitments of any kind limiting our sovereignty or our internal or external policy have been made, whether in the political or economic or military spheres. Our foreign policy has been often declared by me to be one of working for peace and friendship with all countries and of avoiding alignments with power *blocs*. That remains the keystone of our policy still.[5] We stand for the freedom of suppressed nationalities and for putting an end to racial discrimination. I am convinced that the sovereign Indian republic, freely associating herself with the other countries of the Commonwealth, will be completely free to follow this policy, perhaps in an even greater measure and with greater influence than before."

Further, at a Press Conference held at Ottawa on 24th October, 1949, he reiterated that "it was not the policy of India to align herself with any *bloc* of nations." "It is our aim", he stated, "to keep friendly contacts with everybody. Naturally, we are bound to be closer to some nations than to others—for example, we consult with the other nations of the Commonwealth—but our foreign policy is completely independent."

I think that we can accept these assurances of our Prime Minister on the particular point in question.

III. Indian Subjects and British Nationality

I shall now say a few words in regard to the status of Indian citizens under the Commonwealth Agreement. It has been argued by some critics of this Agreement that Indian citizens will continue to be British subjects even when India has become a *sovereign, independent Republic*. This view seems to be erroneous. The critics forget that the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914 has been considerably amended,[6] and the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Acts of 1918, 1922, 1933 and 1943 have been altogether repealed,[7] by the British Nationality Act, 1948, which has come into force with effect from the 1st of January, 1949. And the British Nationality Act, 1948, cannot apply to India as it has not so far been extended thereto by any law of the Legislature of the Dominion of India, as required by Sub-Section (4)[8] of Section 6 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947. Further, under the following provisions of the British Nationality Act, 1948, which give a new definition of British nationality, the expression "India" means not India as she has been since the 15th of August, 1947, but "British India" as defined by Section 311 of the (original) Government of India Act, 1935 :

Sec. "1—(1) Every person who under this Act is a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies or who under any enactment for the time being in force in any country mentioned in sub-section (3) of this section is a citizen of that country shall by virtue of that citizenship have the status of a British subject.

"(2) Any person having the status aforesaid may be known either as a British subject or as a Commonwealth citizen; and accordingly in this Act and in any other enactment or instrument whatever, whether passed or made before or after the Commencement of this Act, the expression "British subject" and the "Commonwealth citizen" shall have the same meaning.

4. Italics are mine.

5. India's recognition of the Government of the People's Republic of China, in advance of any other Commonwealth country and notwithstanding the present, uncertain American policy towards China, is a proof of the fact that India is free today to pursue her foreign policy as she thinks fit both in her own interests and in the interests of humanity.

6. Among others, Sections one to sixteen of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, have been repealed. Section 1 of this Act gave a definition of natural-born British subjects. That definition does not hold good now as the Section has been repealed.

7. With this exception only that some provisional arrangements have been made for Newfoundland and Southern Rhodesia.—*See* Section 34 of the British Nationality Act, 1948.

8. It runs as follows : "No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed on or after the appointed day shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions (*i.e.*, India and Pakistan) as part of the law of that Dominion unless it is extended thereto by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion."

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"(3) The following are the countries hereinbefore referred to, that is to say, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Newfoundland, India, Pakistan, Southern Rhodesia and Ceylon.

Section "32—(1) In this Act[9], unless the context otherwise requires . . . 'Colony' does not include any country mentioned in sub-section (3)[10] of Section one of this Act . . .

"(4) Any reference in this Act[11] to India, being a reference to a state of affairs existing before the fifteenth day of August, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, shall be construed as a reference to British India[12] as defined by section three hundred and eleven of the Government of India Act, 1935."

It is evident from the above that a citizen of India as she is now, have not the status of a British subject.[13] Whatever may have been the position before, this appears to be the latest legal position. *A fortiori* the citizens of the *sovereign, independent Republic* of India cannot be British subjects. The nature of the Commonwealth of Nations will be that of a mere alliance, for mutual advantages, between the sovereign, independent Republic of India, the United Kingdom and the Dominions. Juristically speaking, the Republican India will be a foreign State[14] in relation to the United Kingdom as she will, as we have seen before, cease to owe any allegiance to the Crown and will have no connexion with the British Parliament. As I have already stated, the Commonwealth Agreement has no legal significance since it is not based upon any law, and the Commonwealth will not be a Super-State. Whatever, therefore, may be the position of India and her people in relation to the Crown and the British Parliament before she formally declares herself a sovereign, independent Republic, the moment she makes this Declaration, all her legal connexions with them will automatically terminate except when it is otherwise authorized by the new Constitution of India itself for the transitional period, and the citizens of India will be the subjects of the Indian State alone and will cease to be British subjects. This will be the position in law. But this does not mean, however, that there cannot be any new special arrangements on a voluntary and reciprocal basis, as between India and the other members of the Commonwealth.[15] But that is a different matter altogether, not within the purview of this Paper.*

9. *I.e.*, the British Nationality Act, 1948.

10. Previously quoted.

11. The British Nationality Act, 1948.

12. "British India" meant all territories for the time being, comprised within the Governors' Provinces and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces.—*See* Section 311 of the (original) Government of India Act, 1935.

13. This follows from the British Nationality Act, 1948, although it may appear to be a debatable point.

14. Conversely, under clause (3) of Section 367 of the (new) Constitution of India "any State other than India" will, ordinarily be a foreign State for us.

15. The recent enactment of the India (Consequential Provisions) Act, 1949, by the British Parliament, is presumably a move in this direction. Also see, in this connexion, the proviso to clause (3) of Section 367 of the (new) Constitution of India.

* A paper read on 30th December, 1949, at the 12th Session of the Indian Political Science Conference, held at Madras under the auspices of the University there.

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IN THE LANDS OF HITLER AND MUSSOLINI

By Principal S. N. AGARWAL

It was with considerable difficulty that I could obtain the necessary visa for Berlin, although the Allied Military Permit for the British, French and American zones was quite an easy affair. Since I had been travelling mostly by air, I decided to go by train from Zurich to Frankfurt. The German trains are usually crowded, and the third class is as bad as that of the Indian Railways. On both sides of the railway line I could see hundreds of bombed houses throughout this long journey. Owing to scarcity of rain-fall the crops were withering away and the whole countryside presented a dull, dry and dilapidated appearance. It was possible to get hardly anything to eat on the way except bad ice-cream and some peaches.

Frankfurt is the administrative Head Quarters of the French, British and American zones of Germany. It was heavily bombed during the last war. Wiesbaden, where I stayed for a few days, is a delightful summer resort with famous sulphur springs. Here I could visit a few educational institutions and get a glimpse of the beautiful Rhine Valley with old castles and green vineyards. The Indian Consul advised me to go by air from Frankfurt to Berlin because trains have to pass through the Russian zone which, more often than not, means unexpected and endless trouble and harassment for the travellers. I ultimately did get a taste of the Russian zone while travelling from Berlin to Prague. Although the driver and myself had our necessary visas with us, the Russian soldier bluntly stopped us with the remark that the car had no special permit. All arguments were futile, because the Russian military does not seem to believe in any discussion. So we had to walk about six furlongs with our luggage and just managed to catch our plane for Czechoslovakia.

Berlin is now a heap of ruins; about sixty per cent of the city buildings were heavily bombed during the last phase of the World War. The Amer

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cans were trying hard to clear the debris and rebuild Berlin. But it appears to be almost an impossible task. The German capital is still divided into four zones, the French, British, American and Russian. Transport in the first three zones is not difficult ; people can pass from one zone to another without any checking by the police or military. But going to the Russian zone is a veritable trial. You could surely thank your stars if you come back safely without any untoward happening. I was told that kidnapping of persons, including their cars, was a daily occurrence in the Russian sector. The Indian Military Mission had arranged to take us to the Russian sector in a car of the British Embassy, and so there was, fortunately, no trouble. We could have a look at the ruins of Hitler's Chancery, Goebelles' Offices and Hitler's famous Balcony. The last air-raid shelter where the Fuhrer is believed to have electrocuted himself was also shown to us from a distance. A visit to the Olympic Stadium was reminiscent of the past glory of Hitler and Germany ; it is now lying unused and, perhaps, haunted by the ghosts of many Nazi leaders.

The economic condition of Germany is extremely hard and pathetic. Owing to large-scale bombing, the housing problem has assumed serious proportions. In Berlin, sometimes one could find several families huddled together in one room. About 35 per cent of the people are unemployed because of industrial disorganisation and destruction of German factories. But the employed persons have to pay a tax of 25 per cent on their monthly incomes for the maintenance of the unemployed. The Americans get fancy articles for sale in Berlin. Many German men and women standing before the show-windows of American shops without the purchasing power for satisfying their needs was a very common but tragic sight in Berlin. A few months back, the old currency which was highly inflated was scrapped, and every German, rich or poor, was given 40 marks to re-start his earthly existence. So the Allies can be given the credit of launching "Communism" of their new brand in the land of Hitler. The result is economic depression and very low purchasing power among the people. Conditions in the Russian zone were much worse ; the East German mark was equivalent to only one-fifth of the West mark. But there were no rigid restrictions on the flow of commodities from the West to the East.

Despite all these hardships, the spirit of the German nation appeared to be unbroken. They were not repentant of the doings of their Fuhrer, and the common people believed that he had succeeded in doing for their economic welfare what nobody else could ever do. If Hitler were to appear again people would implicitly follow him without any hesitation. The Germans are, by nature, extraordinarily hard-working, thorough and disciplined ; but they require a hero to order and direct them. On the eve of the general elections of Western Germany the people were openly abusing the Americans and other Allied powers in the press and on platform for having unthinkingly destroyed their fatherland. Hitler was determined to destroy Communism in Soviet Russia, but the United Nations stabbed him in the back. Now the United States of America and Great Britain are over-anxious to check the gushing tide of Communism in Europe and seek the help of Germans in this uphill task. The Germans, therefore, regard the Americans as puerile and short-sighted in politics and international affairs. "If you really desire our help in destroying Communism, first rebuild our country, hand over complete political power to us, stop dismantling our factories, and then we will consider"—this is the typical feeling of the average German today. The Americans, are, at present, 'humouring' the Germans because their immediate interest is to wipe out Soviet Russia. They are actively encouraging the old Nazi elements in their inordinate anxiety to annihilate Communism. This is a tragedy of the highest order, and the world seems to be destined to tear itself between Fascism and Communism on the royal road to complete destruction.

In Mussolini's land also the economic conditions were far from satisfactory. There was mass unemployment and scarcity of consumer-goods. Black-market and corruption were rampant throughout the country. There is no business morality among the Italians ; they try to fleece the tourists to the maximum. Their cities are comparatively dirty and unclean. There is laziness and indiscipline in their national life. For example, all shops in Italy are closed between 1 and 4 p.m. during the day ; the people after lunch regularly sleep for a few hours. They are bad businessmen into the bargain. But they are highly artistic people in the sphere of painting, stone mosaic work, leather-ware, glass-ware and marble sculpture. The Art Galleries of Florence, Rome and Naples are world-famous. The Leaning Tower of Pisa is a marvel of architecture and engineering skill.

The existing Catholic Government in Italy was not popular because it had failed to tackle the economic problem satisfactorily. The Communists are still very active and form the strongest single party in the country. The Americans are, therefore, afraid that Communists might come into the power at the next general elections because they missed the last elections only by a very narrow margin. Marshall Aid is being popularised in Italy in order to wean away Mussolini's people from the 'Red' menace. But the Italians did not seem to be much impressed by Uncle Sam's Aid, and they believed that the Americans were only trying to smother Italian capital-goods industries under the cloak of Marshall Aid. I had the privilege of meeting the Pope in his summer capital, Castel Gandolfo, about forty miles from Rome. The Pope is an eminent scholar and possesses an impressive personality as the Head of the Roman Catholic faith.

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Although the present Catholic regime tries to belittle everything that was in any way connected with Mussolini, it is actively encouraging the old Fascist forces to align themselves against the danger of Communism in Italy. The administration of the State through the Police and the Military is day by day leading towards Fascism, though everybody glibly talks of saving democracy from the clutches of totalitarianism. The United States of America is professing to teach "democracy" to Japan, Germany and Italy. But, Uncle Sam, both at home and abroad is over-anxious to array the forces of Fascism against the "Red" danger. This is a tale too deep for tears.

——:O:——

THE QUESTION OF AGRICULTURAL FINANCE IN WEST BENGAL IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

By Prof. GOBINDA CHANDRA MANDAL, M.A.

The question of agricultural finance was never before so important as now when the nation is thinking intensively in terms of Planning for self-sufficiency in food and an increase in the agricultural production on the whole. An agriculturist is required to borrow funds for meeting the expenses of current agricultural operations, for purchasing land, for purchasing cattle, for improving agriculture and also to a considerable extent for meeting his own consumption needs.

An investigation conducted by the writer in 1947 into the economic condition of 138 peasant families selected at random in the district of Bankura reveals the following position regarding their indebtedness :

Classes of families	*Average amount of indebtedness of each class*
With holdings from 2 to 3 acres	Rs. 53 8 0
With holdings from 3 to 5 acres	„ 93 8 0
With holdings from 5 to 7 acres	„ 160 12 0
With holdings from 7 to 8 acres	„ 150 0 0
With holdings from 8 to 10 acres	„ 21 0 0

Now it has been reported by the Floud Commission that families with holdings up to 10 acres constitute 92.3 per cent of the total number of agricultural families. Considering this fact with the statistics given above we find that at least 92.3 per cent of the agricultural families are badly in need of credit for financing their work or meeting deficits in their domestic budgets.

Debt-settlement measures have discouraged private money-lending considerably in recent times. The agriculturists, therefore, have to look for finance to other agencies, such as commercial or co-operative banks. Annual Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the Presidency of Bengal for the year ending 30th June, 1947* gives the following statistics regarding the growth of agricultural credit societies in West Bengal :

Number of societies	9,489
Number of members	212,219
Working capital	Rs. 101.18 lakhs
Loans made to individuals during the year	Rs. 1,812,297

There are only 2 land-mortgage banks having members numbering 1,038 and a working capital of Rs. 4.38 lakhs. In respect of land-mortgage banks West Bengal is lagging far behind other provinces, *e.g.*, Madras, Bombay, C.P. and Berar, etc. Thus Bombay has 16 land-mortgage Societies and a provincial land-mortgage bank working successfully. Madras has 119 Primary land-mortgage banks and a Central land-mortgage bank. There are 21 Primary land-mortgage banks in C. P. and Berar.[1] The utter inadequacy of financial provisions created by the co-operative societies in West Bengal is quite evident.

During the latter part of the war period and in the post-war period a rise in agricultural prices more than in proportion to the rise in industrial prices has certainly led to an accumulation of purchasing power in the hands of the peasants or farmers possessing large holdings. Accordingly, their deposits with commercial banks have increased to some extent. But they have also utilized a considerable portion of their savings in purchasing and storing gold. The commercial banks receive funds from rural areas but extend credit facilities only in negligible amount to villagers. For all these reasons the growth of surplus funds in the rural sector of our economy has not gone a long way towards redressing the financial difficulties of the poor peasants who constitute the bulk of the agricultural community. This shows lack of organization. The commercial banks and even the Central Co-operative Banks do not think it worth their while to supply credit in adequate amount to the rural areas on account of the heavy cost of collecting back the loans. It is not difficult to understand their point in view of the fact that during 1946-47 only 43.7 per cent

* Published in 1948.

1. *The Indian and Pakistan Year Book*, 1948, p. 353.

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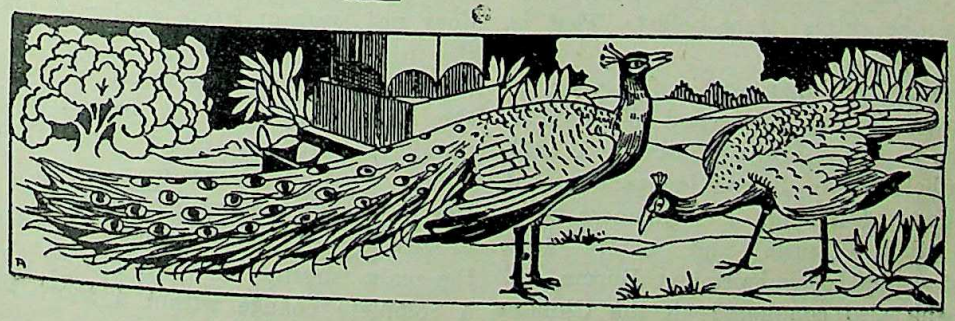
of the loans granted by the Central Co-operative Banks to the member Societies was recovered and that 71.2 per cent of the loans granted by the Primary Societies to their members fell overdue.[2]

In view of all that has been stated here it appears that a thorough reorientation of state-policy regarding agricultural credit is vitally necessary at the present moment. Agricultural credit should no longer be treated as mainly a matter of voluntary or co-operative effort. The lacuna in this field has to be overcome by the Government with their own efforts. There is no denying the fact that up till now we have failed in the task or rather we have not devoted our efforts sufficiently to the task of pooling the monetary resources which have accumulated in the rural areas in the war and in the post-war period and harnessing them to an overall planning for agricultural progress. The pooling of monetary resources of the rural areas has been treated as a general problem connected with the anti-inflationary programme of the Government and the economic development of the country in general. Here it is discussed with particular reference to the problem of agricultural finance. It is a well-known fact that Savings Campaign as a part of the anti-inflationary programme has not achieved much success. This means that National Savings Certificates or other Government Bonds have got little attraction for the villagers who hoard their surplus funds in the form of gold or are inclined to increase their spending on consumption. It cannot be denied that villagers have been accustomed to the consumption of luxuries, *e.g.* scented oil, toilet, finer cloth, torch-light, malted milk, etc., during the latter part of the war-period and in the post-war period. In such circumstances the need for launching a special drive for savings in the rural areas must have to be emphasized. It is high time for India to have a specialized national institution like Agricultural Credit Corporation as an integral part of such a programme ; each of the provinces also should have a similar institution linked up with the national one. Such institutions may be modelled on the Industrial Finance Corporation which has been brought into being by the Dominion Parliament in 1948.

It is worth considering whether a Provincial Agricultural Credit Corporation can be started in West Bengal where a "go slow" policy is being pursued in respect of even small irrigation projects for lack of financial resources. The Government should own at least 50 per cent of the shares issued by the Corporation. The Government also should guarantee the return of capital and payment of interest in the case of debentures or bonds floated by the Corporation. The Government should guarantee the return of capital and payment of a minimum dividend in the case of share money also. The Corporation should have branches in all subdivisional towns and unions. Their business will be to receive deposits from rural areas, popularize and sell the debentures of the Corporation through vigorous campaign and finance both current agricultural operations and projects of agricultural improvement under the supervision of the board of diretcors located in the provincial head-quarters. A substantial proportion of the loans should be supplied in kind, that is in the form of seeds, manures, oilcakes, agricultural implements and in the form of direct payment for irrigation or other improvement projects, rather than simply in the form of cash. The branches should be run by efficient and well-paid officers with the assistance of advisory bodies consisting of local men. Under such a plan the funds collected from rural areas will definitely flow into those areas rendering tangible benefit to agriculture and some indirect services to the general cause of rural upliftment ; as such the debentures of the corporation are likely to earn a larger measure of popularity in villages in comparison with other bonds, if, of course, there is no lack of the requisite drive and villagers are given to understand that the proceeds of those debentures would be invested in agriculture. Co-oprative Societies can be expected to achieve some measure of success only when some tangible improvement of agriculture and the lot of the poor peasants has been carried out through concerted drive for agricultural finance. If material resources and the requisite man-power are available, there is no reason why lack of financial facilities which is much talked of now-a-days should stand in the way of progress. The very tendency of monetary resources to accumulate in the rural sector of our economy opens up new possibilities of agricultural finance. The problem of tapping these possibilities is one of effective organization and unremitting drive.

2. Annual Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the Presidency of Bengal for the year ending 30th June, 1947, pp. 6-7.



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BRITISH RULE IN BURMA

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKERJI, M.A.,
Head of the Department of History, University College, Mandalay

Burma—the traditional land of peacocks and pagodas—lost her independence as a result of the three Anglo-Burmese Wars in 1824-26, in 1852 and in 1885—Arakan and Tenasserim in 1826, Pegu in 1852 and the rest in 1886. In the latter half of the 19th century Burma had become a pawn in the Anglo-French game for supremacy in the Far East and the complete absorption of the country by the English was the outcome.

Till 1937 Burma was ruled as a province of England's empire in India. But in that year Burma was separated from India. The reason given for the step was Burma's unwillingness to remain united with India. Truth to tell, a section of Burmese political opinion wanted separation and expressed their desire in no uncertain terms. But the actual causes go far deeper. British commercial interests were in favour of separation as that would give them better opportunities for the exploitation of Burma. In 1937, Indian merchants in Burma had already begun to prove themselves formidable rivals of the English. If Burma were separated from India, immigration of Indians to that country and their rights therein could be restricted on the ground that they were aliens. This would lead to their ultimate elimination leaving the British mercantile community virtual dictator of Burma's economic life. The policy of the elimination of Indians from all spheres of life was launched after separation and still continues with unabated vigour with disastrous consequences. In the second place, the daily increasing intensity of India's national aspirations was giving a headache to the ruling clique in England. None knew better than they that soon they would have to quit India. Unless Burma was separated from India before that, that too would be lost. Moreover, because of Indian connection political movements in India invariably reacted on Burma's political life. Awakening of Burma's political consciousness had already begun. The rulers hoped that by severing the links between India and Burma they could retard national aspirations of the latter. Hence, the separation of Burma in 1937. The hopes of the rulers were belied. That is, however, another story.

Burma was overrun by Japan within five years of separation from India. During the second World War, Rangoon fell to the Japanese army on March 8, 1942. Within a month whole Lower Burma lay prostrate at the feet of the cohorts of Nippon. The Japanese army continued its northward push and before long Mandalay, the last capital of independent Burma, fell to the invaders, who also conquered all the Chinese outposts in Central Burma and in the Shan plateau. After the fall of Lashio in April, Chinese troops in Burma crossed the frontier and retired to China. The English army retreated to India. General Stilwell, the American Commander of the Chinese expeditionary force to Burma, followed suit. It was later widely circulated in Chinese army circles that from India the General had wired to Chunking to ask where the Chinese troops were. Military unpreparedness of the English coupled with widespread anti-British and pro-Japanese sentiments accounts for Japan's spectacular triumphs and British debacle in Burma.

On January 28, 1943, General Tojo, the Japanese Prime Minister, announced over the radio that Japan had decided to "grant freedom" to Burma. On August 1, Burma declared independence and at the same time declared war against England and the U. S. A. A new constitution, consisting, in all, of 64 clauses laid down *inter alia,* "Burma shall be ruled over by the Head of the State who shall have full sovereign status and power." Dr. Ba Maw became the Head of the State (Naing-ngan-daw Adipadi). Needless to say, real powers were in the hands of the Japanese military authorities, Dr. Ba Maw being a stooge.

After the re-conquest of Burma in 1945, England decided to quit the country and this she actually did. Burma declared independence on January 4, 1948.

That Burma has been benefited by more than a century of British connection cannot be gainsaid. That British rule has done great disservice to her is still more emphatically true. The country was developed but only as much as was necessary to serve the end of an alien imperialism, to facilitate exploitation. The harm done by British rule to Burma and her people has been incalculable. They still suffer from the evil effects of political serfdom and there is no knowing when, if at all, the wounds inflicted by British Imperialism on Burma will be healed. Independent Burma seems to have made an inauspicious start. Her performance so far is not encouraging. It does not warrant even moderate optimism regarding the future of the country.

When in 1826 as a result of the Treaty Yandabo the East India Company helped itself to a big slice of Burma proper—Arakan and Tenasserim—she was almost wholly isolated from the rest of the world. Her only export deserving notice was a small quantity of teak. The English connection switched her on to the main currents of world history and brought about a complete change within a short time. Old tra

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restrictions were abolished. The people were encouraged to use imported goods in ever-increasing quantities. Expansion of trade meant more money in the hands of the people, which they spent largely on foreign goods. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 brought the East and the West in closer contact. Flow-in and flow-out of merchandise became easier and quicker, and transport, cheaper. These in their turn powerfully re-acted on Burma's economic life. The demand for Burma rice increased. Towards the close of the 19th century British capitalists directed their attention and energies to exploiting the considerable mineral resources of Burma. Her total exports were valued at Rs. 654,700,000 in 1926-27. Later on, due to the world-slump there was a fall in the exports which remained at a low level for several years. In 1936-37, when the end of the slump was in sight, Burma's export figures almost reached the pre-slump figures and were valued at Rs. 555,270,000.

Under British rule Burma's foreign trade was almost wholly in the hands of the English. Ninety per cent of the foreign capital invested in Burma was British-owned. The economic life of the country was regulated by English business interests. Before the Ottawa Agreements of 1932 England traded with Burma on terms and conditions analogous to those applicable to other foreign countries. The Agreements inaugurated an era of preferential treatment for England and the Empire-countries.

That Burmese administration and traditional Burmese society were purged of many evils during English rule cannot be gainsaid. The principle of the economic liberty of the masses was recognised. The Rule of Law was introduced. Students of history must however guard against the error of thinking that British rule was an unmixed blessing for Burma in these respects. It dragged down the natural leaders of society to the level of the commoner. The traditional village and social organisations fell to pieces. National religion no longer enjoyed the patronage of the State. Education of the children was regarded as a social duty in pre-British Burma. In the days of slavery this sense was weakened almost to the point of extinction. These changes, however, did not come in a day or two. They extended over a long period and made their way almost imperceptibly. The Burmans themselves were at first wholly unaware of the process of social disintegration. The new wine of economic independnce unknown in the days of kings had intoxicated the nation. It was universally acclaimed. The glamour of the West cast a spell, as it were, over the genius of the nation and paralysed it. A similar catastrophe was once about to engulf us in India when we stood at one of the most critical junctures of our history. Pull down the temples, consign the scriptures to flames—these were the slogans raised. Violation of time-honoured customs for its own sake became the fashion of the day. Thanks to the hoary antiquity and splendid vitality of Indian culture, we did not loose our moorings. We shook off the torpor and came to our senses. Burmese civilisation, compared to the Indian, is but a child and is of a definitely inferior type. The impact of the West has therefore resulted in the Burmans being greatly denationalized.

Economic freedom and equality before law, indispensable as they are for building up a society on stable foundations, are not an unmixed blessing in the present stage of human evolution. As the English writer Blake puts it, "One law for the lion and the ox is oppression." Economic independence in a society divided into classes means the freedom of the haves to order things as they like—to hold the have-nots in social, political and economic serfdom and to build their own edifice of prosperity on the bones of the less fortunate millions. Economic freedom for these latter in the present social set-up means only the freedom of starvation. Under British rule the Burmese masses, freed from the slavery of feudal lords, were enchained in new meshes. They fell into the clutches of foreign money-lenders. British laws were all in favour of the foreign vampires. The masses were sacrificed at the altar of class-interests.

The break-down of the traditional economic organisation, the substitution of a new one in its place led to widespread economic anarchy. Religion and social structure were undermined and both decayed. The tempo of disintegration was accelerated with the passage of time. The products of Burma's fine arts as well as industrial arts yielded more and more ground to those imported from England. Indigenous amusements and recreations fell off favour. In a word, an all-round degeneration and disintegration threatened traditional Burma. Steadily accumulating debts, increasing expropriation, periodic unemployment, a low proportion of luxury goods in imports, a lower consumption of rice—all these pointed to the fact that Burma was rushing headlong towards bankruptcy. There was a steady influx of fortune-seekers from abroad. Self-interest was the only god to whom they paid homage. Any means was good to them so long as it served their ends. They grew richer and richer every day at the expense of Burma and the Burmans.

Mr. J. S. Furnivall points out, "British rule only opened up Burma to the world and not the world to Burma." (*Colonial Policy and Practice*, p. 214). It did not put a stop to the steady decline of her culture. Nor did it succeed in planting Western culture in the Burmese soil. The vacuum thus created is still there. Ever-increasing discontent notwithstanding, the Burmese for long did not even think of challenging his British suzerain.

The shock of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) did much to awaken the suppressed nationalities of the Eastern world from their slumber. It acted as an

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eye-opener to Burma, among others. It demonstrated that an Asian people could be match for forces that a European power could bring against them. In common with many an Asian country Burma noticed how with the help of modern science an Asian people could get the better of a European. The discontent against foreign rule in Burma would so long express itself in minor revolts here and there. As a general rule these were confined to ignorant and superstitious masses. The classes scrupulously held aloof. But the Russo-Japanese War brought about a re-orientation of outlook. Many of the educated gentry began to think that national re-awakening would follow education. From now on the leaders began to emphasize the supreme need of the spread of education. Attempts were made in this direction. But discipline was neglected from the beginning. Hence, national regeneration through education fell far short of expectations.

The bureaucratic administration in the meanwhile was holding the nation in its grip. It was asphyxiating the nation like an incubus. It had neither time nor inclination to help Burma realize her newly awakened aspirations or to give a sympathetic consideration to them.

The Dyarchy set up in Burma in 1923 might give the people the much-needed training in the art of self-government and thus prepare them for political freedom. Nothing was done. The 1923 Reforms with their communal electorates accentuated sectional and communal animosities. In the meanwhile the zero hour for a show-down between Burma's nascent nationalism and Britain's capitalist Imperialism had been drawing closer. The astute rulers of the country took advantage of the communal situation and applied the age-old imperialist device of *divide et impera*. Anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist sentiments were cleverly and successfully diverted to anti-Indian channels. This accounts for the anti-Indian riots in Burma and general anti-Indian attitudes of the Burmans towards the end of the British rule. It takes two to make a quarrel and no impartial observer can wholly exonerate the Indians from responsibility for the Indo-Burman bitterness which still smoulders.

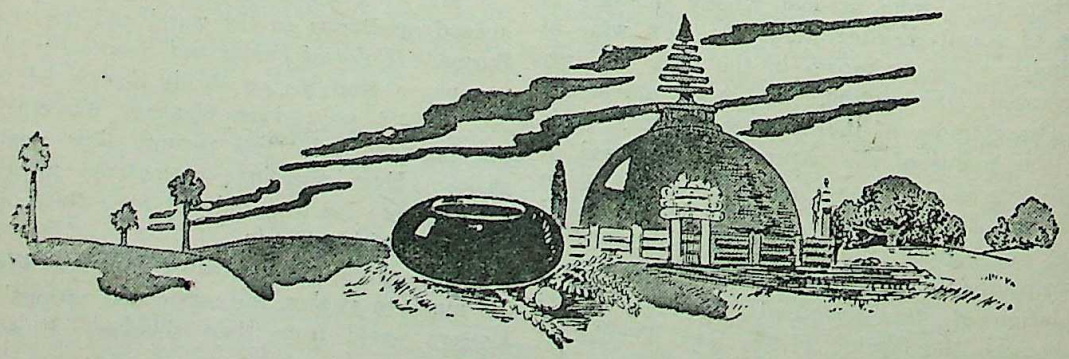
Merciless exploitation of the land and her people under a capitalistic economic set-up was going on all the while. Burglary, murder, robbery and other serious crimes were on the increase. The following table speaks for itself :

Year	Per million people: Dacoity	Per million people: Murder
1901-05	6.3	26.5
1906-10	9.4	32.0
1911-15	14.6	39.0
1916-20	17.9	42.9
1921-25	36.0	53.2
1926-30	31.9	59.7
1931	Rebellion	
1933-38	32.7	55.6*

In Burma under the kings the people were kept down. They were paid no wages and were subjected to forced labour. They had to wear coarse clothes. Officials above were allowed to wear finery. Drinking was indulged in by upper-class Burmans ; but prohibition was the general rule for the commoner. Under British rule all these factors disappeared. Burma was partially industrialised by the English. But unchecked industrial development has a tendency to be anti-social. In a sovereign country this tendency is held in leash by the conservative forces in society. In colonies and dependencies, with the break-down of the old society under the impact of foreign conquest, these forces cease to exist. The anti-social tendencies have, therefore, a full and free play. The Irrawaddy Delta where three-fourths of the crops grown are exported and the population consists, by and large, of landless labourers, "leaderless men," is the most criminal area in Burma.

In the later days of British rule the 'phongyis', *i.e.*, Buddhist monks, became more and more restless. The increase in crimes, the general restlessness prevailing in the church are, in the last analysis, the symptoms of a canker eating into the vitals of the body-politic. A little over a century of alien rule succeeded in breaking down the old social organisation but nothing new was built up to take the place of the old. That is the tragedy of Burma today.

* These figures are taken from *British Rule in Burma* by G. E. Harvey.



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AMERICAN INVESTMENTS *VERSUS* FOREIGN POLICY

By SARATHINATH SET, M.A.

The students and teachers of world affairs have perhaps been familiar with 'foreign capital' as a means of world economic development. The post-war Europe and the less well-developed countries of Asia are in need of foreign assistance. The statesmen the world over reluctantly accept the foreign aid of one kind or the other so that the shape of things to come may not hamper the real cause. The rehabilitation of Western Europe and the problems of the Far East have been uppermost in the minds of the U.S. statesmen for various reasons. The U.S. foreign policy *vis-a-vis* foreign investments vitally affects the shape of things to come for mankind. The U.S. attitude to the promotion of vital interests of the peoples of Asia as a whole similarly has been uppermost in the minds of the statesmen of the less well-developed regions like India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and South-East Asia. The high lights of the U.S. investments abroad *vis-a-vis* foreign policy have been of tremendous interest to the students of world affairs to-day.

The less fortunately placed countries with interests common to one another, either in Europe or in the Far East, cannot remain unaffected by the powerful forces aided and abetted by the financial assistance in the international plane. It is perhaps well-known that between July 1, 1945 and June 30, 1948 financial assistance to foreign countries by the United States amounted to $21,219 million including $3,592 million or roughly 17 per cent supplied from private sources. In 1947, the total outflow of private long-term investment capital from the United States was $501 million, exclusive of the purchase of $243 million of International Bank debentures. New loans totalling $153 million were less than half the total of outstanding foreign loans retired and repatriated. Long-term banking claims on foreigners increased to $76 million, direct investments abroad (net) to $666 million, although a special type of investment, the purchase of ships for the use of American-owned foreign-flag operators, accounted for $124 million of that total. Investments in the petroleum industry, exclusive of additions to tanker fleets, totalled $353 million. More than two-thirds of the petroleum investments were made in Venezuela and the Middle East. Of the investments other than those in the petroleum and shipping fields, 40 per cent were made in Brazil and Argentine. (Data in this paragraph are based on *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, August 21, 1948, "Movement of Private U. S. Capital to Foreign Countries.")

This concentration of new investments in the petroleum industry is significant because it shows that, when safety of principal and the possibilities of profit are combined, large investments follow. As an indication of the magnitude of their operations representatives of the industry recently stated that the oil companies contemplate investing about $1,750 million in the Middle Eastern companies in the next five years. (*New York Times*, December 8, 1948 : A statement attributed to executives of the Arabian-American Oil Company and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company).

Similarly, the *New York Times*, December 20, 1948 reports that steel companies in the United States are developing properties in Venezuela which by late 1949 will be valued at about $60 million. Below is given a table showing the American-owned assets in foreign countries :

Estimates of American-owned Assets in Foreign Countries—End of 1939, 1945 and 1947 :

(In millions of dollars)

Type of Assets	1939	1945	1947
Private Investments			
Long-term			
Direct Investments	6,750	7,600	9,400
Other Investments	6,100	7,200	5,700
Total, Long-term investments	12,850	14,800	15,100
Short-term investments	1,050	900	1,600
Total private investments	13,900	15,700	16,700
U.S. Government Assets			
Long term	40	1,600	11,700
Short term	—	—	400
Total U. S. Govt. Assets	40	1,600	12,100
Total American-owned Assets	13,940	17,300	28,800

Note : The 1939 and 1945 data were taken from Treasury Department, *Census of American-owned Assets in Foreign Countries*, 1947, p. 9. The 1947 data are from Department of Commerce, Press Release OBE —142, August 26, 1948. "United States Investments Abroad."

It is clear from the above table that government loans and credits to foreign countries rose from a negligible figure in 1939 to more than $1,600 million at the end of 1945 and then, as post-war lending really expanded, rose again in two years to $12,100 million at the end of 1947. The latter total included about

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$3,400 million subscribed to the Bretton Woods Organisations. At the same time, total private investments increased from $13,900 million at the end of 1939 to $16,700 million at the end of 1947. Most of the increase in private investments, be it noted, has been direct investments in Latin America and the Near East. The increase in government-owned foreign assets exclusive of the subscriptions to the Fund and the Bank has been mostly in Europe, particularly as a result of the loans to the United Kingdom and France.

It must be emphasised that the pre-war American-owned foreign investments were made in the industrially advanced areas, U.K., Germany and Canada for certain reasons, political or economic or both. It is however no less true that American investments in the less well-developed areas were greater than in Europe, proportionally to total capital investments (the capital equipment of the country—domestic and foreign-owned). American holdings of non-controlling interests in the securities of European and Canadian corporations were much larger than in those of Latin American corporations or those of Asia and other under-developed countries, both in terms of value and proportionally to total American-owned assets in those areas.

It is to be noted that the government investments in foreign countries have a different motivation other than financial returns. The U.S. investment in foreign countries is no exception to the rule. It is evident that there has been intention to make the loan more palatable politically in the home country of the lender. History says that the investments of the British Government in the Near East oil-fields have been made to further political ends—to control sources of fuel needed by the Royal Navy. The fact that the investments have been profitable is fortunate but not determining. The United States government invested heavily in manganese production in Cuba, not because of any chances of profits, but because supplies of that metal were needed during the war, regardless of cost. The British investments in the Suez Canal and the American investments in the Panama Canal are examples of a somewhat earlier period. Both facilitated trade, both were implements of national defence. (*Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. LXIV, "Private Foreign Investments : A Means of World Economic Development" by William Harvey Reeves and Paul D. Dickens, p. 217.).

There is no doubt today that the American assistance in foreign countries cannot by itself restore the position of political and economic equilibrium over the three continents. The trend of American foreign policy since her victory over a moribund Spain fifty years ago aims at moulding her destiny in such a way that European power-politicians may not disturb the peace of the globe. It is not difficult to follow that the Monroe Doctrine is a step to accelerate powerful forces already in operation. The American sovereignty over the Philippines marks a startling development in American policy. It is a fact that the U. S. had acquired acutely sensitive nerves concerning the destinies of the Pacific, just as even earlier, she had grown feline antenna concerning Latin America. The events of history began to move very fast and European power-pattern began to upset the rise of new imperialism in any part of the globe at the dictates of powerful Britain and France with their far-flung overseas empires. But the U. S. policy still continues to remain highly sensitive concerning the destinies of the Pacific and Latin America. But the tide of events could not rest there. American interventionist tactics became increasingly effective in changing the *status quo* of European affairs. It may not be out of mark here to point out that Theodore Roosevelt, speaking to a distinguished German diplomatist in 1911, said :

> "As long as England succeeds in keeping up the balance of power in Europe, not only on principles but in reality, well and good. Should she however for some reason or other fail in doing so, the United States would be obliged to step in at least temporarily, in order to re-establish the balance of power in Europe, never mind against which country or group of countries our efforts may have to be directed. In fact, we ourselves are becoming, owing to our strength and geographical situation, more and more the balance of power of the whole globe."

It is in the context of the above statement that the later course of American policy develops itself fully. Today American interests in European balance of power are perhaps the beginning of greater tasks ahead. The Americans feel that their stake in Europe is and always has been greater, infinitely greater, than their stake in the Far East. In the context of the present situation that global politics may not continue to upset the position of equilibrium, it is inevitable that U. S. stake in Europe is part of their stake in the Far East, for as Americans believe, the Far East is only the backdoor of Europe. Moreover, it is common knowledge that for three centuries or more the destinies of the world, including those of the Far East, have been settled on the battlefield or at the council tables of Europe. The sea-lanes of the Atlantic, in peace and war, have been historically of more critical national interest to the Americans than the broad reaches of the Pacific. The two world wars have shown once more that the Americans are more interested in defence of the coastal states of Western Europe and their insular and continental possessions in the Atlantic basin, or for that matter, their African continental possessions. (From January 1, 1913, to July 31, 1940, the *New York Times* index lists the French port of Dakar a total of four times. It appeared 49 times during the balance of 1940 and 67 times in 1941—in the latter years almost exclusively

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in connection with its importance to the security of the United States.)

Very recently, the Report of February 25, 1948, of the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations, says :

"The American people, victorious in battle, look out upon a world disrupted by war and shaken by its aftermath. Our efforts to win back to peace have induced unswerving support of the United Nations as well as generous assistance to foreign countries in need of aid."

It is well-known to students of history and politics that for a century after 1814 with the exception of the decade 1907-1917 one of the principal concerns of British policy was to resist Russian expansion along the whole periphery of the Russian Empire, to resist by diplomacy, moral influence, economic pressure, and if necessary by armed force. In so doing Britain was of course serving her own interests but she incidentally was serving purposes other than her own. The world knows that the Americans have inherited the former British responsibility of holding back Russian imperialism and that of replacing it by dollar diplomacy. The spread of American imperialism naturally coincides with the generous assistance of far-reaching consequences to Greece, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Iran and other areas of potential trouble looming just in the horizon. The story does not end there. The "Truman Doctrine", the Marshall Plan and the prospective military alliance with the Western European nations are a recognition of the fact that the American defensive frontiers lie along the Rhine and the Alps and the Elbe. It is a strong current of misgivings and misapprehensions on the shape of things to come over the entire global politics. Today the Economic Recovery Programme is very much in the news, perhaps rightly so as it should be. It is true that E.R.P. is intelligent statecraft founded upon an enlightened self-interest. It is unfortunate that it is concerned among other things with helping the Western European states to resist Soviet subversion or aggression. It is rather perplexing that the Americans as a nation have become war-minded in an unusual manner. The ratification of the Atlantic Pact by an overwhelming majority in the United States Senate is a sign of the same nervousness and sense of perturbation rooted deeply in the minds of the American statesmen. The perversities of the present situation make confusion worse confounded. Recently, General Omar N. Bradley, Chief of Staff, while arguing for the Military Assistance Program, said :

"It must be perfectly apparent to the people of the United States that we cannot count on friends in Western Europe if our strategy in the event of war dictates that we shall first abandon them to the enemy with a promise of later liberation. Yet that is the only strategy that can prevail if the military balance of power in Europe *is to be carried in the wings of our bombers* and deposited in reserves this side of the ocean. It is a strategy that would produce nothing better than impotent and disillusioned allies in the event of a war."—*The Round Table,* September, 1949, p. 342.

A solution for the impoverished world indeed! It is not clear why the Americans are participating in an undeclared civil war in Europe to the detriment of the progressive forces of Europe and through it to the rest of the world. It remains to be seen how the principles of individual liberty, free institutions and genuine independence in Europe may be strengthened in the present context of economic crisis which Europe and other less well-developed areas of Eurasia have been passing through since the termination of hostilities. The world today faces a resurgent Asia, throbbing and pulsating with new life and vibrating with new emotions. Europe and Asia if split by the turbulent streams of disintegrating tendencies may spell a disaster the consequences of which may not be easily imagined. The vast land mass of Eurasia is today restless and high statesmanship on the part of the wealthy nations of which the U.S.A. towers above all in material resources and in new technical 'know-how' can resolve outstanding issues of the hour. The history of financial assistance in the past is disheartening to a degree. The Near and the Middle East still associate with foreign investments the system of 'capitulations' and the Far East, particularly China, the system of 'extra-territoriality.' Furthermore, the foreign investments of the earlier period and also of recent times, grew from small beginnings and their power became enlarged as the amount of the capital invested and the number of foreign persons within those countries increased and in a later period their principal usefulness was to insure political controls which tended towards maintenance of monopolies. It is obvious that the international political tension is a part of the several factors of which one is financial assistance in foreign countries by the Great Powers. It is a patent fact that foreign capital often assumes a sort of responsibility toward the system which it serves and the persons who operate it and are dependent on it. It is well-known that the Middle East and the Near East have not yet been able to move in line with the rest of the world, and feudalism of reactionary character has been and still is supremely backed by the private fortign investor with interests not common to that of the investee. The unfavourable attitude to foreign investments is easily traceable to past experiences.

We must admit that remedies lie in several lines of international policy. The sooner they are implemented, the better. The American insistence on economic nationalism and protectionism has been a bar to the expansion of world economy as a whole. The multilateral agreements as envisaged in the Havana Charter are perhaps a step in the right direction. The investee countries must be protected against possible interference in their internal affairs and their

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rights to control foreign capital must be unequivocally acknowledged. Mr. Walter Lippman, well-known author and commentator, has rightly said that the foreign policy is the first line of a nation's defence and it is what he called the "shield of the republic". It is expected and necessary that the world should not only share the views and sentiments expressed in Mr. Lippman's phrase but should see that the "shield of republic" is not threatened with the pressure-tactics of the power-politicians. It is often seen that power-economics and power-politics always go together. Today as never before in world history, the position of economic equilibrium and that of political equilibrium have been upset, and poverty, hunger, malnutrition and economic ills are common to the less well-developed countries of Asia. Asia's greatest living statesman Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, while on his mentally exciting tour in the U.S.A. cried in agony that the freedom-loving peoples of Asia must have full control of managing their own affairs in line with the rest of the world. It is unfortunate that American Far Eastern policy and American occupation of Japan are examples of a somewhat reactionary character and of grim outlook on the shape of things to come. No less serious has been the situation of Malaya, Indo-China, Indonesia that suffer immeasurably from the Anglo-French-Dutch imperialisms of the past. America's European policy is intimately bound with the sinister designs of the Anglo-French-Dut imperialisms of the past. It is well and good that t commitments of the types, *e.g.*, Military Assistan Program and Economic Recovery Program are p of political interest of the United States, broad conceived what Washington called "interest guided b justice." The statesmen, politicians, men of goodw across the seven seas and five lands however, agree th the 'cold war' between two blocs is an unnecessari distasteful experience for the common run of m and women on earth. It is likewise a new and ev more distasteful experience to know that the recove and the stability of the world are not being tackle as it should be, on a global scale, intelligently an intellectually at a high level. We believe th America's active participation in European affairs wi be the beginning of her greater efforts in resolvin certain fundamental differences between the Atlant communities and the freedom-loving peoples of Asi It is to be hoped that the dominant trend of nationa ism of the Asians as a whole, may satisfactorily enabl the Americans to approach the problems of resurgen Asia in proper perspective. The very stron urges of the peoples need human touch in many way The foreign investments by themselves are mer palliatives in the present context.

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TEA INDUSTRY IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

By Prof. N. C. ROY CHOWDHURY, M.A.

Tea is obtained from the young leaves of a bushy plant. Oil glands occur in the substance of the leaf. The flavour of the tea is largely due to this oil content.

Tea drinking has now become widespread all over the world. It has become so universal among the civilised people that it is looked upon more or less as a daily necessity. Even the poorer people in many places cannot do without a cup of tea daily. And by gradual improvement in the standard of living of the people, tea has become an important item in the menu of daily tiffin as well as of social entertainment. Though it has occupied an important place in our dietary, we cannot say exactly when use was first made of tea. We come across various 'sayings' of eminent persons regarding the efficacy of this leaf, some of which are more than 4000 years old. In the third century a famous Chinese physician says, "To drink tea constantly makes one think better." We find in the legends of Japan, wherein the discovery of tea is credited to a Buddhist saint, that a saint finding it difficult to remain awake during his meditations, plucked the leaves from a nearby bush. He chewed them and found that his mind was clear and refreshed. Thus these leaves enabled him to throw off hi lethargy. Even Cowper mentions tea as "the cup that cheer but do not inebriate." Let me quote belo a few extracts from the writings of eminent person dealing with the efficacy of tea. These, I believe, wi be both amusing and interesting to the readers.

"We drank some tea . . . we found it ver wholesome, and comparing the effects of this te with those of wine . . . it is doubtful which o these two may obtain pre-eminence, if not th leaf."

"Nothing is comparable to this plant. Tho who use it are for that reason alone exempt fro all maladies and reach an extreme old age. No only does it procure great vigour for their bodi but it preserves them from gravel and gallston headache, cold, ophthalmia, catarrah, asthma, slu gishness of the stomach and intestinal troubles."

I do not, of course, believe in all these efficaci of this drink, but from my personal experience I mu confess that it has some soothing influence. A few yea back I suffered from headache occasionally. I used t take a cup of tea whenever I had an attack

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headache. I felt much relieved of my headache as soon as I finished taking tea. It is also a fact that a cup of tea helps much to regain fresh energy after temporary exhaustion of mind and body. From these accounts we should not assume that there are no adversaries of tea. A German claimed that tea was the cause of the dried-up appearance of the Chinese. Another writer remarks :

"Men seem to have lost their stature and comeliness and women their beauty."

He also draws an analogy between the effect of concealment of love and the use of tea. Sir P. C. Roy called this drink as poison. It has also been found from experience that tea in empty stomach reacts on liver and too much of this drink tells upon the general health.

Whatever its value be from the foregoing discussions, it is clear that tea had been in use from ancient times. And by the beginning of the 7th century tea was introduced both as a medicine and as a beverage, and it was also an important article of trade in China. This country is believed like the natural home of this plant, though it is generally accepted as certain that tea plant is also indigenous to Assam and Burma. For many centuries China was the greatest exporter of tea in the world and it had been introduced into Europe from China by the Dutch and the Portuguese travellers in 1610. England saw it for the first time in 1641. During the reign of Princess Catherine tea became a fashionable drink for the ladies of England. Gradually it was then introduced to other countries of Europe and made its first appearance in America in 1670. All these accounts show that the European countries as well as America which are the greatest tea 'importers and drinkers' were acquainted with tea only about 350 years ago. Though China is still the largest producer of tea in the world, India is the greatest exporter. She rather dominates the world market now. The demand for tea in international trade has been estimated at 880 million lbs. and more than 40 per cent of the total is supplied by India. The production and export of tea by India and other important countries which compete with India in the world market may be given below for comparison :

Countries	*Production in 1948* (million lbs.)	*Exports in 1948* (million lbs.)
India	572,400,000	349,662,000
Pakistan	50,000,000	27,829,000
Ceylon	298,791,000	295,838,000
Indonesia	27,817,000	19,760,000
China	880,000,000 (1936)	92,000,000 (1938)
Japan	227,380,000 (1939)	39,000,000 (1938)

Other tea-producing countries are Formosa, Malaya, Burma, Indo-China, Fiji, Natal, Madagascar, Brazil, South Carolines in U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

It will not be out of place to mention here that since April, 1933, the tea production and export of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Indonesia are regulated by International Tea Restriction Scheme. The present agreement runs from 1st April, 1948, and will continue for a period of two years or for such shorter period as may be necessitated by the coming into force of the Charter of the International Trade Organisation of the United Nations. The present Interim Agreement fixes the permissible acreage and export quota as under :

Countries	*Permissible acreage*	*Exports quota in lbs.*
India	7,75,700	348,246,170
Pakistan	76,700	34,996,746
Ceylon	5,65,603	251,588,012
Indonesia	5,19,012	173,597,000
	19,37,015	808,427,928

India usually exports 76 per cent of her total production. The rest is consumed within the country. But the per capita consumption is very low in comparison with other important countries of the world. It is 3 lbs. in India whereas it is 10 lbs. in U. K., 7 lbs. in Australia and 4 lbs in Canada. So there is great scope for increased consumption of tea within the country. The activities of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board which had been popularising by propaganda in India and abroad the tea-drinking habit of the people are worthy of mention. The intensive advertising campaigns initiated by the Board have already borne fruit and the people of India are inclined more and more to become regular visitors to the tea shops. The Board spends more than Rs. 20 lakhs on propaganda work in India. The activities of the Board also have borne fruit in several countries abroad specially in America and U. K. In 1934-35, the Board spent £50,000, in America and £11,000 in U.K. The work of the Board has now been taken over by Central Tea Board from 1st August, 1949. The main functions of this Tea Board are to bring about co-ordinated development and marketing of Indian tea and to organise tea trade on a long-term basis. It will also arrange for research, collection of statistics, fixing of grade standards, improving marketing of tea and bulk purchase on behalf of the government. In 1939, India and Pakistan exported 350 million lbs. of tea with the following countries :

U.K.	..	..	305 million lbs.
Canada	..	..	15 " "
U.S.A.	..	..	8 " "
Ireland	..	..	3 " "
Iran	..	..	5 " "

So the tea industry in India and Pakistan depends largely on export trade and earns foreign exchanges to the extent of more than Rs. 70 crores. There is further scope for the extension of export market in America, Egypt and Middle Eastern countries. Tea industry in India and Pakistan, no doubt, is in a prosperous condition and pays a handsome dividend every year to its shareholders. It has more than 5,000 plantations and employs more than a million labourers.

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Seventy-seven per cent of the tea is obtained from Bengal and Assam. Southern India accounts for only 18 per cent. Assam produces more than 50 per cent of the production. The important producing districts are Darrang, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur and Cachar. In West Bengal, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri account for almost the entire output of the province and Sylhet, Chittagong and Tipperah account for almost the entire production of Pakistan. Purnea, Ranchi and Hazaribagh in Bihar ; Garhwal and Almora in U.P.; Kangra in the Punjab are other producing tracts of the Northern Belt. In Southern India, the major portion of the output is raised by Travancore, Madras, Coorg, Cochin, Mysore and Satara district of Bombay. But the most disquieting feature of the industry is that it is largely owned by the Europeans.

"The story of how India came to prevail in the tea trade of the world is both stirring and romantic." In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the East India Company had a profitable tea trade with U.K. from China which had a monopoly in the production of tea. In the event of any trouble with China, lest the supply of tea from China should be stopped, an English botanist suggested that an alternative source of supply must be found out in India. He also drew attention to the natural possibilities that existed in India. Little however was done until 1834 when Lord William Bentinck warmly took up the matter. He appointed officers to proceed to China and collect tea seeds and expert Chinese labourers. In all three missionaries were sent and much money was spent unprofitably. One Mr. Robert Bruce discovered in 1823 that the tea plant was indigenous in Assam and Lord William Bentinck was unaware of this. It also took many years to convince the authorities that the Indian seed was really better than that imported from China. The first samples of tea grown on the government plantations in Assam were sent to England in 1838 and the first sale actually occurred three years later. It was not until 1852 when it was established that Indian tea was in a position to compete in the London market with China tea. Thereafter the progress of the industry was very rapid and so the government ceased its direct connection in 1866. Many private companies were then formed and barring one or two failures and depression, the tea industry has been passing through uninterrupted prosperity and progress which is still visible today.

Such progress of the industry was not accomplished easily. It involved much labour and many hardships on the part of the pioneers. They had to pass through many reverses as well. But the pioneers struggled on and today the result of their energy and enterprise is evident in the industry itself. The establishment, development and maintenance of tea gardens demand much labour, risk and foresight. The intelligent combination and co-ordination of all factors of production are indispensable for their success. Tea cultivation requires a warm and humid sub-tropical climate. The soil must be deep and well-drained. It requires ab dant rainfall of not less than 60 inches annually. I generally successfully grown in well-drained slopes hilly regions. The leaves are plucked by hands. So abundant supply of labour is no less an impor factor.

The first matter for consideration is the choice a locality and site having all the natural advant of tea cultivation. After the selection of a suitable a the houses are put up. A start is then made to cl the jungles and prepare the soil ready to rece the young plants. The plants are transplanted fr nearby nurseries. Normally a tea plant is not in state to give an economic yield of leaf until it is f years old. In the tea gardens, the shade trees are a grown to give shelter to the tea 'plants or bushes' fr inclement weather. The leaves of these shade trees a provide valuable green manure. In a natural state, t plants generally grow to a height of 25 ft. to 30 But for the convenience of plucking they are n allowed to exceed a height of 5 ft. or 6 ft. So regular cycles, the tea bushes have to be pruned order to keep the plants within this height.

After the passing of the period of development a extension, plucking of tea-leaf begins. Only the b shoots which mean two leaves and one bud are pluck Care must be taken that none of the shoots is wash and overlooked. After the plucking, the leaves a weighed and spread out in withering shed until th reach a condition when they are ready for despat to the factory. The withered leaves then pass throug several machines and become ready for despatch eith by rail or by steamer to the docks in Calcutta Chittagong. The tea is despatched in aluminium-lin plywood boxes. So the plywood industry is intimat connected with tea trade. The shipment of tea in Ind falls into two classes : (*a*) Consignment direct fr garden to London where teas are sold by auction Mincing Lane. This practice is no longer in vogue a it stopped during the war. The British Ministry Agriculture is now making 'bulk purchase' from Ind (*b*) Consignment sold by auction in Mission Ro Calcutta. It is then distributed all over the coun through dealers as well as shipped to countries outsi U. K.

A great number of people find employment in th industry and so we can say that the industry off good scope for employment. So it is desirable to ha a clear picture of its establishment and personnel :

(1) There are purely agricultural workers. Th number in a tea garden is usually approximately o person for every acre of tea plantation. They hoe t soil, pluck the leaves and prune the bushes.

(2) The second class of employees are the ov seers. They are generally selected from the cultivato They supervise and record the works of the labour after apportioning the work among them to be do each day.

(3) The mechanics, who have had some train

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in the engineering yards, also find employment here. They are engaged in the simpler jobs of maintaining the factory machinery in working order.

(4) Then there is the clerical staff. The clerks are men of good general education. It is better if they have a special knowledge in accountancy and business methods. They attend to the book-keeping, store-keeping and issue side of the business. The work is not hard, but offers plenty of opportunity for a capable young man. Though the salary of this staff ranges between Rs. 20 and Rs. 130, a capable young man can reach to a position of responsibility by virtue of learning, experience and perseverance. In this connection it is to be noted that most of the employees in a tea garden receive in addition to pay and salary, dearness allowance, bonus or profit, provident fund facilities, free houses and fuel, good grains and other necessaries at a cheap rate, servant's allowance, medicine and medical treatment.

(5) Medical men have also some scope for employment. A fully qualified medical man may be in charge of medical arrangement of a group of gardens. In such an employment he may expect a monthly salary of Rs. 600 and upwards. A less qualified man may remain in charge of a single garden and in that case he may expect to start on a monthly salary of Rs. 100. A single garden may have more than one medical man also.

(6) The responsibility for co-ordinating all the working arrangements of a tea-garden vests with the Manager. A successful manager is a man of many parts and considerable experience. He should possess a thorough knowledge of engineering, agriculture and accountancy. He should also be a man of tact and sympathy ready to understand the difficulties of the employees and should act in such a way that the interests of the garden and the welfare of the employees are not jeopardised in any way. No outside technical training is necessary for the post of a manager and any young employee of good general education can aspire to become the manager if he possesses special parts, foresight and intelligence. A good tea garden offers such a training ground. The manager of a tea garden can expect to earn a monthly salary of Rs. 300 and upwards.

(7) Above all is the Board of Management. The Board consists of a few directors elected by the shareholders. The Directors appoint from among themselves one or two Managing Directors who are the whole-time employees of the garden. The Directors occasionally sit in a meeting and formulate plans and policy by passing resolutions and see if these are executed by the employees of the garden properly. A successful Board of Management enables the shareholders to earn handsome profit by way of dividend and the members of the Board get allowances and other remuneration in addition to their share of dividend.

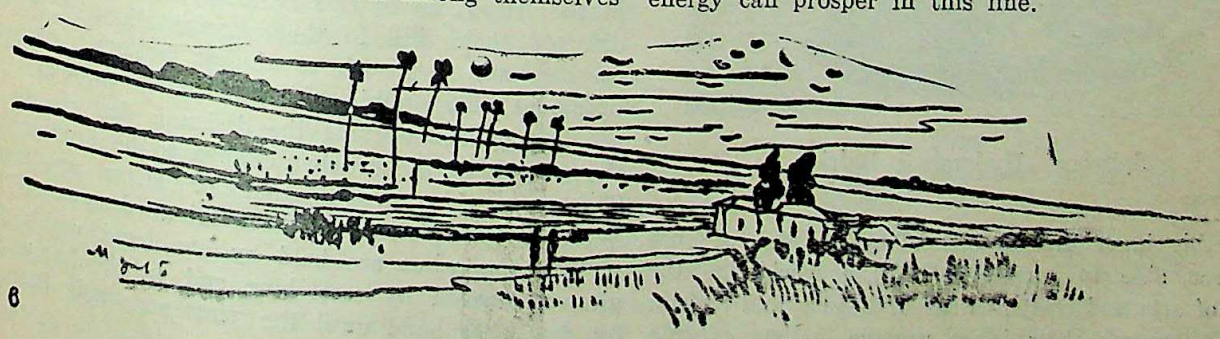
(8) Outside the tea gardens there was till August 1, 1949, one organisation known as Indian Tea Market Expansion Board of which we spoke earlier. This Board offered employment to young men as propaganda officers on various ranks, such as Sub-Inspector, Inspector, Circle Inspector, Asst. Superintendent and Superintendent. Any young man could begin his career as Sub-Inspector on Rs. 60 and by gradual promotion rise to the position of Superintendent. A Superintendent usually draws a salary of Rs. 500 and upward per month. Now we know the work of the Board has been taken over by the Central Tea Board. This new Board, in addition to above employments, offers further scope for employment as research workers, statisticians, etc.

(9) In the marketing and distribution of tea, tea-brokers play an important role. A tea-broker must be an expert tea-taster. The scope of earning in this line is considerable.

(10) A good tea-taster is largely in demand in the tea trade. No special technical qualification is necessary for a tea-taster. He can learn the art well provided he undergoes a long period of training as apprentice in a firm of tea-brokers or in a tea-buying firm. A tea-taster can easily earn a salary from Rs. 600 to Rs. 1200 per month.

(11) There is again the tea-blender. The tea-blending can also be learnt by a long course of apprenticeship in a large tea-buying firm. The packets of tea which are sold in the market seldom contain the produce of one district only. It is the duty of the blender and the tea-taster to blend the teas of different localities in varying proportions so that the mixture so created suits the taste of the tea-drinkers. A good tea-blender can get a starting salary of Rs. 1,000 per month.

(12) Lastly, the business of tea-dealers and exporters offers excellent opportunity for earning handsome money and any young man with initiative and energy can prosper in this line.



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SOME ARTISTIC CRAFTS OF INDIA

By TINKARI MUKERJEE,
Deputy Keeper, Government Art Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta

The superb artistic faculty of Indians has not only created forms of beauty in every sphere of life but has enabled them to present before the world even the articles of our everyday use decorated with designs of great artistic merit in a way eliciting admiration from all. The beautiful nature around has given them an impetus to create everything around them beautiful and to enjoy life in all its beauty and glory. This inner persuasion has been responsible for the creation of art treasures, which we admire and adore today.

Spittoon—Hyderabad Bidri
Courtesy : Indian Museum

By this inner artistic sensibility Indians of old have been able to contribute to the world in the domain of arts and crafts, things of beauty and artistic form. To express their inner urgings, artists of this country like artists of other lands, had to take recour to various media, some of which they had to inve and to perfect by long experience and practice. T make and decorate the articles of our everyday u they had to invent various forms of alloys. In reco nition of this inventive faculty Dr. Benjamin Hey in the *Asiatic Journal* for March 1817, remarked :

> "The Hindus have since time immemorial, n only excelled their neighbours in the managem of metals for useful and curious purposes, but a even acquainted with alloys unknown to o practical chemists."

Not only had Indian craftsmen a strong i clination for invention to suit their own purposes, b had an infinite capacity for assimilating forei crafts. One of such crafts is 'Damascening.'

Damascening

Damascening as the name indicates had its orig in Damascus, where it was practised to highest pe fection by the early goldsmiths of that place. Late it was carried to India directly from Kabul and Persi It means the surface ornamentation of iron, steel bronze by the application of gold or silver. Th principle of ornamentation of one material by anoth has been followed with much artistic success in t field of textiles, wood, horn and ivory termed und different technical names.

The art of damascening seems to have taken origin from the ornamentation of swords, shield daggers and other weapons of war. In ancient tim when these were the only weapons of war due to t prevalent mode of warfare, the craftsmen had natural a very busy time for their crafts as they were fr quently required to ornament these weapons. Wi the modern character of warfare and change in t methods and materials of destruction, the demand f damascened weapons has naturally come low resulti in the decadence of this art and the craftsmen ha diverted their skill to the ornamentation of artic for domestic use, such as huqqa bottom, spitto ornament box, surahi, spice and betel box, etc.

In true damascening the design is first chased the surface of the article designed to be ornament Then very thin wires of gold or silver are ma With the completion of scratching designs on surface, the wires are held by one hand within grooves formed by scratching and lightly hamme by the other hand until the wires are made liter

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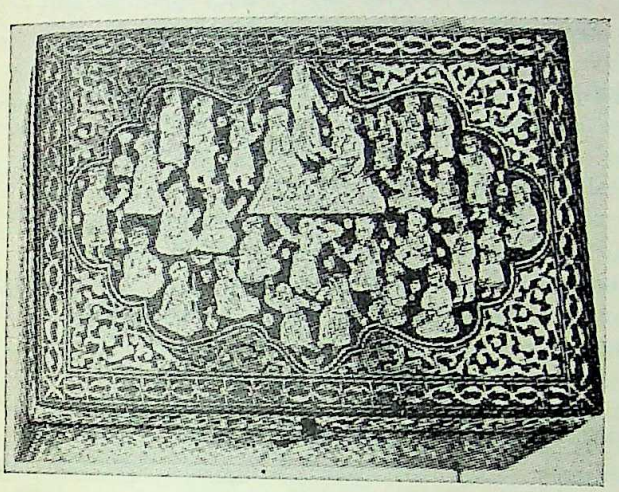
to unite with the surface. After cleaning and polishing, designs in shining gold or silver appear on the surface.

Three principal forms of Damascening or Koftgari have been recognised as under :

(1) *Teh Nashan or Deep Koftgari* : In this case the outlines of the designs are very deeply engraved and thick wire of gold or silver is hammered within the grooves. When completed the excess material is filed down, cleaned and polished.



Damascened box with a dancing party on the lid
Courtesy : Indian Museum

(2) *Ordinary or Shallow Koftgari* : In this case as the name indicates the scratches made on the surface of the article to be ornamented are shallow and therefore do not admit of thick wire, gold or silver as in the case of Teh Nashan. The wire required therefore is very fine. Due to less amount of gold and silver utilised, the surface cannot be smoothened or polished as in the case of Teh Nashan without removing the gold and silver wire employed.

(3) *Dewali* : This is the cheapest form of damascening. In this case the surface of the article to be treated is smoothened with a file and afterwards with pumice stones. The pattern is then very lightly scratched on the surface and to effect thorough cleaning lime juice is sprinkled over it. It is then subjected to heat and gold leaf prepared in accordance with some preconceived designs is applied by light hammering and afterwards rubbed to cause the gold adhere to the portions of the design meant for it. In Rajputana, however, this craft is practised with slight modification in the sense that the applied metal is first made to adhere on the surface and the excess metal is subsequently removed by scratching to give the effect of wire inlaying.

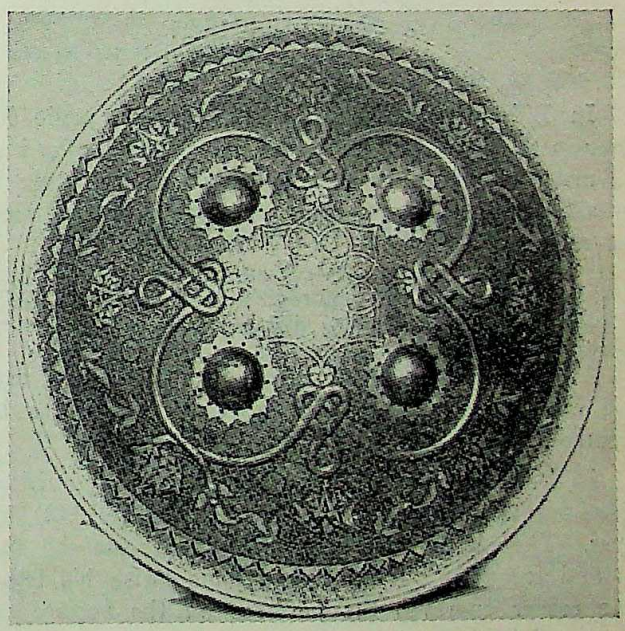
"The manufacturers often take a great pride to form by a skilful inlay of the wire, verses from the Koran, spells, poetical passages, and prayers for good fortune and prizes at an exhibition. Thus a shield may contain an Arabic spell worn as a talisman by good Musalmans for protection from all evils and cure for diseases which flesh is subject to."

Travancore has been known to have developed "a style of Koftgari of its own which consists of roughened steel with gold wire beaten into it in the form of floral designs of a strongly Dravidian style."

Gujarat, Sialkot, Jaipur, Alwar, Serohi, Lahore and Bidar have been recognised as the main centres of damascening work.

Encrusted Ware

Closely associated with the art of damascening is the well-known art of encrusted ware of Southern India (Tanjore and Tirupati). A piece of silver or brass is first repoussed on a bed of lac with figures of Hindu deities. When this work is finished it is soldered, wedged or screwed on the plain surface of the vessel desired to be ornamented over which an outline of the repousse work is scratched which is subsequently chased until the required groove to hold the design is formed. There are two variations of this craft—the wares of Tanjore are in high relief while in the case of Tirupati wares the applied designs are smooth and on the same level with the surface. Generally plates and water pots are ornamented in this way.



Damascened shield
Courtesy : Indian Museum

Bidri Ware

It is a form of damascening. Birdwood recognises it as "the highest art practised in India after enamelling." The chief seats of Bidri manufacture are Bidar, Lucknow, Purniah and Murshidabad. In India, the art as the name indicates originated in Bidar which "according to tradition was founded by a Hindu King of the same name, four centuries before

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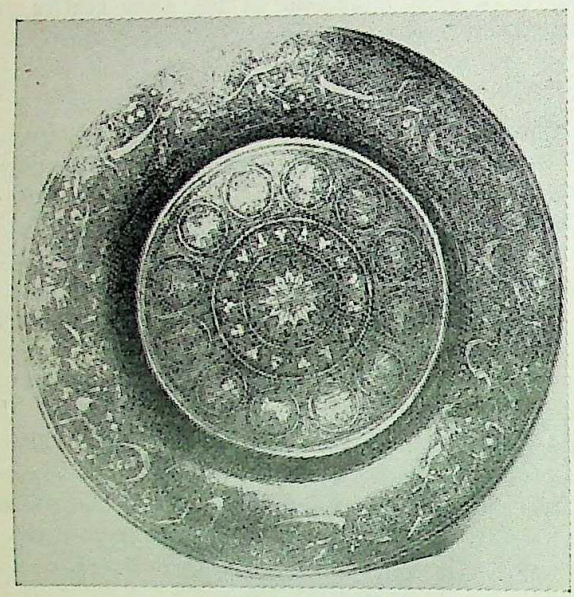
the Christian era." It is said that one of the Hindu kings of Bidar invented this craft. Wares of this craft were used to hold flowers and other offerings for daily presentation to his household gods. Under Muhammedans this craft attained its present excellence and in Bidar it is now mainly in the hands of the Muhammedans.



Plate—Moradabad Bidri
Courtesy : Indian Museum

In Bidri the surface ornamentation is made by silver in the same way as is made in damascening but the metal on which these ornamentations are made is an alloy instead of pure iron or steel. As Birdwood has remarked :

"In Bidri the metal ground is a compound of copper, lead and tin (in required proportions) made black on the surface by dipping it in a solution of sal-ammoniac, salt-petre, salt and blue vitriol."

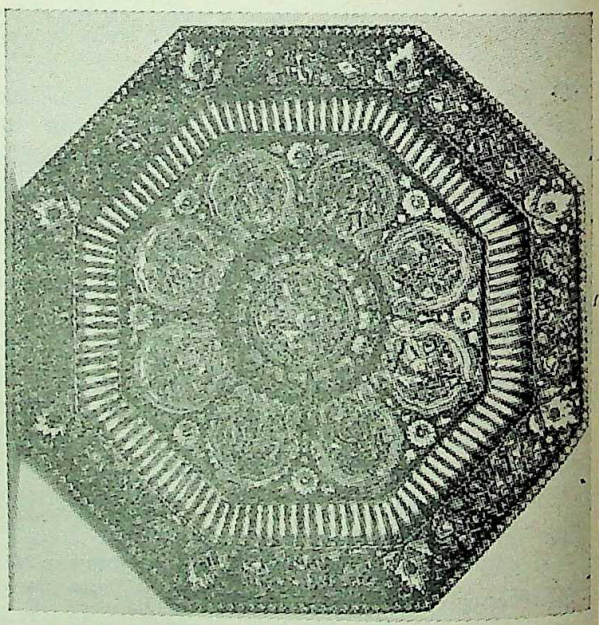
After the mixing of the alloy by melting, it is cast and moulded into the required shape desired to be ornamented.

In Bidri we find a systematic process of divisions of labour under (1) moulder, (2) carver and, (3) inlayer. "The moulder prepares the alloy, casts the vessel and turns it to its proper shape with his lathe. The carver engraves the patterns on the surface of the vessel, and the inlayer designs the patterns, inlays the ornament of gold and silver, and finally colours and polishes the article." There is no special cast allotted to this craft—it draws craftsmen from all castes, both Hindus and Muhammedans.

As has already been pointed out there are four main localities of Bidri production and each locality has developed a special characteristic in design. In Bidar generally the patterns employed are floral in imitation of the poppy plant—a design which is successfully employed in textiles with great artistic success. In this locality the craft commands an extensive sale due to the prevailing custom among Muhammedan families of presenting a complete set of Bidri wares to the bridegroom in time of marriage. "No dowry is considered complete, among the better class of Muhammedans unless a complete set of the Bidri ware, from bed-legs to a spittoon is included. The high prices often render it necessary for the father of a family to begin his collection years before his daughter is marriageable."

In Purniah two forms of Bidri are practised—one in which the design is deeply chased and the inlays of wire are securely made corresponding to the deep Koftgari work and the other in which the designs are superficially chased and the patterns are plain and inferior in finish. According to Sir George Birdwood, the ornamentations of Purniah Bidri are sometimes of a Chinese character introduced by way of Sikkim or Bhutan. The floral ornamentations in Purniah Bidri are strictly conventional while the floral ornamentations in Bidri wares manufactured at Bidar are more or less naturalistic.

A form of Bidri (*Zarbuland*) is practised in Lucknow now in which the design is raised above the surface. The method followed is the same as observed in ordinary form of Bidri with the exception that



Encrusted plate—Tanjore
Courtesy : Indian Museum

instead of chasing the designs on the surface beforehand the ornamental designs are embedded on the surface and chased afterwards. In Bidri wares manufactured at Lucknow fish motives are frequently employed for ornamentations.

Moradabad Bidri

A form of work known as Moradabad bidri is practised in Moradabad in imitation of encrusted bidri

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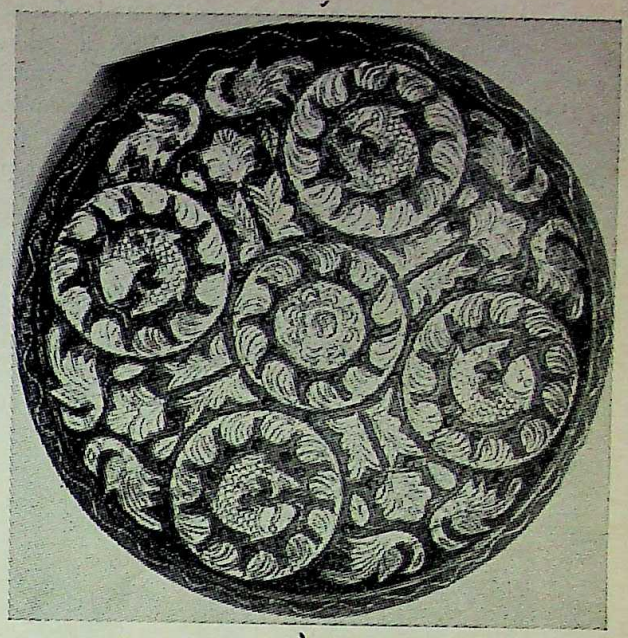
work. The process involves in chasing or punching out designs deeply on the surface of copper or tinned vessels having the floral ornamentations in relief. The depressions thus formed on the surface of the vessel (desired to be ornamented) due to deep chasing and punching are then loaded with lac coloured red or black which is allowed to fuse by heat. The excess colouring matter formed by fusing is removed from the surface by means of sand paper or powdered brick. After the completion of the process, a brilliant design on black or red ground appears. This process in course of time has undergone considerable changes in the manipulation of alloys giving rise to the form known as 'Charakwan', in which the pattern is in black or other-coloured lac and the background is in brass or tinned brass. Various kinds of wares from bedsteads legs to spice-boxes are turned out now-a-days which command a considerable sale.

Some of the crafts mentioned above have immense possibility and can be utilised in making the articles of our daily usage decorated in a way which may at once capture our inner sensibility and may be refreshing to us after a day's hard toil. But what is required is artistic taste and a sincere desire to have around us beautiful things—things of charming shape and form and harmonious colour. In fact we shall have to create a craving for the thing beautiful and allot to artists and craftsmen their legitimate share of creating that atmosphere in which art can thrive—when there will be no necessity for the craftsmen to leave their hereditary profession for something which pays and keeps them alive.



Lucknow Bidri (*Zarbuland*)
Courtesy : Indian Museum

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ANIMATED MUSEUM EXHIBITS SHOW AMERICANS WAY TO HEALTH

THE Cleveland Health Museum is helping people of the United States and visitors from all over the world to a better understanding of the marvellously complicated machine that is Man himself.

Unlike many museums, the Cleveland Health Museum is a lively place. The public learns basic truths of health in a setting somewhat resembling that of a carnival. Visitors push buttons, ring bells, twirl dials and twist the cranks of some 4,000 mechanical and electrical devices designed to teach lessons in safeguarding well-being.

Because the body depends upon food, the Museum demonstrates the caloric value of a wide variety of fruits, vegetables and meats by displaying samples in a "Calorie Automat." The automat is a series of small glass-front cases through which the samples can be seen. By twisting knobs attached to the cases, the caloric value of each display may be seen printed on a small card.

Excessive smoking and consumption of rich foods is generally regarded as not conducive to robust health. The Museum invites the visitor to test his lung capacity by blowing into the Vitalometer. If a spectator's blowing power is below a stated normal level, the decision is his to temper or not temper his habits.

A general lack of knowledge of tooth structure is believed to result in poor care of teeth. To show how the human tooth is built and how and why cavities in teeth occur, Museum authorities constructed a huge plastic "Transparent Tooth" exhibit. By pushing a series of buttons in proper sequence, the visitor can illuminate sections of the tooth to show the enamel, dentine, pulp cavity, cementum, periodontal membrane, bone, root, crown and gum.

To inform its visitors that the teeth should be brushed up and down with a vertical motion rather than crosswise, the Museum devised an exhibit in which a moveable hand with brush illustrates the vertical brushing technique. The display works only when the viewer turns cranks which operate the hand and brush. Children are particularly fascinated by the demonstration.

Correct body posture, or lack of it, can mean the

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difference between radiant good health and chronic aches and pains. To emphasize this point, a "good posture" exhibit features a slumping plastic female figure that jumps to correct posture when a member of the audience steps on a treadle. The surprise of the spectators who participate in the demonstration helps to impress its health message upon them.

This transparent plastic male figure of Man permits the observer to see the bones, blood vessels and the precise shape and position of internal organs and the nervous system

The Museum wants all visitors to be conscious of the part the heart plays in their lives. As they enter the Museum's lobby, they see and hear a huge foyer clock which—aided by a hidden metronome—ticks out 70 heartbeats, instead of 60 seconds, to the minute. The "heartbeats" are ticked off to the accompaniment of a flashing red light. The visitor's own heart, he is told, beats approximately 100,000 times a day. He is told how to protect it.

Feet, too, have their place in the Museum's exhibits. A foot-weary mail carrier suggested that the human foot could be either man's best friend or his worst enemy, depending on how it is treated. Museum officials agreed and made special displays showing how the foot grows and functions and how properly fitted shoes can help keep it and its owner healthy and happy.

Hay fever sufferers, in the depth of their miseries, have the sympathy of the Museum's officials. By posting the daily pollen count on a bulletin board in front of the Museum and by making the information available to press and radio, the officials suggest to sufferers the best time to take a seashore or mountain vacation to get away from the pollen in the air that causes hay fever.

One of the Museum's highlights is its "Wonder of Life" room, in which are shown the 100 Dickenson-Belskie models of human reproduction, designed to trace the birth process from the moment of conception to delivery of a baby. Based on X-rays of living persons and sculptured in three dimensions, the series is the work of Dr. Robert Latou Dickenson, a New York City obstetrician, and sculptor Abram Belskie. From the models, adolescents learn the story of natural birth and expectant mothers are prepared for their child-bearing. The Museum acquired the models in 1945 and retains exclusive rights for duplication and distribution of them.

Another of the Museum's outstanding exhibits is the "Transparent Man." It is a clear plastic male form through which can be seen the bones, blood vessels and the precise shape and position of the internal organs, as well as the nervous system.

The Museum opened its doors to the public in 1941 with Dr. Bruno Gebhard as its head and "Health Through Knowledge" as its motto.

This young woman, an employee of the Museum and deft in craftsmanship, is working on a clay model of the arm which shows muscles, nerves, veins and arteries

Dr. Gebhard was curator of the Dresden (Germany) Hygiene Museum before 1937, when he became a voluntary exile from Germany. He came to the United States and helped arrange health exhibitions at the New York World's Fair, which opened in 1939. As technical consultant, he planned and designed most of the exhibits for the Hall of Man at the Fair.

The "Transparent Man," originally constructed

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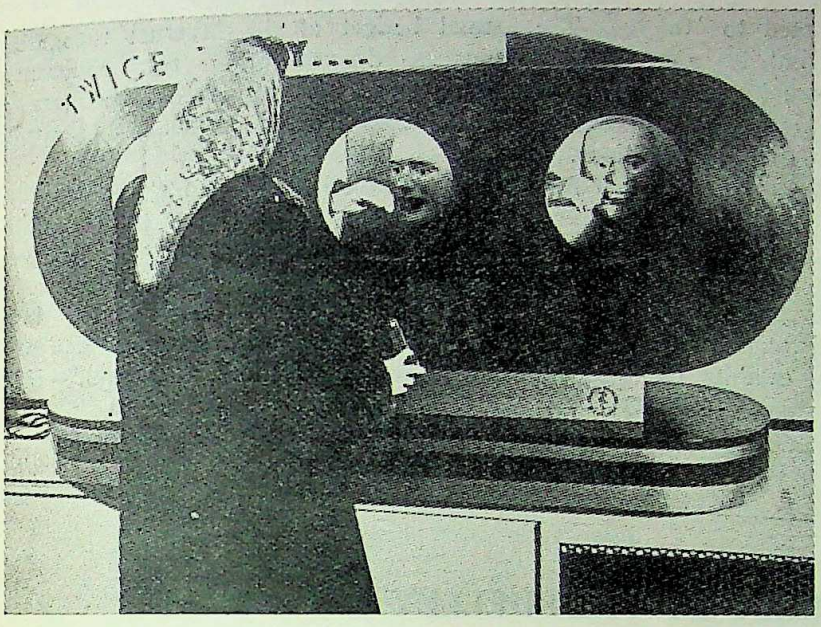
the Dresden Museum, was one of the outstanding displays at the Fair. It had been brought to the United States by the Oberlaender Trust, a fund established many years ago to preserve German culture and folkways in America. It now is on indefinite loan from the Trust to the Cleveland Health Museum.



Teeth should be brushed twice a day with an up and down motion of the brush. This is the movement the young woman sees demonstrated as she turns the crank which makes the hands move in this exhibit

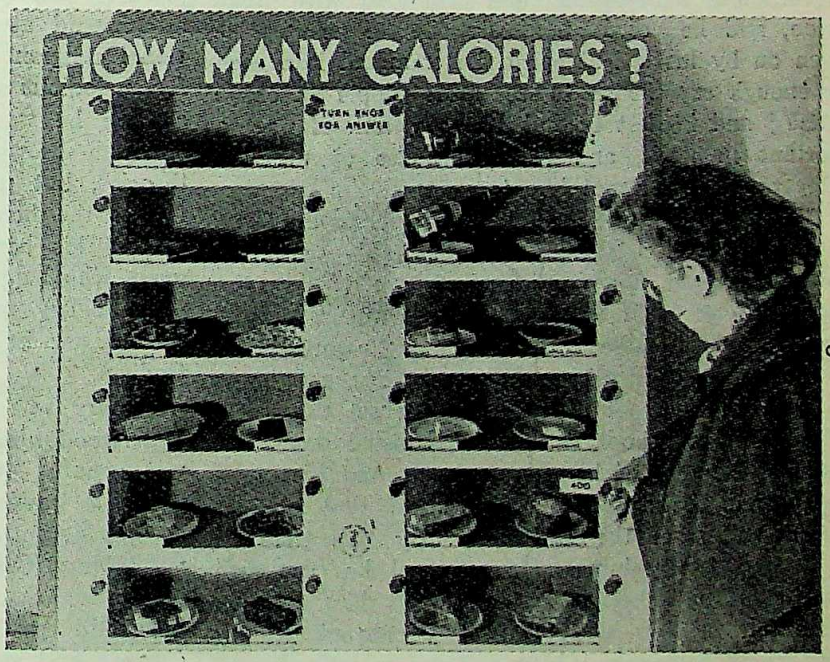
The idea for the Museum was first advanced in 1936 by the Cleveland Academy of Medicine. Civic groups lent their support to the idea and the late Elisabeth Prentiss, a fine arts patron, donated her Cleveland home and $500,000 for the project.

The Museum has operated on three principles of visual education: 3-dimensional models are more interestng than flat posters; by repetition of movement, animations make learning more permanent; and wherever possible, the exhibits should be constructed so that the visitor himself must make them work. The Museum's exhibits generally have had to be constructed rather than collected, and the Museum's workshops have become an integral and important part of its operation.

The influence of the Museum is felt many miles from Cleveland and, in recent years, has become international. In addition to loaning many of its own exhibits to schools, factories, conventions, department stores and county and State fairs, the Museum's workshops have duplicated originals for museums in other countries, notably in Bogota, Columbia, and Mexico City, Mexico.

Another health museum was started at Dallas, Texas, in 1946 and many of the exhibits of the Cleveland Museum were duplicated for the Dallas organization. Plans are being made now for new health museums in the cities of San Diego, California, and Honolulu, Hawaii. Other cities such as New York and Pittsburgh are considering similar projects.

Many persons come to the Cleveland Health Museum to study construction of exhibits, displays, and museum management. They help carry out the Museum's aim of disseminating health education by returning to their own communities and constructing or planning museums of their own. Many of those who spend interneships at the Cleveland Health Museum are sponsored by such organizations as the United Nations World Health Organization and the Rockefeller Foundation. Seven internes, representing Costa Rica, the Philippine Republic, Venezuela and Columbia, studied exhibit construction at the Museum, during 1948. The Museum's guest register includes the names of visitors from nearly every country in the world and from all 48 States of the United States.



The "Calorie Automat" shows visitors the caloric value of a variety of foods

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Dr. Gebhard, a member of the section on Scientific Museum, International Council of Museums, U. N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, hopes to see a chain of health museums in American cities. "Every city with a population of 250,000 should have one," he says.

The Museum's staff devotes much of its time to keeping its exhibits new and closely related to the latest advances in medical knowledge, but it also takes an active part in Cleveland's community-health affairs. Museum activities include radio health talks and publications of the Museum *News*, issued ten times each year to all members and subscribers. It also issues pamphlets giving a general picture of the Museum, its exhibits, and its activities.

An example of Museum-community co-operation came when, working together with a Cleveland newspaper and the Cleveland Welfare Federation, the Museum designed a series of popular exhibits on geriatrics (old age) under the title "Live Long and Like It."

A hobby and handicraft show augmented the exhibit. Some 235 participants, all over 65 and some in their 80's displayed examples of their handicraft. The "Live Long and Like It" show was so successful that it has become an annual affair.

The annual budget of the Museum runs around $80,000. Funds are derived from two endowments, membership dues from public-spirited subscribers, and outright contributions from individuals and corporations.

An estimated 60,000 persons visit the institution each year. They see, emblazoned over the pedestal on which the "Transparent Man" revolves, words spoken in Rome sixteen centuries ago by Saint Augustine:

"Man wonders over the restless sea, the flowing water, the sight of the sky; and forgets that of all wonders, Man is himself the most wonderful."—*USIS.*

——:O:——

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

Shelley, an idealist and a dreamer, had a life that was turbulent with storm and coloured with high passion, and he died tragically before he was 30. Driven on by his ardent spirit, he crammed into each year enough experiences to last most people an entire lifetime; and he left behind him a wealth of poetry, important in itself, and giving promise of the still greater work he did not live to write.

It was Shelley's fate to be misunderstood. Those who knew him most intimately were able to appreciate the singular purity of his spirit, as well as the sincerity of all his motives; but many other people, to whom he was unable to open his heart, regarded him as a rebel who hated all restraint and whose mind was afire with all kinds of mad schemes to set the world aright. Even at school he was an unusual boy, unpopular with most of his companions; and his views so staggered the authorities at Oxford that he was "sent down" from the University. By this time he had published a volume of verse, and he continued to write with a felicity that never left him.

He fell in love with Harriet Westbrook, a girl of 16, whose father had kept a London coffee-house. The young people made an impetuous runaway marriage; and naturally enough both their families were horrified. It is little wonder that Shelley had the reputation of being an irresponsible youth; and this did not tend to make serious-minded people look favourably upon the poetry he published.

His first important work was *Queen Mab*, printed privately the year after his marriage. It contained rather wild attacks on what he regarded as conventional religion and morality, but it revealed his gift for melodious verse. Troubles crowded upon him. For a time he was tolerably happy with his child-wife, although she was incapable of appreciating his idealistic theories, but money difficulties kept increasing. His father, the heir to a baronetcy and a wealthy man, washed his hands of him, and it was a benevolent uncle who supplied him with money to live on. And then Shelley was suddenly carried away by another enthusiasm: he fell in love with Mary Wollstonecroft Godwin.

Mary was a girl of considerable culture, and understood him far better than Harriet ever did. It was genuine sympathy that had been missing from Shelley's impulsive marriage, and indeed Harriet had become neurotic and irritable; he left her and eloped with Mary Godwin. A little later, he managed to obtain an annual income from the entailed estate that he would have inherited with the Shelley title in due course; and since he was full of pity for Harriet, he made her an allowance and did everything else he could for her comfort.

And all the time he was writing his poetry; one of his greatest works *Alastor*, was produced at this time. While he was working on it, he believed he was going to die; and he threw all his fiery energy into it

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composition. In this poem one can recognise his own life-story ; for the hero dies after a vain search for an ideal soul-mate with whom he might have perfect spiritual intercourse. Shelley's life differed from that of the hero of the poem in that he did find in Mary Godwin much of the perfection he had sought.

He had his moods of exaltation and despair. Once, in the depths of despondency, he said that his influence brought death to all those with whom he associated ; and the news that Harriet had committed suicide increased his depression and ill-health, although he knew her death to be directly due to a love-affair she had been having with someone else. He was living in a pleasant village by the side of the Thames at this time ; and he was putting some of his idealism into practice by his generosity to the poor. One day he arrived home without his coat, which he had given to an ill-clad stranger ; and this was typical of him, for he was wrung to the heart's core by the sight of suffering in others.

Now that he was free to marry again, Mary Godwin became his wife ; and they travelled to Italy in the hope that his health would improve. Poems continued to flow from his pen. He wrote *To A Skylark,* that aspiring ode which begins :

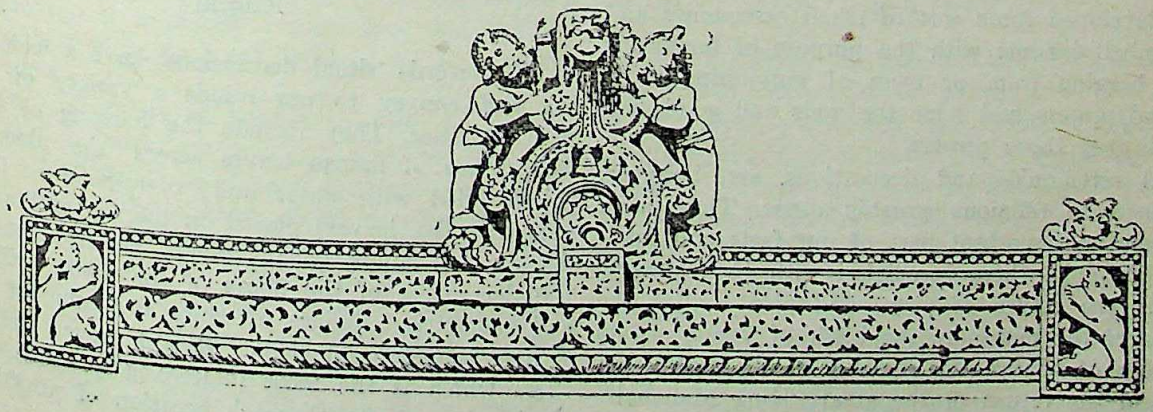
Hail to thee, blithe Spirit !
Bird thou never wert,
That from Heaven, or near it,
Pourest thy full heart
In profuse strains of unpremeditated art.

The *Cenci,* one of his finest works, is a verse-tragedy in five acts ; *Prometheus Unbound* was written in Rome, and owes its inspiration to some divine days of Spring which sent him into raptures. But again the shadow of death clouded his life; he had heard that Keats had arrived in Italy in search of health, and had written a letter urging him to come and stay with him, but the younger poet was already nearing his end. The death of Keats has been immortalised in *Adonais,* one of the finest threnodies in the English language, which Shelley wrote in his sorrow.

In Shelley's poetry we find his message to the world. He believed passionately in a new order of things—an order in which loving-kindness is the mainspring ; and he believed that, by taking thought, man could expel all evil from himself. He once described poetry as "the record of the best and happiest

Percy Bysshe Shelley

moments of the happiest and best minds." And so he lived and worked, loved and suffered, hoping always that his ideals would be attained. His death was as tragic as that of his two contemporaries, Byron and Keats, and it came more suddenly than either. He was returning home from Leghorn by sea, when the small boat was swamped. His body washed up later, was burned on a great funeral pyre upon the shore, and his ashes were buried at Rome. But he did not live in vain, for the inspiration of his finest work is still a living thing in the world of letters and of human thought.



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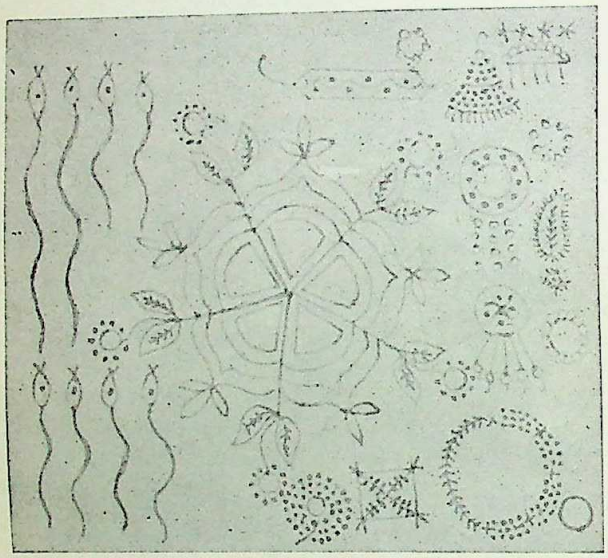
RITUAL DECORATIONS IN INDIA

By SHANTI SWARUP

(*Illustrations by Ratna Swarup*)

Religious sentiments have always been not only one of the principal sources of artistic inspiration but have also provided the creative force for artistic productivity. This is specially true of India. Down



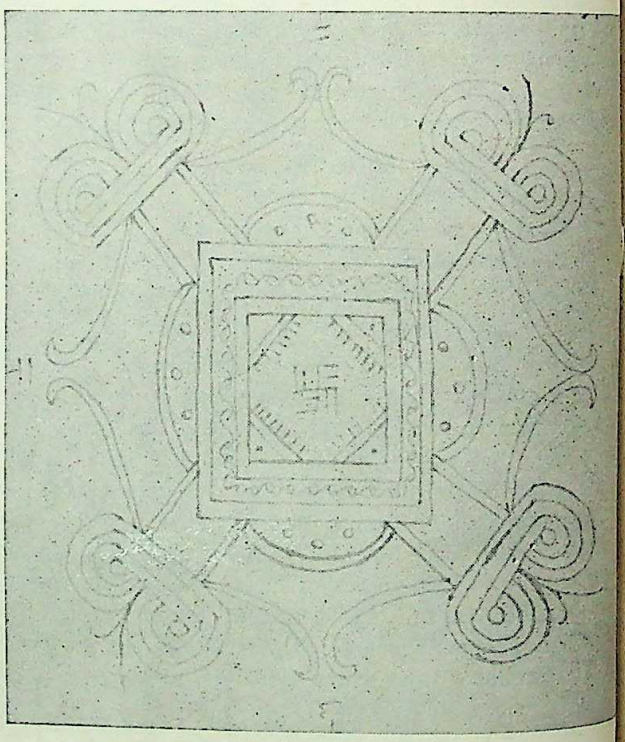
Nagapanchami Alpona

through the ages, in almost every sphere of artistic activity, whether it be painting or sculpture, music or dancing, religion has not only supplied the motive and material for them but has also been the sustaining force. To this very source, we owe the existence and development of the very interesting folk art of ritual decorations.

Before we had our gods and goddesses we had had faith in certain supernatural powers, who, we believed, could determine wholly or partly our fate. It was our belief, nay, it still is, that these supernatural powers, manifest in the sun and the moon, in fire, storm and rain, in flowers and animals, could be evoked or controlled through worship. The result was that we developed some sort of ritual ceremonies and artistic embellishments with the purpose of honouring them, of begging from or even of humouring those supernatural powers and later the gods and goddesses, who substituted those powers.

Ritual ceremonies and decorations, are, however, not confined to religious worship alone. They have now become an important part of our fasts and festivals, for example, those associated with the changing of seasons, the return of peace and plenty after the dark days of the monsoon, the birth of young shoots at the close of winter, the ripening of the paddy in Bengal, and the return of the great "King Mahabali" indicating the coming in of the month of harvest in Kerala. The rituals and decorations play a significant role in our semi-religious ceremonies and on social occasions as well. Almost all the auspicious and family events, such as weddings, *griha-prabesh* (entering a new house), the naming ceremony of the child, or the coming of an honoured guest to a meal, or even the dawning of a new day are adorned and embellished with decorations showing an artistic skill which is both traditional and spontaneous.

Ritual decorations in India have, therefore, not grown up as an isolated phenomenon. They are essentially a part of our culture and very closely linked up with our religious and cultural developments.



Rangoli

The words 'ritual decorations' have a wide meaning and convey to our minds a variety of objects and activities. They include the hanging of festoons and *torans* of mango leaves across the doors, the *kalash* filled with water and *amra-pallavs* (mango twig with five leaves) placed on the top of the *kalash*, lighted clay lamps, banana plants, flowers, incense and the decorating of the floors of the house with floral and geometrical designs of white and coloured powder of rice, lime-stone or chalk. It is, however, the last of these which is the most interesting and artistic part of the decorations. On each occasion of worship, fas

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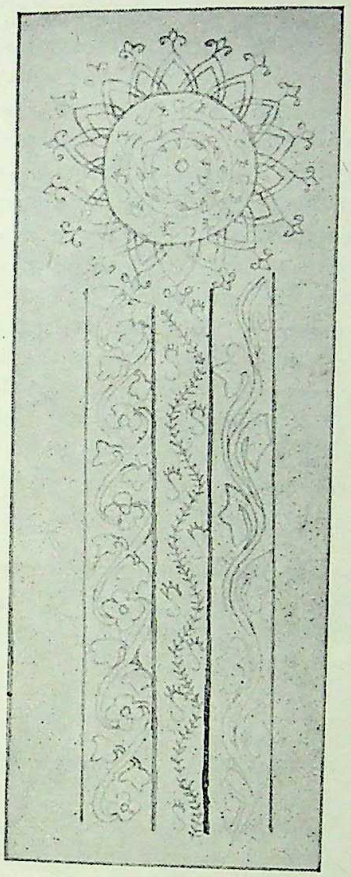
festival or social event of a sacred nature the womenfolk of the household set themselves joyfully to beautify and decorate the floors of the house and the courtyard with designs and patterns, executed slowly, carefully and religiously, in clear, fresh and white lines, "capturing something of the magic of tradition, something of the primeval freshness of simple beauty, something of the elan of aspiration and leaving it there to bless her home and to gladden the eyes of all who come and go."



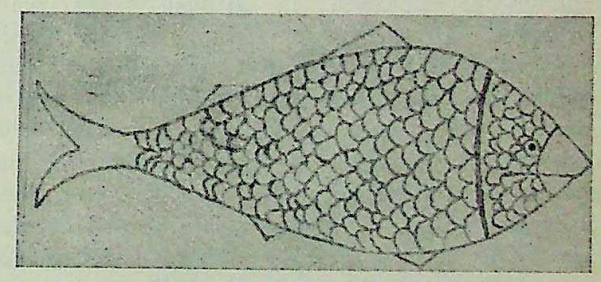
Lakshmi Puja Alpona

This particular kind of ritual decoration as a domestic art is practised throughout the whole of India, but in its most developed form, it is found in Bengal, Orissa, Madras, Maharashtra and Gujarat—practically along the entire coast line. It is not seen so well executed and in such variety in the interior of the country. It is indeed a queer fact that the art should have found the most fertile field only along the sea-coast.

Known as *alpona* in Bengal, *jhunti* in Orissa, *kolam* in the South, *rangoli* in Maharashtra and Gujarat, and *chowk* in the United Provinces and Bihar this art is entirely in the hands of the womenfolk of the country. Religion being the motive force for much that women in India do and also because of the artistic instinct innate in them, this art of decoration has almost been monopolised by our women and has come to be regarded essentially as a feminine art. Girls, when hardly six or seven years of age, receive their first schooling in the art from the elderly ladies of the family. They soon become quite adept at it, and in their turn, teach them to their daughters and grand-daughters. Thus the art has continued and lived through ages. Very recently, the Kala Bhawan at Santiniketan has introduced this form of art as a subject of study in its arts curriculum. But that is an exception. It is a pity that nowhere else does it form part of the regular studies.

We must not however imagine that, since the art is passed down from generation to generation, it is a stereotyped affair. It is no doubt a traditional art and some of the designs are very much conventionalised, yet there is much scope for exhibiting talent and creative force. The girls who have the forms and contents of the designs in their own imagination, draw beautiful patterns and designs freely, without blindly following the designs and patterns of the elders. We can indeed discover in them artistic creations of great skill, executed with taste, variety and originality. Each individual pattern is, as Tapan Mohan Chatterjee says, "a true picture of the woman's heart—her desires, fancies and imaginations—a great worship of life unlike the dead ceremonial worship, alleged to be based on scriptures."

These decorations are generally executed on the plain surface of the courtyard or the floor of the house, which is usually of earth in our country or on the streets by the main doorway in Gujarat, Maharashtra and the South. They are also executed on low wooden seats—the *patas*—and over the rounded body of the *mangal kalash,* although on the latter the natural flourish of the designs is sometimes very much disturbed and they degenerate into mere geometrical designs.



Fish motif

The materials of our folk-artists are few and simple. Powdered rice, or white lime-stone or chalk or even flour, sometimes mixed with water producing an effect like that of white paint, is usually the only material. There is no need for brush even. The dainty fingers of the artists serve the purpose. Although white is the generally accepted colour of these decorations, other colours are also used on important occasions, to beautify the patterns further, by the more ambitious of our folk-artists. Broken bits of leaves supply them with green colour, marigold petals and powdered turmeric with yellow, powdered red

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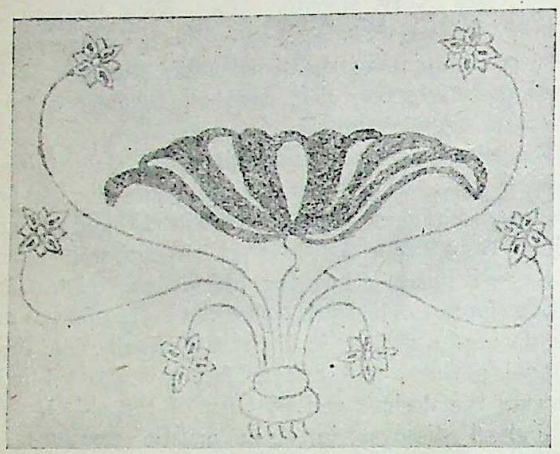
brick gives them the red colour and charcoal the black. In the South and in Maharashtra, minute particles of cocoanut husks and sand are also pressed into this artistic service.

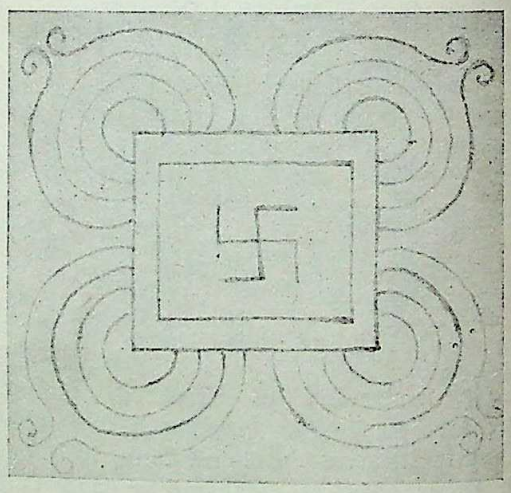


Lotus motif

Each piece of such decorations consists of two classes of designs, that is the ceremonial and the decorative. The ceremonial designs are traditional and always in keeping with the occasion that is being celebrated. In such designs figures of birds, fish, and animals, both real and legendary, sometimes with riders and sometimes without, the sun, the moon, the stars and chariots, combined into many pleasing arrangements have their places of honour. For example, on the occasion of the worship of Manasa, the goddess who presides over snakes in Bengal or on the Nagpanchami Day in other parts of the country, the Alpona and Rangoli designs and patterns must include figures of snakes. The most important festival in honour of Lakshmi in Bengal takes place in the month of Aswin or sometimes in Kartik (September-October) on the full-moon night. Paddy is regarded as the chief wealth and the symbol of prosperity and since Aswin is connected with the ripening of the early winter paddy, Lakshmi is regarded as the presiding deity of the crop and an elaborate form of decorations is executed for her worship. *Charan* or the foot-marks of Lakshmi, the goddess of Fortune, who is fondly believed to enter the house on this day and a creeper to represent the paddy are important motives of the *alpona* associated with this worship.

In the South, the girls make a "Shiva Peeth" *kolam* on Mondays, a "Kali Peeth" on Tuesdays, a "Swastika" on Wednesdays and "Lakshmi" *kolam* on Fridays. Conch-shells, gada, *gopads* (cow's footmarks) are important motifs of the ceremonial side of the Rangolis. The scorpion supposed to symbolise human sufferings figures in the *chowks* of the United Provinces and Bihar to ward off evil influences. The figure of fish, regarded as an auspicious object by the Hindus, is a very favourite motif and appears in almost all cases where water is shown or where the different kinds of animals are depicted. In Bengal, the figures of the vermilion pot, *baju* (an ornament of the upper arm), *nath* (a nasal ornament), bangles, ear-tops are objects of *alpona* decorations connected with the worship of married women. Some *alponas* involve as many as forty different objects before each of which a flower should be offered and a song and a rhyme recited on important occasions. These designs though sometimes markedly crude and stiff are however interesting and surprisingly refreshing.

But the decorative part of these designs is most fascinating and a very real means of expression of the heart's uplift towards Beauty. On the occasion of the reception of a distinguished guest, the place where the guest sits and dines, on the occasion of weddings, the place used for standing by the bride and the bridegroom, on the occasion of religious worship, the place where the idol is to be worshipped, or on the coming of a new dawn, the courtyards are decorated with beautiful patterns and designs, which are not just traditional but lovely creations of the artist's mind unfettered by any convention or rules or ritual decorations. The designs are mostly geometrical or floral but superbly executed. The girls vie with one another in excelling the other's works and create many beautiful works of art.



Rangoli

There is an endless variety of geometrical patterns which must have originated in the simple enjoyment of lines and forms. Some of the designs are very simple, just a network of lines, but very clever and artistically done. Sometimes, colour-effects are introduced to enhance their beauty. On auspicious occasions clay-lamps glow in the centre of them and in the South they are filled in with brightly coloured flowers and leaves.

It is in the execution of floral designs, however that the richness and glory of this art is to be seen at its height. Motifs taken from the plant-world are handled with exquisite taste and skill. Proportions and details are carefully portrayed, and

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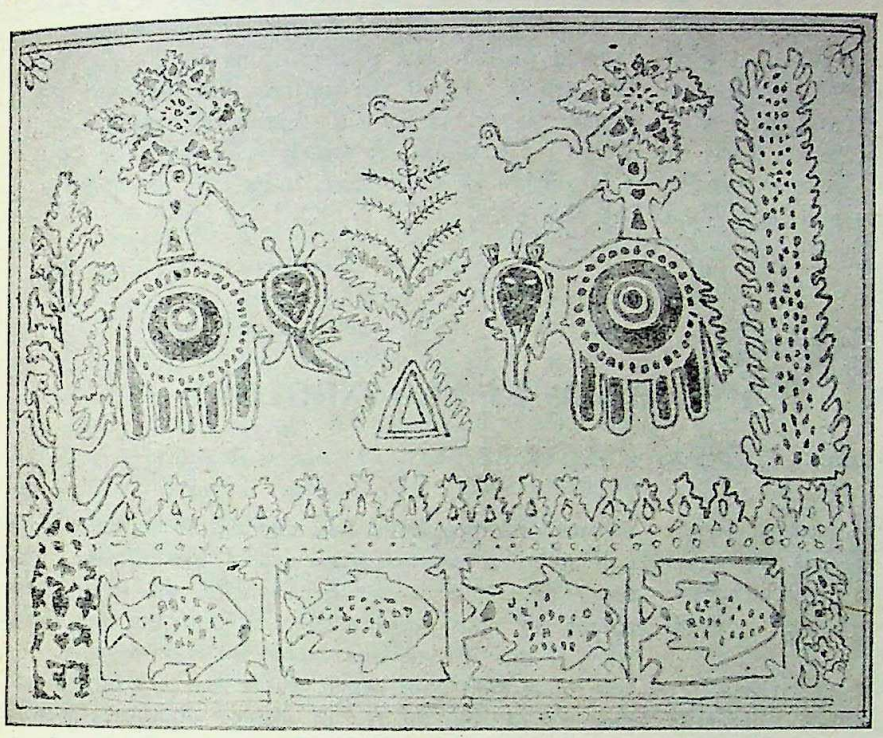
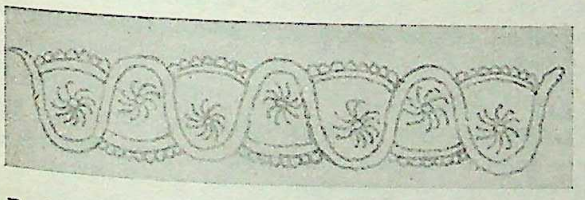
almost every instance the artist's admirable observation of Nature is evident, while at the same time the artist adapts the design with perfect freedom to the nature and shape of the decorative field. The lotus, India's national flower, is in every part of the country a very popular motif. Besides being the symbol of divine seat, the lotus is also the Tree of Life and of



Alpona

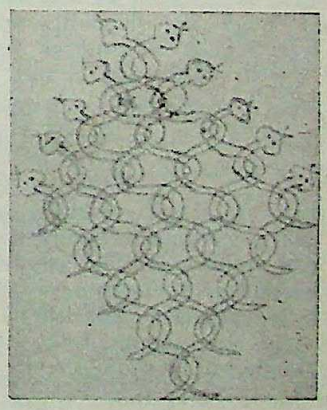
Good Fortune. Many beautiful and intricate designs of the lotus are drawn and differently interpreted, so much so that they do not always appear to be the strict representation of the real lotus we see every day, but they are fine works of art by themselves. The lotus is particularly designed to adorn the standing place for the newly-wedded couple and to provide a place of dignity for the idol to be worshipped.



Besides the lotus, flower motifs with an infinite variety of designs and colour schemes can be seen. Creepers with graceful curves are a very favourite source of inspiration and there is always room for the artist to show her artistic ability in ornamentation.

Among the Malayalis, there is an interesting form of decoration on festive occasions by making a model of a gay flower-bed with white powder and cocoanut husks on the ground of the outer courtyard by the main doorway. It is called *phook kolam*. The Malayali damsels fill it with beautiful flowers of as many variety and colour as possible and make designs of rare charm. The golden age of Kerala history was when the great and good king "Mahabali ruled the land." He symbolises prosperity and every year in the month of the harvest, Kerala celebrates one of the lovliest festivals known as Onam. It is said that even the gods were jealous of the popularity of this King and cast him down to the nether regions. But so deep was his people's sorrow that Mahabali was allowed to visit them once a year to gladden their hearts with his presence. So every house in Kerala wears a gay and festive appearance when Onam comes again, and beautiful Kolam designs filled with richly coloured flowers are everywhere in abundance. During the Deepavali week, the Gujarati girls make thousand and one Rangolis with a variety of designs and colour schemes, both inside the house and on the streets, in the night time for the town-folk to see and rejoice in the morning.

Apart from festivals, in Maharastra and in the South, it is a daily ritual for the ladies of the house to make *rangolis* and *kolams* in the courtyard and on the ground outside the house by the threshold. They sprinkle fresh cow-dung on the recently-swept ground and make designs of *kolam* and *rangoli* with white powder of rice, or lime-stone or chalk. No particular design is prescribed. The girls draw pleasing floral and geometrical designs from their imagination and display real artistic power.



Nagapanchami

The most obvious characteristic of this folk art is the note of simplicity and spontaneity. Inspired partly by religious ideas and spiritual experiences and partly by the natural artistic sense in women, it is the

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purest and the most sincere form of art. Although there is a complete absence of perspective values and other aesthetic devices, known to the modern artists, it has an appeal and charm which only a genuine work of art can convey. To some people including some of the learned art-critics this art appears somewhat grotesque and aesthetically unpleasing. Perhaps they have never known what real beauty is. It seems as though a complete enjoyment of beauty is only possible for some of us when we are confronted with a work of art which is at least superficially related to our own notions of artistic beauty, and even the slightest deviation from our visual impressions tends to make an otherwise real work of art appear as artistically inferior. But this is putting false values on art. Fine arts or artistic beauty can by no means be standardi or always moulded to suit any one type of hum culture or artistic sense. Socrates taught us that virt may be acquired, why not then, the aesthetic sense enjoyment of a work of art which does not alwa favourably respond to our set emotional sensatio although for no lack of intrinsic merit on its pa However, whether one chooses to label it as grotesq or childish, the cult of Beauty is ever there to che us, and provide the nearest thing to a pure pleasu The art of ritual decorations as practised by o women, is no doubt a highly-developed domes decorative art—an art which is as vital in nature it is sincere in expression. Indeed, it not only plea but also stirs.

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BENOY SARKAR AS A PIONEER IN NEO-INDOLOGY

By Prof. HARIDAS MUKHERJEE, M.A.

Benoy Sarkar (1887-1949) is one of the most celebrated and creative thinkers of modern times. His ideas and ideologies are best expressed in the category of *Sarkarism. Sarkarism* is today a familiar expression in the world of India's scholarship.

> "With the solitary exception of Mahatma Gandhi," observed the Journal of the Benares Hindu University, "there is hardly any other living leader of thought in India to whose name *ism* has ever been applied. Seldom do we find such a wide recognition of one's worth in one's own life-time. Benoy Sarkar is one of the few in the world to-day who have achieved such eminence."

A renowned German paper, *viz., Sozialwissenschaftliches Literaturblatt*, once remarked:

> "Prof. Sarkar reminds us in many ways of our Oswald Spengler on account of startlingly many-sided erudition and intellectual flexibility with which this scholarship traverses in a powerful manner all the regions and epochs of human culture."

One of the most striking and epoch-making contributions of Benoy Sarkar lies in the field of Indology. The cardinal message of Sarkarism is:

> "Humanity is in short essentially one, — in spite of physical and physiognomic diversities, and in spite of historic race-prejudices. The *elan-vital* of human life has always and everywhere consisted in the desire to live and in the power to flourish by responding to the thousand and one stimuli of the universe and by utilising the innumerable world-forces."

This is the fundamental thesis which Benoy Sarkar seeks to establish, in its diverse aspects and varied forms, in all his works from the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Vol. I, 1914, pages 770 to the *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (1941, pages 704).

Probably the most dominating postulate in the minds of the scholars and writers is that there is a fundamental distinction between the East and the West, which, in th opinion of a extreme race-culturist like Kipling, "sha never meet." It is usually supposed that the Occide stands for politico-positivistic type of life and though whereas the Orient represents the mystico-metaphysica type of living. Prof. Max Muller was one of the great pioneers of this theory of alleged difference which i perpetuated in his *India: What Can it Teach Us?*, pub lished in the 'eighties of the last century.

> "The main trend of his thesis was to indicate th India can teach nothing but the sublime speculatio of an other-worldly character, the psychology of th soul, the ethics of retreat from the struggles of li and the metaphysics of the Infinite."

Ever since that time this theory of alleged differen has been dominating the thoughts and writings of soci thinkers and culture-historians in the East as much i the West, and this unobjective approach lies at the bo tom of all pseudo-history and pseudo-science of the 19 and 20th centuries. Even the intellectual giants almo invariably accepted this theory of alleged East-We difference as the first postulate in thinking. Almo every Indian scholar of the 19th and early 20th centuri fell victim to it, and flattered by the seemingly appr ciative words of men like Max Muller, Bloomfield, Pa Deussen, loudly preached at home and abroad that Indi special genius lies in her spirituality. Vivekanand Abhedananda and Rabindranath were some of the loude exponents of this view-point which is advocated even this day by a host of scholars among whom Huxley a Radhakrishnan may be easily mentioned.

This traditional view of Indian culture was effectiv challenged, perhaps for the first time, in the world science and letters by Benoy Sarkar whose *Posi Background of Hindu Sociology* (Vol. I, 1914, pages 7

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is a great landmark in the evolution of Indology, or marks the beginning of *Neo-Indology*. The book is complete in three volumes (pages 1370) and together constitutes an effective counterblast against the widely circulated news and views on Indian culture. Its reaction on the academic world has been very powerful. Though the old ideas and idolas are still maintaining their sway, yet they are gradually losing ground under the tremendous pressure of the powerful forces generated by the author of the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (1914).

The general tendency of Benoy Sarkar's writings is to oppose the thesis that seeks to indicate that India is predominantly religious and spiritualistic, while Eur-America is essentially politically-minded and materialistic. That the voice of the East is the voice of religion and the voice of the West is the voice of secularism is one of the most important targets of attack of the Sarkarian school of philosophy and sociology. Prof. Sarkar ruthlessly exposes the inherent weaknesses of such speculations and mercilessly analyses the psychology that prompts such a theory. Even the intellectual giants commit the grave fallacy of enunciating the cult of "East is East and West is West," simply because they lack the proper sense of historical perspective and fail to conduct the comparative method, epoch by epoch and item by item. In his *Futurism of Young Asia* (Leipzig, 1922, pages 410), Benoy Sarkar complains of three principal fallacies committed by Western scholars in the application of the comparative method to historical and sociological problems and data.

> "In the first place, they do not take the same class of facts. They compare the superstitions of the Orient with the rationalism of the Occident, while they ignore the rationalism of the Orient and suppress the superstitions of the Occident. They compare the thoughts and activities of the higher intellectual and economic grades of the Occident with those of the illiterates and paupers and half-fed masses of the Orient. But intellectual fairness demands that mentality and morality should be compared under 'the same conditions of temperature and pressure.'
>
> "Secondly, the Eur-American sociologists do not apply the same method of interpretation to the data of the Orient as to those of the Occident. If infanticide, superstition and sexuality for instance have to be explained away or justified in one group of races by historical criticism or by anthropological investigations and so forth, these must be treated in the same way in the other instances as well.
>
> "In the third place, the Occidental scholars are not sufficiently well-grounded in comparative chronology. They do not proceed to the work of striking a balance between the claims of the East and the West, age by age, *i.e.*, idea by idea and institution by institution in a time-series."

These three fallacies which Benoy Sarkar indicates above, are very largely vitiating the world-scholarship in the present century. These fundamental fallacies are committed in comparative culture-study not only by the Eur-American scholars and intellectuals, but also by the general run of Indian and Oriental scholars and researchers on an extensive scale.

On the strength of his own investigations and researches Prof. Sarkar draws the following equations to indicate the approximate socio-cultural identities and similarities between the East and the West:

(1) East (down to 1300 A. D.) = West (down to 1300 A.D.) institutionally as well as ideologically.

(2) Renaissance in the East (1400-1600 A. D.) = Renaissance in the West (1400-1600 A.D.).

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

(3) 1600-1750. The new physical or positive sciences in the West constitute a special feature of the European Renaissance. The Asian Renaissance produces fine arts, but no new positive science worth mentioning. All the same, no genuine societal differentiations between the East and the West are perceptible as yet. We may then institute the following two equations: (a) Asia in positive science (1600-1750) = Europe in positive science (1400-1600), but (b) Asia in socio-economic life (1600-1750) = Europe in socio-economic life (1600-1750).

(4) 1750-1850. The Industrial Revolution in the West creates a new civilisation, the "modern mind." East and West differ substantially for the first time. Thus Asia (1850) = Europe (1750).

About 1850 the East is behind the West by nearly a century in technocracy, economic institutions and general culture. That go-aheadness is still preponderantly prevalent in the West *vis-a-vis* the East. But this superiority of the West over the East for a period of a century or so, does not entitle the race-culturist to pro-

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pound the jingo-cult of fundamental difference between the East and the West or different sections of humanity. The remarkable successes and achievements of Europe during the 19th century do not supply the norm by which to express the character of Western civilisation or the rate of her progress through the ages. In the philosophy of Sarkarism such terms as "Unchanging East" as opposed to "Progressive West" are senseless superstition and they were born of the sentimentalisation or poetization of the alleged "superior races." But scientists must not forget to place them in their historical setting and read them in the light of the perspective. Of course, Sarkar is acutely conscious—perhaps more conscious than anybody else—of the existence of differences in superficial particulars, in social conventions and modes of external expression which are due principally to language, economic status or grade of material development, and temporary political vicissitudes. But

> "This," argues Sarkar, "must not be magnified into the alleged bed-rock of a science for the classification of races according to the mentalities, views of life, or the so-called ideals of culture."

It is against such a general background that Indian culture has got to be studied. It is generally believed by the classes and the masses that the Indians are ethical and religious, while the Eur-Americans are materialistic and worldly-wise. But Prof. Sarkar vehemently opposes such an estimate as it has practically no foundations in the world of reality. He holds, on the contrary, that the Indians are no less practical and positivist than the Eur-Americans, and the Eur-Americans, are no less moral and spiritual than the Indians. This dictum of fundamental equality between the East and the West is the soul of the science of *Neo-Indology*.

It is, as Sarkar repeatedly points out, only after the successful political-*cum*-industrial domination of the East by the West that the alleged difference was first stated and since then grossly exaggerated. During the 19th century the Occidentals had become the masters of "this world" and it is they who have studied life and institutions of the subject Orient in their extremely chauvinistic attitude. It is these scholars again who have constantly dinned into the ears of the Orientals that the latter's special genius lies in the cultivation of the soul. As pupils and imitators, the Indians also began to take pride in demonstration of their intrinsic superiority over the Westerns in such terms as the following :

> "Well, the philosophy of Europe and America is rooted in the enjoyment of the senses. You Occidentals are wedded to the interests of this little thing men call earth. But Hindu philosophy is grounded in self-restraint and self-sacrifice. We cultivate other-regarding ideals, our goal is renunciation, and our interests are absorbed in the Infinite and the Hereafter."

This is obviously the psychology of the slave. It is just natural and human that in such speculations and fancies, a subject race, a militarily impotent people, is bound to seek consolation.

Thus situated, the people of India, nay, of the ent Orient, became to the Eur-American observers t standing example of slothful passivity and pessimis indifference to life. Arguing the past from the degener present, the scholars of Europe and America began interpret the whole previous history of the Hindus as record of inertia, inactivity, subjectivism and othe worldliness. This interpretation has been perpetrated the world in the writings, however meritorious on th grounds, of Max Muller and the numerous Indologists wh have followed in his wake. The mesmerized Hindus u derstood that probably the West was thus eulogizing t East. The scholars of India also followed suit, and beg to bring into prominence some of the quietistic passag of the *Upanishads* and Buddhist *Dhammapada* to t exclusion of other exploits of their ancestors. The Hind of this period entirely misunderstood the spirit of t *Upanishads*, the *Gita* and the *Vedanta*, etc. and popularis a false doctrine of *Maya* or "world as illusion" witho understanding the sense or context of the original pr pounders. This is the only period (1757-1905), in t Sarkarian philosophy, during which the Indians h been false to their traditional genius in fostering nation industries and international commerce, false to their ag long natural capacity for co-operating with other races the building up of the world's sciences, arts, an philosophies.

> "The brightest period of world-history," observe Prof. Sarkar, "has been the darkest period in the Indian."

But, thanks to the ideas of 1905, India once agai entered upon a creative period, a period of revolt an reconstruction.

Pragmatically speaking, there have been and the are philosophies and philosophies both in India an Europe. Mysticism and other-worldly attitude ha flourished as much on Indian as extra-Indian soil, alo with the development of positivistic and materialist leanings on both the theatres. Generally the West identified with violence, militarism and positivism. B in Sarkar's critical philosophy and comparative cultur analysis, this traditional attitude to Western culture absolutely fallacious. Mysticism of diverse denominatio has flourished very luxuriantly on the Occidental so The cult of the Infinite, the Absolute and the Eterna has indeed a formidable tradition in the Western wor Let us take a few instances from the history of the We

The very first mystical speculations on the Europe side were embodied in the teachings of Pythagoras. H believed in the transmigration of the soul and preach the esoteric doctrine of numbers. He was a vegetari and believed in general absistence and ascetic mortific tion of the flesh. Plato's idealism also was mystical much as was the monism of contemporary *Upanishadis* of India and *Taoists* of China. Thirdly, the othe worldliness and pessimism of Jesus are undeniable. H political slogan was : "Render unto Caesar the thing that are Caesar's." Such extreme "non-resistance" w

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probably never preached in India. In India Gautama the Buddha could simultaneously function, and actually did function, as a religious organiser and a great statesman. Most of his followers were energists and active propagandists. There are many instances of Buddhist monks organising themselves into military orders in the medieval history of China, Japan and India.

Fourthly, Plotinus (third century A.C.), the greatest neo-Platonist, was a mystical pantheist. Next, the monasticism, celebacy, nunnery, notions about "the world, the flesh, and the devil," "the seven deadly sins," etc., of Christianity had been practically universal in the Western world throughout the Middle Ages. A slight acquaintance with the religious history of Europe will immediately drive us to the conclusion that the other-worldly passions and practices in the West had too deep and extensive sway to be explained away as accidental, imported or unassimilated overgrowths. Spiritualistic "self-assertion" was the creed of many a transcendentalist denomination in Europe during the Middle Ages. In Europe the priestly organisation was more unified, and more powerful than its counterpart of the then India. If we are absolutely ignorant of European history, we can deny this bit of factual tradition of the West. To the English Puritans, even music and sports were taboo. The painters of the romantic movement in Germany fought shy of women and preached that all artists should be monks. Hartmann, the philosopher of the *Unconscious,* is an inveterate woman-hater, and a confirmed pessimist. His pupil, Mainlander, in the *Philosophy of Redemption,* has outdone the master. According to him, the movement of all beings is not the will to live but "the will to die." The guide of them both, Schopenhaur, had propounded "the denial of the will to live." The race of Emersons and Thoreaus is not yet a thing of the past in Eur-American tradition.

"Even the 'international Jew' of the twentieth century," says Prof. Sarkar, "is almost universally sticking to the old *mores,* folkways, *sitten,* customs or *acharas,* no matter under what geographical, climatic, political and economic conditions he may be functioning. The Jewish priest exercises his sway as mightily in the urban pattern as in the rural. The Christians of Eur-America are no less subject to this despotism of customs and ceremonies than are the Jews. The most scientific and the most capitalistic Christian families of the world have not yet been able to bid adieu to their most primitive birth-death-marriage *samskaras* (ceremonies). No dose of hyper-urbanisation has succeeded in serving as an effective solvent of the old and medieval *mores* in the Christian world. The Christians of no denominations, Roman Catholic, Greek Church or Protestant, have yet renounced the *samskara* of baptismal ceremony in order to demonstrate their modernism and acculturation to the industrial economy or the scientific attitudes to nature and the universe. Italian like other Catholic boys and girls at the age of 7—9 still observe the *samskara* (ceremony) of the holy communion. This is as common in America as in Europe. Marriage continues still to be a religious ceremony among Christians and Jews in spite of the almost universally introduced legal compulsion as regards civil marriage. Either before or after the registration of marriage at the government or municipal office church marriage is solemnized in every decent family. No amount of modernisation in capitalistic *mores* has succeeded in militating against the survival of religious marriage even among Protestants. Among the Roman Catholics of France, Italy, Spain, Austria, Rhineland, the U.S.A. and Latin America the feeling continues to prevail that a mere civil marriage is abominable like companionate marriage, trial marriage and so forth, and is alleged to imply virtually prostitution."—*Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (1941, pages 339-342).

How is it possible, asks Sarkar, to maintain, in the face of these solid bits of factual history, that pessimism and mysticism or transcendentalism is the product exclusively or distinctively of the Orient, specially of India?

At this stage one might easily suggest that Occidental mysticism and other-worldism are the result of her contact with Eastern countries, specially India. But again Prof. Sarkar argues:

"This is not necessarily due to the migration of ideas or institutions from the East to the West, and *vice versa;* because this cannot be proved by positive historical evidence in many instances. Most of these indentities are really independent growths or accidental convergences and point to the fundamental unity of the human make-up. Indebtedness can undoubtedly be traced to foreign sources in certain incidents. But the very fact of their naturalisation and assimilation to the conditions of new habitat indicates, again, the essential psychological uniformity of mankind." —*Futurism of Young Asia* (1922, page 108, Leipzig).

Let us now critically examine the other side of the shield. Usually India is associated with other-worldly leanings, pessimism, mysticism and so forth. But Prof. Sarkar at once challenges this fundamentally wrong estimate about India which is to him as much materialistic and spiritualistic as the West.

The wars of the Rig-Veda are too well known to every student of India's socio-religious history. In that celebrated Indian work a substantial portion is devoted, among others, to the discussion of the various means and methods of war and aggrandisement. The *Rishis,* pragmatically viewed, were the last persons to preach or cultivate *Ahimsa.*

"If the *Rishis* of ancient India," says Prof. Sarkar, "knew anything they knew burning, killing and fighting."

This heightening way of saying things should be taken, of course, not in a mathematical, but human manner.

The first Indian Napoleon, Chandragupta Maurya (4th century B.C.) had a regular standing army of 60,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9000 elephants, and a multitude of chariots. A race which can organise such a vast fighting machine and beat back the mighty Hellenic forces was not certainly over-religious or unpractical mystics. Such vast armies have not been exceptional in Indian history. According to a Portuguese observer, Krishna of Vijayanagar (1509-30 A.D.) in South India commanded an army of 703,000 foot, 32,600 horse, and 551 elephants, besides camp-followers. One of the smallest armies of the Hindus has been that of the Andhras in the Deccan.

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It had only 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 100 elephants. India has been active through the ages in her militaristic and positivistic career which is discussed at remarkable length in Sarkar's *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922, pages 270).

In the power of political organisation the Indians would appear from an objective analysis of comparative history to be more brilliant than, or at any rate, as brilliant as the Europeans.

> "It is true," observes Sarkar, "that on various occasions *pax-sarbabhaumica* (peace of the world-empire), the Indian analogue of *pax Romana*, was achieved within the boundaries of India. In fact, only once did Europe witness the formation of a unitary state with the size and area of the Maurya Empire (322-185 B.C.). This was the Roman Empire at its zenith, during the second and third centuries A.C. Neither the heterogeneous conquests of Napoleon acquired the dimensions of the Tuglak Empire of the fourteenth century or of the Mughal Empire of the eighteenth. In terms of population and area, even the less extensive Gupta Empire of the fifth century, the Vardhana Empire of the seventh and the Chola Empire of the eleventh were barely approached by the Empire of Charlemagne."

Wherein do Indian ideals then differ from European?

Let us proceed to analyse Hindu secularism or positivism a little more deeply in the light of objective history. All through the ages the Hindus have been famous to foreign nations principally as materialists. As discussed at considerable length in Sarkar's *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937, pages 725), the dawn of human civilisation finds the Hindus (Dravidians and Aryans), captains of industry and entrepreneurs of commerce in touch with the Pharaohs of Egypt. The mummies of the Egyptians were wrapped in muslin imported from India. It is also believed that the textile craftsmen of Egypt dyed their cloth with Hindu indigo.

Secondly, Hindu commerce with the land of Euphrates was more intimate and direct. As early as about 3000 B.C., the Hindus supplied the Chaldaean city of Ur on the Euphrates with teakwood. The Assyrians also, like the Egyptians, got their muslin from India. From the tenth to sixth century B.C. the Assyro-Babylonian trade of the Hindus seems to have been very brisk. It was through this Indo-Mesopotamian trade that the Athenians of the sixth century B.C., came to know of rice and peacocks.

Thirdly, Hindu soldiers joined the ranks of their Iranian fellow subjects when Xerxes led the memorable expedition against Greece (480 B.C.), and the bones of many a Hindu must have been mixed with the dusts of Europe at Thermopylae. This was probably the first direct contact between the Hindus and the Greeks.

In international politics the Maurya Emperors of India were the "allies" of the Hellenistic rulers of western Asia, Europe and Africa. They succeeded in giving a unified administration, financial as well as judicial, to extensive areas of India in that distant past. Under them centralisation marked every department of governmental machinery as sufficiently evidenced by Megasthenes and Kautilya.

During the first two centuries of the Christian era, the Kushans of northern India promoted trade with the Roman Empire by land, and the Andhras of southern India had touch with Rome by sea. The balance of trade was in favour of the Hindus, leading to considerable "drain" of gold from Rome to India. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* constitutes a permanent proof of the highly commercial and materialist genius of the Hindus.

In fact, with the fourth century A.C. really commence the foundations of a "Greater India" of commerce and culture, extending ultimately from Japan on the East to Madagascar on the West. The romantic story of this tremendous expansion of India has found its proper place in Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee's *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times* (London, 1912). The heroic pioneers of that undertaking were certainly not metaphysical dreamers, intuitionists or unpractical idealists. The same process of India's secular "acculturation" went on right up to the eighteenth century in a most prominent manner.

The long-continued international trade of the Hindus points to their thoroughly commercial and practical capacity. Some of the ancient ships could accommodate 300, 500, 700, 800, and even 1,500 passengers. In the fifteenth century A.D., the Hindus, according to Nicolo Conti, could build ships larger than the Europeans, capable of containing 2000 butts and five sails and as many masts. One of the Hindu ships on its way to the Red Sea, in 1612, was 153 feet long, 42 feet beam, 31 feet deep, was of 1500 tons burden. The English ships of that date were 300 or 500 tons at most. The city of Murshidabad was brighter and more sanitary than the London of those days according to Clive. Baltazar Solvyns, the French observer, wrote even in 1811 that the Indian sea-going vessels were more durable and elegant than those of the English and the French.

Thus it is quite evident that the Hindu or Indian civilisation has been all through the fleeting centuries of history highly materialistic, practical and positivistic. "If Hindu civilisation" questions Sarkar, "has not been materialistic, one wonders as to what is materialism. In what particulars did the 'Greek view of life' differ from that of the Hindus? Let the Dickinsons and Huntington answer."

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NETAJI ON MAHATMAJI

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By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose worked for long through foul weather for the liberation of the Motherland and up to the last they bore love and esteem for each other both in agreement and in disagreement and it would be a blunder to assess the feeling of Subhas towards Mahatmaji from the single aspect of his opposition to the latter in All-India Congress affairs. Here it would seem to be a systematic hostility to Mahatmaji's programme based on caution and moderation as opposed to advocacy for rough and ready action impelled almost in every case, by a careful study of international affairs. Mahatmaji while demanding complete independence would be satisfied with Dominion Status and Subhas would brook no compromise on this point. Mahatmaji would like to depend more on spiritual force while Subhas, a stern realist, would give the material world its due share and refuse to accept many of Mahatmaji's declared views on life, on the methods and means of attaining political freedom. He would refuse to accept non-violence as an end in itself, at most he was prepared to give it a chance as a means to an end.

Perhaps Subhas could not overcome the bias of his first interview with Mahatmaji, of being dissatisfied with the cloudy haziness that encompassed the different stages of Non-Co-operation Movement and his heart yearned for more light to be convinced of the efficacy which might lead to the ultimate goal. Subhas would always wonder at the steps taken by Mahatmaji at a particular period or on particular occasions which militated against his declared views on the subject. He demanded a more clear-cut programme, which would be understandable to all, no matter whether it was going to be accepted by the majority or not. It is hazardous to suggest that his antipathy towards Gandhism and "Gandhites", as Subhas "for want of a better term", would be pleased to call them, grew out of his failure to reduce the influence of Mahatmaji in the Congress circles or to dislodge him from the position which he had held since his emergence in Indian politics. It is similarly hazardous to suggest that whatever antipathy had Mahatmaji towards Subhas was to the growing influence of the latter in the Congress and his persistent and increasingly stronger opposition to Mahatmaji in the sphere of politics.

There is one difference between the two in respect of their individually expressed opinion about the one against the other. While Subhas never lost his restraint in his criticism of Mahatmaji, Mahatmaji seems to have lost all control over himself when he heard of his "own defeat" in the open election of the Presidentship of the Tripuri Congress. He was beside himself with anger and he had on the issue of subsequent events, drafted the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee purporting to expel Subhas Chandra from the Congress. On the whole, it was a relation of mutual tolerance, of love and esteem and a good deal of affection on the part of Mahatmaji so long, as in the opinion of Mahatmaji, Subhas behaved.

If Subhas was sometimes harsh upon Mahatmaji, his views, at other times, were mellowed down by expressions of deep love and esteem. He would not spare the devout followers of Mahatmaji and would complain of their inexplicable subservience to him. Mahatmaji, as it seemed to Subhas, was a bundle of contrasts. While it was easy for him to comprehend the role of Deshabandhu, the case was quite different with Mahatmaji :

> "In many ways he is altogether an idealist and a visionary. In other respects, he is an astute politician. At times he is as obstinate as a fanatic; on other occasions he is liable to surrender like a child. The instinct, or the judgment, so necessary for political bargaining is lacking in him."

Here Subhas is in accord with Deshabandhu who held the view that

> "The Mahatma opens a campaign in a brilliant fashion ; he works it up with unerring skill ; he moves from success to success till he reaches the zenith of his campaign—but after that he loses his nerve and begins to falter."

Subhas also accused Mahatmaji of allowing the opportune moment slip away and start the same movement at some other date, particularly when the enemies of India had become fully posted with the methods and possibilities of the movement and had sufficient time to guard against or checkmate the progress of the movement. He has also openly accused Mahatmaji of 'bungling' and 'blunders' and of obstructing the progress of the independence movement at odd times. His grievance was that having failed to carry conviction Mahatmaji would often coerce his opponents to accepting his views by threat of retirement and some such device. Wherever there was the merest chance of his proposal being rejected or even altered, Mahatmaji would refuse to accept any responsibility in the matter and would go the extreme length of withdrawing all his support and even the support of his adherents.

While appreciating some of the features of Mahatmaji's daily life and dress, Subhas sometimes severely criticised the baneful influence which his insistence on a particular mode of living had exercised over the common man and its deleterious effect on Indian political movement. In discussing the causes of the downfall of India in broad outline, Subhas held that Mahatmaji had indirectly contributed to the continuance of the defects and also added confusion in many of its aspects. Asks Subhas, "After all, what has brought about India's downfall in the material and

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political sphere?" His analysis brings to him the following answer:

"It is her inordinate belief in fate and in the supernatural—her indifference to modern scientific development—her backwardness in the science of modern warfare, the peaceful contentment engendered by her latter-day philosophy and adherence to Ahimsa (non-violence) carried to the most absurd length."

The downfall was due to the neglect of the material side of life and too disproportionate a stress on the 'spiritual and intellectual' side of it. The following passage expresses the views of Subhas:

"India can boast of a very ancient culture and civilisation, but one must admit that we have not been able to preserve what we constructed, owing to our comparative inefficiency in the art of preservation. Moreover, I do not think that we developed the material side of life—the arts and crafts—as much as the ancient Egyptians did. Our emphasis was not on civilization but on culture; not on the material side of life but on the intellectual and spiritual."

Considering the *pros* and *cons* of such a way of living and thinking, Subhas says:

"Owing to our superior thought-power, we could hold our own against invaders from outside even when we were vanquished physically for the time being—and in course of time we could also absorb the outsider."

And about the disadvantages:

"On the other hand, emphasis on the intellectual and spiritual side, caused us to neglect the development of science and let us remain comparatively weak on the material and physical side of life."

But India had had her 'glorious periods' of existence when she was able to extort admiration of the world, and the causes, according to Subhas, were:

"The glorious periods of our history were, when we were able to strike a golden mean between the demands of spirit and matter, of the soul and the body—and thereby progress simultaneously on both fronts."

There must be an attempt for synthetizing the different forces, and its neglect results in weakness both of the body and the mind:

"Owing to the inter-relation between the soul and the body, the neglect of the body not only weakens a nation physically, but in the long run, weakens it spiritually as well."

And the result was:

"India at the present moment appears to be suffering not merely from physical weakness but from spiritual exhaustion as well—the inevitable result of our neglecting one aspect of life. And if we are to come to our own once again we have to advance simultaneously on both fronts."

According to Subhas, Mahatmaji had only succeeded to create more confusion and had failed to achieve the amount of success which his enormous popularity and huge following would justify. Subhas has adduced a number of points which have individually and collectively contributed to such failure:

"He has failed because the strength of a leader depends not on the largeness—but on the character—of one's following," and if there was want of what is meant by 'character', Subhas again accuses Mahatmaji for the deficiency:

"Consciously or unconsciously, the Mahatma fully exploited the mass psychology, just as Lenin did the same thing in Russia, Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany. But in doing so, the Mahatma was using a weapon which was sure to recoil on his head. He was exploiting many of the weak traits in the character of his countrymen which had accounted for India's downfall . . "

i.e., helpless resignation to fate and unshaken belief in the supernatural, neglect of science, and a host of other causes already related. In 1920 Mahatmaji would be treated not as a political leader but a religious preceptor or *guru* as well and the numerous followers of Mahatmaji were prone to "regard everything that he said as gospel truth without reasoning and arguing and to accept his paper *Young India* as their Bible." Mahatmaji's daily routine was translated into action in many homes and many people "gave up eating fish and meat, took to the same dress as the Mahatma, adopted his daily habits like morning and evening prayer and began to talk more of spiritual freedom than of political Swaraj."

There are many instances where this imitation had been dragged to ridiculous end, inasmuch as in the face of Mahatmaji's protests, "in some parts of the country the Mahatma began to be worshipped as an *Avatar*."

In political conferences and discussions the preachings of Mahatmaji permeated the very fabric and in April, 1923 at the Jessore Provincial Conference the goal of Swaraj was accepted as a spiritual one. Still amusing things would happen:

"In 1922, when the writer (Subhas) was in prison, Indian warders in the service of the Prisons Department, would refuse to believe that the Mahatma had been cast in prison by the British Government. They would say in all seriousness that since Gandhiji was a Mahatma, he could assume the shape of a bird and escape from prison."

There are other instances where Mahatmaji's personal views on non-violence militated against the views held by his countrymen and there was widespread resentment against his act of omission or commission. Mahatmaji's silence on the martyrdom of Jatin Das who—his demand for better treatment as an under-trial political prisoner in comparison with the ordinary criminals having been refused by the Government—went on hunger-strike in the Lahore Jail and died after 63 days on September 13, 1929, evoked deep despair in the mind of the political workers of India. It was strange that such a great sacrifice could fail to produce any impression on Mahatmaji. Still more surprising is Mahatmaji's statement, in reply to a question from a close friend of Jatin Das, to the effect that

"He had purposely refrained from commenting, because if he had done so, he would have been forced to write something unfavourable."

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Similar was the attitude taken by Mahatmaji in connection with the death sentence passed on Bhagat Singh and his two associates of the Lahore Conspiracy Case. Mahatmaji was at the time in negotiation for a political truce with the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, and was requested from all quarters to make the execution of these martyrs an issue with the latter. But Mahatmaji would not identify himself even by an expression of sympathy with the revolutionaries in India, and refused to go so far and ultimately the condemned prisoners were hanged on March 23, 1931, and that on the eve of the Karachi Congress. The feeling of the younger section of the people ran high and to a considerable section of the youths it was freely talked that Mahatmaji "had betrayed the cause of Bhagat Singh and his comrades." But there were other matters which in all seriousness should be treated as grave political issues having nothing to do with ethical standards. In support of his argument Subhas cites two instances:

> "The Mahatma and his followers would not countenance the boycott of British goods because that would engender hatred towards the British. Even so intellectual a personality as the celebrated poetess (one time President of the Indian National Congress and the first Indian Governor of the United Provinces in the new dispensation), Srimati Sarojini Naidu, in her speech at the Gaya Congress in December, 1922, condemned the Swarajist policy on the ground that councils were places of 'Maya' (which means an illusion or something false that charms and tempts), where Congressmen would be tempted by bureaucratic overtures."

In analysing the other causes of failure of the Mahatma, Subhas enumerates:

> "While he understood the character of his own people, he has not understood the character of his opponents. . . his policy of putting all his cards on the table will not do. We have to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's—and in a political fight, the art of diplomacy cannot be dispensed with. He has failed because he has not made use of the international weapon, because the false unity of interests that are inherently opposed is not a source of strength but a source of weakness in political warfare."

The last but not the least, in Subhas's views an extremely important factor was

> "because he has had to play a dual role in one person—the role of the leader of an enslaved people and that of a world-teacher, who has a new doctrine to preach. It is this duality that has made him at once the irreconcilable foe of the Englishman, according to Mr. Churchill, and the best policeman of the Englishman according to Miss Ellen Wilkinson."

In spite of what has already been said, Subhas holds that Mahatmaji has been endowed with the best gifts of nature and he acquired the rarest qualities of a leader by self-culture. It was simply a matter of course that his influence has come to stay from the day he liked to enter Indian poiltical arena.

There is something both in the physical and mental make-up of Mahatmaji combined with instinctive sense of reality which marked him as a leader of men with outstanding abilities. Mahatmaji admirably fulfils the needs of the time, the saviour of downtrodden and impoverished India.

> "His simple life, his vegetarian diet, his goat's milk, his day of silence every week, his habit of squatting on the floor instead of sitting on a chair, his loin-cloth,"

on the physical side and on the mental, his "asceticism, his adherence to truth and his consequent fearlessness" have all "combined to give him a halo of saintliness."

"His loin-cloth was reminiscent of Christ, while his sitting posture at the time of lecturing was reminiscent of Buddha." In the choice of language he has always in his mind the calibre or capacity of the ordinary man of the street. He will seldom use a word that is difficult of comprehension for the lay public. About words with difficult concept he will give his own interpretation so that people may find it reflected in the mirror of his own intellect.

> "When he talks to them about Swaraj, he does not dilate on the virtues of provincial autonomy or federation, he reminds them of the glories of *Rama-rajya* (the kingdom of King Rama of old) and they understand. And when he talks of conquering through love and *ahimsa* (non-violence), they are reminded of Buddha and Mahavira and they accept him."

The effect on the mass has been tremendous and nobody on earth has enjoyed popularity or has weilded so much influence continuously for such long years. Even if he is not in the forefront or has temporarily withdrawn from public gaze, everybody would anxiously await to hear 'what Mahatmaji says.' In fact, he is never out of public mind and the whole world from the ignorant to the most intelligent, from the socially persecuted to the religious questioner would follow him with correspondence and it must reach him because the Indian Post offices have instruction to deliver to him all letters addressed to Mahatma Gandhi, India.

> "Wherever he may go, even the poorest of the poor feels that he is a product of the Indian soil—bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh"

and this is the secret of his enormous influence on the people of India.

Further,

> "Through ascetic discipline he had equipped himself for a life of suffering and during the period of his apprenticeship in Indian politics, from 1914 to 1920, he had been able to gather round him a band of loyal and trusted followers."

No doubt it was a great advantage to Mahatmaji that he was able, more by example than by precept, to gather 'round his head a halo of saintliness which was of inestimable value to him in a country where the people revere the saint more than the millionaire or the Governor.' It was not through miracle, not through chance that Mahatmaji created this unique position for himself which has been of inestimable value to India. He was, as everybody having the

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barest knowledge of Mahatmaji knows, in his youth greatly influenced by "the teachings of Jesus Christ and the ideas of Tolstoy", but he advanced over these two by applying these principles in practice in his own life and bringing them to the level of practical politics with the masses of the people. It was a triumph of non-violence over violence, the violence of British Imperialism demonstrated through the batons and bullets of the myrmidons of law and order. It was a great achievement which kept men calm and patient in the face of violence of the worst type, where human nature would only be too glad to retaliate however feebly and ineffectively that might be. Mahatmaji's conception of applying 'non-violent non-co-operation' in the field of wider sphere of Indian political agitation and "not for remedying local grievances, but for winning national freedom" was really grand and its effectiveness was "well-nigh demonstrated that it was possible to paralyse the civil administration of a foreign Government thereby and bring the Government to its knees."

It was a still greater intellectual feat to choose the right moment after a careful survey of political events covering nearly a quarter of a century and to come out with an irresistible force that would brook no opposition from any quarter or from any group of politicians that had held the field so long. This is how Subhas has written about the emergence of Mahatmaji with his programme of 'non-violent non-co-operation':

> "In 1920 India stood at the cross-roads. Constitutionalism was dead; armed revolution was sheer madness. But silent acquiescence was impossible. The country was groping for a new method and looking for a new leader. Then there sprang up India's man of destiny—Mahatma Gandhi—who had been biding his time all these years and quietly preparing himself for the great task ahead of him. He knew himself—he knew his country's needs and he knew also that during the next phase of India's struggle, the crown of leadership would be on his head. No false sense of modesty troubled him—he spoke with a firm voice and the people obeyed."

In another place Subhas has beautifully put the position of the Mahatma at the beginning of the first mass struggle which Mahatmaji had been going to launch:

> "Throughout the year 1919, lightning and thunder had raged in the political sky of India—but towards the end of the year the clouds lifted and the Amritsar Congress seemed to herald an era of peace and quiet. But the promise of Amritsar was not fulfilled. Once again the clouds began to gather and towards the end of 1920 the sky was dark and threatening. With the new year came whirlwind and storm. And the man who was destined to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm was Mahatma Gandhi."

In another context Subhas recalled the services of Mahatmaji with deep gratitude. He held that but for Mahatmaji India would still have been rolling in quagmire and morass of indecision and internecine strife. Says Subhas (Bangkok, October 2, 1943):

> "No one can say that the Indian people not fight in order to retain their freedom— they did not fight all together. . . . The le that we have learnt from this painful chapte Indian history is that unless the Indian pe stand united before the enemy, they will neve able to achieve their independence, nor will be able to preserve it even if they acquire i

Even after the British had been marching for acquiring new territories each day, there was not slightest indication of the rest combining together offering resistance to the enemies. There was a for a considerable period during which the foreig could find ample time to consolidate their position India. With some it became crystal clear tha further time was allowed, it would be difficult to sh off the stranglehold of the enemy. Subhas in trac the development of political consciousness of the Ind people resulting in mass movements against Bri imperialism says:

> "It took long time to open the eyes of Indian people. Ultimately, in 1857, they woke and they then made a concerted attack on British in different parts of the country. . . W the fight began the British were easily defeated first. But two factors accounted for our ultim failure. All parts of India did not join in fight; and what is more significant, the techn skill of our army commanders was inferior to t of the commanders of the enemy forces."

Then after the "First War of Independen people were coaxed and cajoled and assurances equality with the Britishers in India and good gover ment came forth. There was again a lull and all t remained of political agitation was petitioning protests. There was practically no clash worth name with the ruling auhorities in India till the tr events of Jallianwallabagh. The people "rema stunned and paralysed" as the effect of brutal perpetrated on both the law-abiding citizens and law-breakers alike and it was apprehended that po cal agitation would never be able to raise its again. There was literally a debacle in the fiel politics. Says Subhas:

> "Constitutional agitation, boycott of Br goods, armed revolution—all had alike failed bring freedom. There was not a ray of hope and the Indian people, though their hearts burning with indignation were groping in the for a new method and new weapon of stru Just at this psychological moment, Mah Gandhi appeared on the scene with his novel me of Non-co-operation or Satyagraha or Civil Dis dience. It appeared as if he had been sent by P dence to show the path to liberty. Immediately spontaneously the whole nation rallied round banner. India was saved. Every Indian's face now lit up with hope and confidence. Ulti victory was once again assured."

And this is how, according to Subhas, Mahat has served India and brought a marvellous chang the outlook of her people:

> "For twenty years and more Mahatma Ga has worked for India's salvation, and with him, Indian people too have worked. It is no exa

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ation to say that if in 1920 he had not come forward with his new weapon of struggle, India today would perhaps have been still prostrate. His services to the cause of India's freedom are unique and unparalleled. No single man could have achieved more in one single life-time under similar circumstances."

The efforts of Mahatmaji, his tact, resourcefulness, his unique influence over the masses have made Congress an organisation of the masses which under his direction has assumed a position of respect throughout the world, and a cherished place in the heart of the Indian people. No sacrifice, in the name of the Congress, is too great for a political worker and it infuses courage and self-confidence whenever the national tri-colour guides them to a struggle. In the following passage Subhas enumerates Mahatmaji's contribution towards the Indian people and their great organisation:

"Since 1920 the Indian people have learnt two things from Mahatma Gandhi which are the indispensable pre-conditions for the attainment of independence. They have, first of all, learnt national self-respect and self-confidence—as a result of which revolutionary fervour is now blazing in their hearts."

By itself it is a great achievement but contribution of a greater import is the creation of a new Congress :

"Secondly, they have now got a countrywide organization which reaches the remotest villages of India. Now the message of liberty has permeated the hearts of all Indians and they have got a countrywide political organization representing the whole nation—the stage is set for the final struggle for liberty—the last War of Independence."

In another passage Subhas has dilated upon this subject and his observation is characteristic of his incisive mind which scans every detail of a subject and helps him in coming to a sound conclusion :

"The year 1921 undoubtedly gave the country a highly-organised party-organization. Before that, the Congress was a constitutional party and mainly a talking body. The Mahatma not only gave it a new Constitution and a nation-wide basis—but what is more important, converted it into a revolutionary organization. The tricolour national flag was adopted all over the country and assumed great importance. Uniform slogans were repeated everywhere and a uniform policy and ideology gained currency from one end of India to the other. The English language lost its importance and Congress adopted Hindi (or Hindusthani) as the lingua franca for the whole country. Spontaneously, Khadi became the official uniform for all Congressmen. In short, all the features of a modern political party became visible in India. The credit for such achievements naturally belongs to the leader of the movement—Mahatma Gandhi."

Subhas, as also his admiring countrymen, is grateful to Mahatmaji for giving the present shape to the Congress and placing sacrifice above long purse and high connections in one's claim for leadership. This is what Subhas writes :

"The Indian National Congress of today is largely his creation. The Congress Constitution is his handiwork. From a talking body he has converted the Congress into a living and fighting organization. It has its ramifications in every town and village in India and the entire nation has been trained to listen to one voice. Nobility of character and capacity to suffer have been made the essential tests of leadership, and the Congress is today the largest and the most representative political organisation in the country."

Subhas asks himself as to how it was possible for a single man to achieve so much in an incredibly short space of time. It was by "his single-hearted devotion, his relentless will and his indefatigable labour." Of course, the time was propitious and Mahatmaji was the creator of such circumstances, of making the mind of the masses receptive to his ideas and preachings. In him two contradictory interests have merged and that is the source of his great strength. Says Subhas:

"The time was auspicious and his policy prudent. Though he appeared as a dynamic force, he was not too revolutionary for the majority of his countrymen. If he had been so, he would have frightened them instead of inspiring them; repelled them, instead of drawing them. His policy was one of unification. He wanted to unite the Hindu and the Moslem; the high caste and the low caste; the capitalist and the labourer; the landlord and the peasant. By his humanitarian outlook and his freedom from hatred he was able to rouse sympathy even in his enemy's camp."

Mahatmaji's 'policy' in other occasions has been deemed superb. It was intended to impart solemnity to the event, to inculcate self-respect in the masses and to capture the imagination of the public. It would always try to fall in line with the tradition of India while the demonstrative aspect of the issue was never overlooked. As particular instances, amongst a host of others, two may be cited to illustrate the point. These relate to his dress and to the Dandi March for Salt Satyagraha. So far as Mahatmaji's 'loin-cloth' is concerned, it was treated as an emblem of India's poverty and made him akin to the poorest people of India. And he would not eschew the loin-cloth even when he had been visiting the Buckingham Palace to meet Their Imperial Majesties, the Emperor and the Empress of India. Besides the moral that the 'loin-cloth' or the habitual dress of Mahatmaji carried with it, it had had its demonstrative side. Subhas entertained some misgivings about the advisability of visiting Europe in his characteristic dress. But on a second thought he came to the conclusion that "on this occasion he did the right thing in adhering to his favourite dress." The reply that Mahatmaji jocosely gave to a questioner is remarkable for its subtle humour and for its deep satirical import. Said Mahatmaji, 'You people wear plus-fours, mine are minus-fours.' Continued Mahatmaji :

"If I came here to live and work like an English citizen, then I should conform to the customs of the country and should wear the dress of an Englishman. But I am here on a great and special mission, and my loin-cloth, if you choose so

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to describe it, is the dress of my principals, the people of India."

Mahatmaji's countrymen together with Subhas Chandra "feel proud that he stuck to the dress of his principals and even attended the Buckingham Palace with it."

The famous 'Dandi March' of Mahatmaji inaugurating contravention of the Salt Laws is a measure that has very little parallel in the history of projects undertaken to rouse the imagination of the masses and to have the progress of the 'March' relayed throughout the world. Subhas has recorded his high appreciation of the method in which the disobedience of the Salt Laws was undertaken and the way in which it was carried all along its course till Mahatmaji was clapped into prison.

> "At the time the Government were sceptical about the effect that the march would produce and they were not inclined to take him seriously. The Anglo-Indian papers began to write taunting articles and the *Statesman* of Calcutta in a leading article wrote to the effect that the Mahatma could go on boiling sea-water till Dominion Status was attained. This scepticism was also shared by a section of Congressmen,"

and it may be said that their number was legion. But very soon the whole character of the campaign changed and presented a very serious outlook. It was

> "an event of historical importance which will rank on the same level with Napoleon's march to Paris on his return from Elba or Mussolini's march to Rome when he wanted to seize political power."

It had the desired effect and the demonstrative side of the movement was fully exploited. The scheme in its detail was well thought out and Mahatmaji's trek on foot was an example of great foresight. Because

> "the march on foot enabled him to rouse the entire countryside through which he passed and it also gave him to work up the feelings of the country as a whole."

This was very judicious for the simple reason that

> "if, on the other hand, he had taken the train to Dandi from Ahmedabad, arriving there the next day, he would neither have been able to rouse the people of Gujarat, nor would he have had enough time to work up the entire nation."

The effect was tremendous on the public inasmuch as

> "while the Mahatma was marching from village to village, an intense propaganda was carried on in the neighbourhood asking the people to give up service under the Crown and to prepare for the non-payment of taxes, which would be started before long. At every step the Mahatma received an unexpectedly warm welcome and that made the Government realise that the coming campaign would be a much more serious affair than they had thought at first."

Respect for Mahatmaji burns undimmed throughout Subhas's political career and even when Mahatmaji had taken an extremely unreasonable and hostile attitude towards Subhas, the latter would ever t of the former in terms of great respect. When a his victory in the presidential election over his r Mahatmaji issued a most sarcastic and unbecom statement against Subhas, it was a remarkable fea patience on his part to maintain a high dignity hold Mahatmaji in high esteem. He would say:

> "I do not know what sort of opi Mahatmaji has of myself. But whatever his may be, it will always be my aim and object to and win his confidence for the simple reason it will be a tragic thing for me if I succeed winning the confidence of other people but fail win the confidence of India's greatest man."

It is true that Subhas sometimes criticised, that very strongly, Mahatmaji for introducing ethical principles of his own into the common pl of politics. It was to an extent incomprehensible the ordinary people who would confuse politics w religion. Yet Subhas knew that such resurgence spiritual awakening is concomitant to political heavals in dependent nations and India is not solitary instance in the long chain of events history.

> "It is not in India alone that a struggle freedom has been heralded by a spiritual awak ing. In the Risorgimento movement in Italy, was Mazzini who first gave the spiritual inspirati to the Italian people. He was then followed by t fighter and the hero—Garibaldi, who began t march to Rome at the head of one thousand arme volunteers. In modern Ireland, too, the Sinn Fe Party, when it was born in 1906, gave the Ir people a programme which was very much simil to Mahatma Gandhi's Non-co-operation program of 1920. Ten years after the birth of the Sinn Fe Party—that is, 1916—the first armed revolution Ireland took place."

And one who had studied history with such care a scrutiny could not rest content with a mere spiri revolt against oppression and Subhas staked eve thing to raise an army armed to the teeth to supp ment the movement carried on inside India with weapon of non-violence.

But even then Subhas would not forget Mahatm and would pray, on July 6, 1944, for blessings a good wishes of the "Father of our Nation" so that may succeed in his mission. It was his idea "t Indians at home had everything that they need for final struggle but they lack one thing—an army liberation." Perhaps it was destined that Sub should play the part of Garibaldi or de Valera India and he fully prepared for the task beginni with his training as a unit in the University Traini Corps in his younger days.

It was not in a mood of levity that he call Mahatmaji, the "Father of our Nation" because follows it up with the statement that

> "Mahatma Gandhi has firmly planted our f on the straight road to liberty."

In spite of all his differences with Mahatmaji, had been one of his most ardent admirers. He

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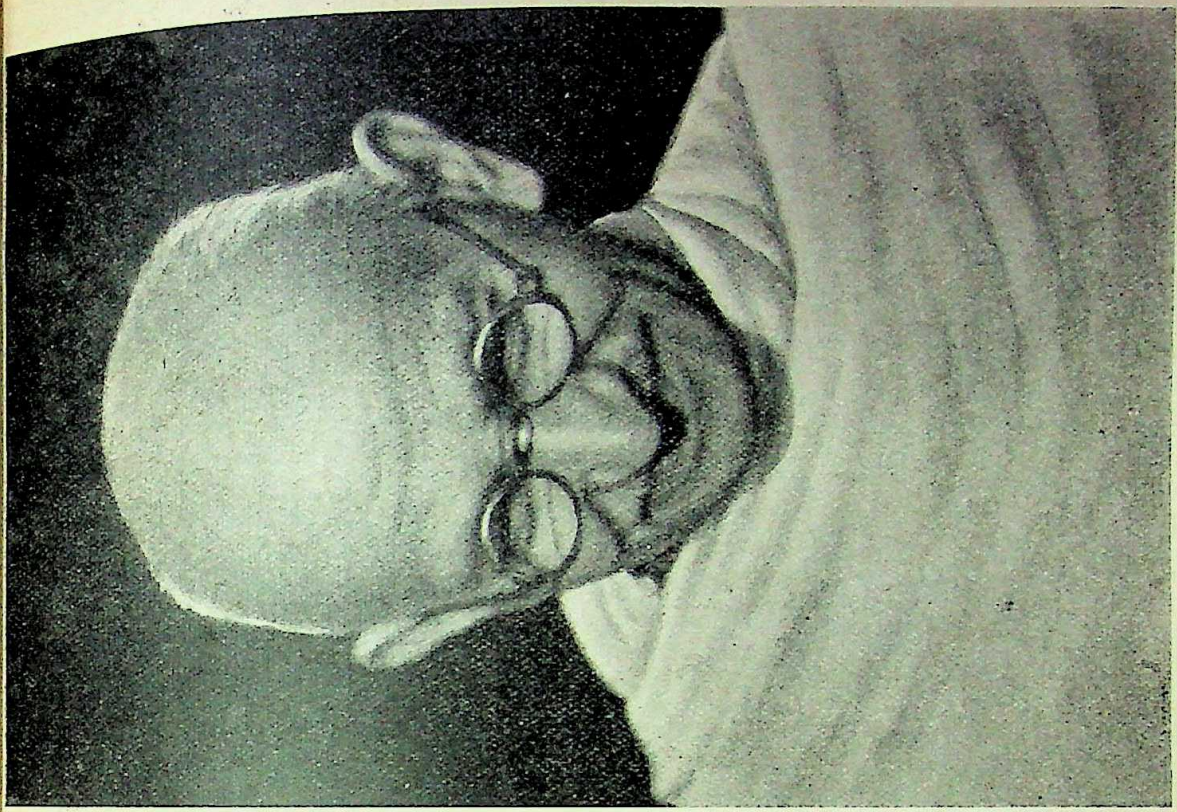

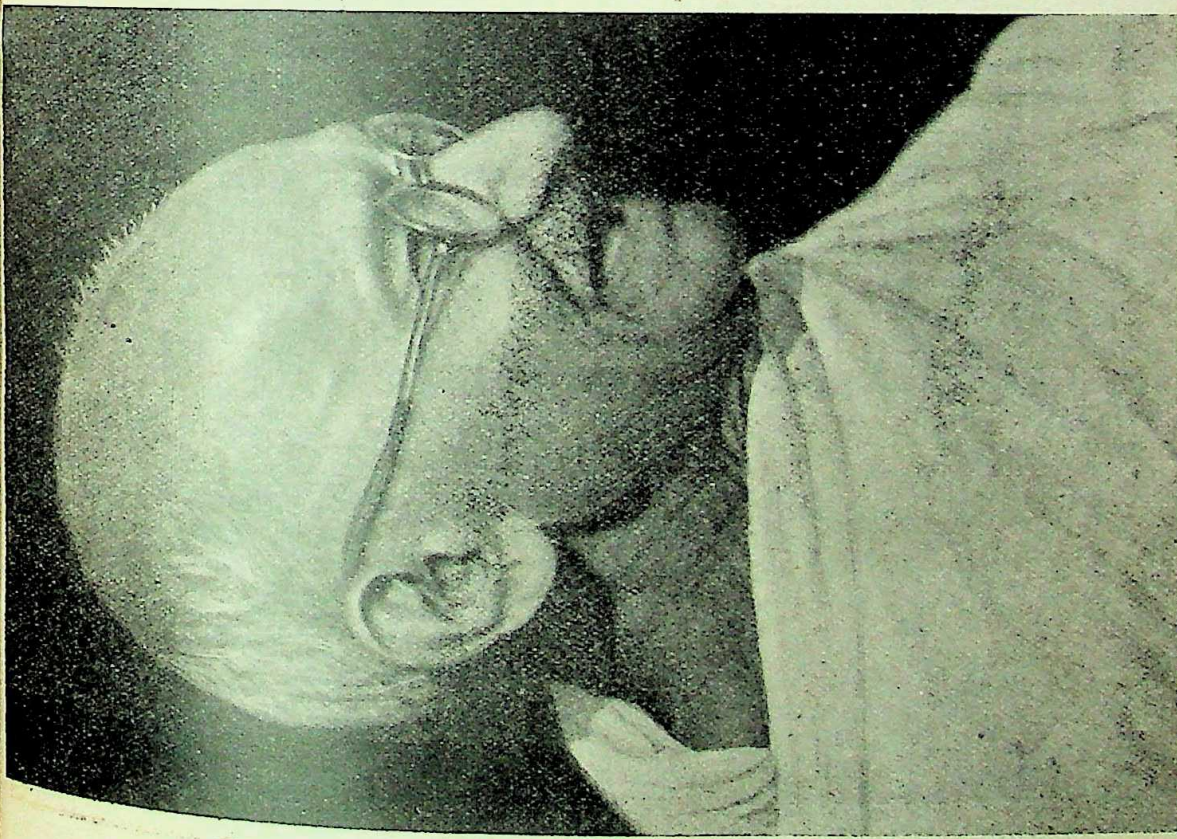

FATHER OF THE NATION

अक्रोधेन जयेत् क्रोधं असाधुं साधुना जयेत् ।
जयेत् कदर्यं दानेन सत्येनालीकवादिनम् ॥

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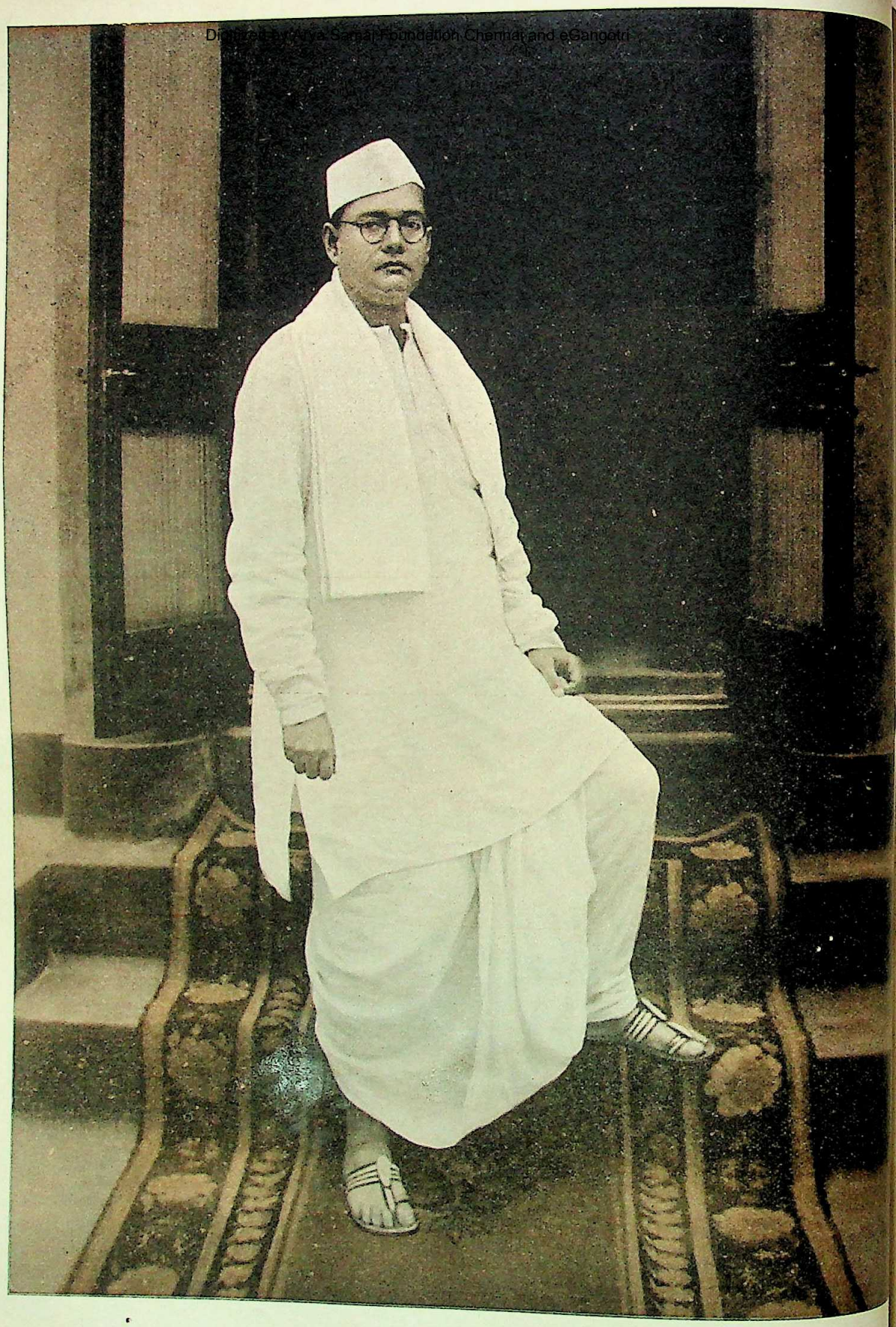

NETAJI: OF FREEDOM'S BATTLE

"न अस्य क्रोधः प्रसादश्च निरर्थोऽस्ति कदाचन"

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had the courage of conviction to say publicly that he did not believe in non-violence while others would cover their feeling with a cloak and parade before Mahatmaji as exponents of his favourite views. Much capital has been made of his differences with Mahatmaji and opportunists in the political fields, persons pitching themselves against him for personal reasons or political grouse would try to influence the high and mighty in the Congress and create difficulties in his way. From 1921 onwards, save on one or two occasions, Mahatmaji and his devout followers have held the Congress machinery under the palm of their hands and it was very easy to cite instances of his antagonism to Gandhiji or Gandhism to a judgment against him. However, he maintained great dignity in his relations with Mahatmaji and it may be said about this aspect of his life that he was more sinned against than sinning. Here, as in nowhere else, he maintained a high standard of independent thinking and as time will wear on, it will become evident that but for his sturdy opposition, untouched by any selfish taint, the level of opposition to British imperialism might have sagged at times entailing serious efforts and huge sacrifices in future years to raise the level of enthusiasm. His services will be recalled with gratitude by his countrymen who will be able to weigh issues dispassionately when the cloud of controversy will have been lifted by time and things can be seen in their true perspective.

It was with feelings of deep anxiety that Subhas awaited every news emanating from Mahatmaji's quarters after his sudden release from prison on May 6, 1944, on grounds of health. He was sincerely glad that it

> "pleased Providence to restore you to comparative health, so that 388 millions of your countrymen may still have the benefit of your guidance and service."

With a heart filled with deep emotion he poured forth on the microphone :

> "For Indians outside India, you are the creator of the present awakening in our country. In all their propaganda before the world, they give you that position and the respect that is due to that position."

Even the domestic differences that affected Indian politics failed to produce any adverse effect outside the country because

> "for the world-public, we Indian nationalists are all one—having but one goal, one desire and one endeavour in life. In all the countries free from British influence that I have visited since I left India in 1941, you are held in the highest esteem as no other Indian political leader has been, during the last century."

Some might think, in view of his differences with Mahatmaji on certain points, that Subhas was not competent enough to fully appreciate the greatness of Mahatmaji ; but it is also to be remembered that Subhas was above all such pettiness and says :

> "Each nation has its own internal politics and its own attitude towards political problems. But that cannot affect a Nation's appreciation of a man who has served his people so well and has bravely fought a first class modern power all his life."

Subhas gives his own appreciation of Mahatmaji's services to the nation and his contribution to India's struggle for freedom :

> "The service which Mahatma Gandhi has rendered to India and to the cause of India's freedom is so unique and unparalleled that his name will be written in letters of gold in our national history for all time."

Let the people of Independent India bury the hatchet and remember with pride and gratitude that these two opposing patriots, Mahatmaji and Netaji, with all their differences, have contributed more than anybody else to the breaking of the shackles that held India in bondage for centuries.

Bande Mataram ! Jai Hind !!

——:O:——

THE BACKGROUND OF INDONESIAN LIFE

By R. C. BHATIA

The term 'Indonesia' now stands for a conglomeration of about three thousand islands—big and small—with a population of about seventy millions and an area of over 730,000 sq. miles. This term was first used by a German ethnologist. He strangely enough included Formosa, the Philippines, Malaya, Madagascar in addition to the Netherlands East Indies into it. The term, however, caught the fancy of inhabitants of the last-named area. It became more popularly known since the launching of their own government by the name of the Republic of Indonesia, after August 17, 1945, in accordance with the clauses of the Atlantic Charter.

The main islands included in Indonesia are : Sumatra, Borneo, Madura, and Java. Java is described as the greatest centre of Indonesian culture and civilisation. There are some special reasons for this. Java has large areas of low plains and its terrain favours large-scale irrigation. There are abundent rice crops and many orchards in this part of the country. It is also the most densely populated island in the country. Covering only about one-eighth of the total area, Java combined with Madura has a population of about fifty millions. Indonesia is rich in raw materials, natural resources and minerals, particularly oil.

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Out of the seventy million Indonesians, sixty-three millions are Muslims, two millions Christians, two millions Chinese and a million and a quarter are Hindus; but all of them have so blended their original faith with the interests of their country that hey proclaim the same fundamental basic unity to the outside world. The Muslim population in this country is miles apart from any religious fanaticism. Although in the major part of the country, life is covered by liberalism in thought, in certain parts of Java animism is also prevalent. The Red and White colours in Indonesian banner represent courage and sincerity respectively.

The Indonesian Republican capital Jogjakarta is the Headquarters of the Nationalist revolution which has shaken the foundation of the 350-year-old Empire, but the pace of life there as in the rest of Indonesia is amazingly slow. The reason for this is that Indonesians are rather easy-going and care-free persons. But although Indonesian nationalism cannot completely shake off its birth in an unindustrialised area yet the people possess great determination to stick to their ideals.

Radio Jogjakarta, the two and a half kilowatt overseas 'Voice of Free Indonesia,' is run by about three dozen persons—half of them being women—announcer-commentators whose average age is 24. They write their own scripts and broadcast them in English, Dutch, French, Hindustani, Urdu, Arabic, Chinese and Turkish.

Among the political parties the Republican Socialist Party is in power. Other parties are the Socialist Party of Indonesia led by Dr. Shariar, the Communist Party led by Dr. Sharifuddin, the Nationalist Party and the Labour Federation. The Masjumi, a loosely-knit Muslim organisation of social, religious, and cultural organisation, occupies a prominent position in Indonesian life.

Indonesian Stage Art

'Sandiwara' is one of the most beloved stage art performances in Indonesia. The attraction towards dramatic art has existed in the country for centuries. 'Sandiwara' stage play has greatly influenced the exchange of Indonesian thoughts from contemplative to dynamic. But the recent changes brought about in the mental conditions of the people from static into dynamic have led to the development of 'Kutoprak' stage plays. It is simple in structure but offers enough artistic satisfaction to the common man. This does not mean that 'Sandiwara' stage plays have been given up. It has its modern variations, legendary, historical and dramatic art-plays exhibiting different episodes and eras. The general Javanese stage arts are almost devoid of a concrete reality.

Indonesia also had its glorious days in the past. At one stage in her history, she was the centre of learning and culture. She had reached a level of high civilisation much earlier than the rise of Europe. The back of the Indonesian culture is still strong although it is lying dormant. Its simplicity, plasticity and spirituality can help build a much richer culture and give expression to a more colourful and variegated civilisation.

Indian-Indonesian Relations

Traces of Indian-Indonesian intercourse are found in the organisation of small democratic communities in the villages known as 'Desas'. The headman of each village, as in India, is elected according to the prevalent conditions and the tribal laws in vogue. The impress of village self-rule is still to be found in an abundant measure. The mode of worship in Indonesia is also similar to India; they worship the forces of nature under the open sky.

Early in the Christian era, the beginning of Hindu immigration to Indonesia is noticeable. This helped in shaping the cultural development of the country. Princes from Hindu dynasties of the Kalingas and the Pallavas laid foundations of certain kingdoms in Java. One of the rulers of the Sailendra dynasty from Bengal erected the greatest of all monuments in Java known as the Borobudur.

Indonesia felt the first spell of Buddhism by a prince from Kashmir in 420 A.D. Islam went to that country from Arabia in the 12th century, but its progress was on peaceful lines.

The Dutch in Indonesia

The Dutch in Indonesia came to the country as traders in 1598 like other imperialist powers. It is a true maxim however that the flag follows trade. In the beginning, they exercised full sovereignty over Batavia only, but when the Indonesian states began to crack up, they gradually took advantage of their weakness and strengthened their hold over the entire Archipelago. Familiar with having suffered from the Dutch misrule and exploitation for centuries, the Indonesian National movement took advantage of the intervening period between the Japanese surrender and its re-occupation by the Allied troops to declare freedom for the country. This was done by Dr. Soekarno two days after its surrender on August 17, 1945. A 17-member cabinet was set up.

Since then the Indonesian struggle for freedom from Dutch Imperialism has seen many ups and downs. These developments are too fresh in human memory to need any recapitulation. Recent developments have indicated how strongly Asia and the world feels about the affair. It is not going under any circumstances to allow the hands of the clock to be put back. It may be possible for the Dutch to suppress temporarily the upsurge of nationalism in that country, but the Dutch must remember that suppressed nationalism has a tendency to burst out with redoubled vigour.

September 9, 1949

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BONN REPUBLIC

By Prof. K. C. PETER, M.A., LL.B.

The Allies No More Allied

On May 7, 1945, Germany admitted defeat and surrendered. The Commanders-in-Chief of the four victorious divisions vested all powers in the Allied Control Council for Germany by June first week. There lay Hitler's Germany, beaten and strengthless, beckoning for mercy. For two whole years, the Occupation forces had their way in war-hit Germany. Then, in London, the Council of Foreign Ministers met in December 1947. The atmosphere was asphyxiating. The Allies were no longer Allied, their alliance had begun to backslide already. Suspense was in the air. The three Democracies—America, France and England—decided to let go their zonal frontiers and create Western Germany. Russia said it is putting the clock back ; hence, her violent opposition to the idea. Anyway on March 20, 1948, the Allied Control Council met again. The Allies had risks and responsibilities of victory to bear. In the session, Britain and America tried to expose certain Soviet stratagems in their unwashed nakedness. Tension was heightened to battle fury. Marshall Sokolovsky staged a walk-out. Without Russia, the talks went on. The river of mutual antagonism in spate, sliced through Germany carrying half of it downstream, to be drilled into shape in Russia. Germany was cut in two ; Russia kept the Eastern portion and Western Allies the remaining big slice. In reality, the two Germanys were like the plus and minus of things. Eastern Germany looked a honeypot in between the paws of the Russian bear. Its rulers were mere pawns moved by the master-minds of Kremlin.

Hermann Punder, Ehard, and Erich Koehler Run 'Interim Government'

The Finanzrat, the Economic Council, took concrete form by the second week of February, 1948, in West Germany. It was a legislative functionary, brought into being by English General Robertson and American General Clay in collaboration with the heads of the provincial governments and the centre. Its function was not only to open up sources of public revenue, but to frame laws for Germany's economic regeneration. A High Court too with wide powers was set in motion. Soon after war's end, the French-British-American combine had the objective of helping sickly Germany to her feet. Hundred and four elected members sat in on this council ; they had in mind nothing of Nazi economics with the mailed fist in the background. Hermann Punder, chief of the six-men executive committee, proved equal to the task. The council of states, having two members from each State, had in the chair Dr. Ehard. The Economic Council unanimously elected grey-haired Dr. Erich Koehler to the presidium. Thus the original democratic idea of Federation of German States got into form. Democracy in Germany was getting into stride. But the stupefying fact, exclusion of East Germany, remained a dead weight in the way of accomplishing the ideal German Republic.

Constitution on the Legislative Anvil

As a help in national revival, the Bank of Germany (Bank Der Lander) was established. With hundred million Reichsmark capital at its back, it did external and internal banking business for woe-racked Germany. Now more and more territorial units willingly entered the Federation. And democrats and republicans of all shades and colours lent the Federation wholehearted support. By July 26, 1948, the Allies, benefited by joint consultations, let out a communique expressing the desire of eleven States to compose a Constituent Assembly. It was an *idee fixe* of the Western Allies to give Germany a free constitution. The constitution-making body called Parliamentary Council, had 65 elected members, of whom 30 represented British zone, 20 American, 15 French. On party lines, the Social Democrats won 27 seats, the Christian Democrats an equal number and the rest less than five. Despite the tension between the dyad of forces, Communists picked off only two seats. Bad society, the three occupying Powers knew, is not something to be sighed over ; but to change it is the imperative need. New Germany shall not be allowed to mature in the womb of old society. Totalitarianism shall go root and branch. It must be stamped out. The nascent Germany must be a Republic in which the people govern themselves. Germany must strike out a new path for herself.

Constitution Making, A Hard Grind

It would have been a misnomer to call the constitution-making body, the Parliamentary Council but for the fact that the constituion framed will have no bearing upon East Germany. It sat in session on the first day of September with the head of Christian Democrats, Dr. Konrad Adenauer presiding. Constitution making is a hard grind. Soon the various commit-

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tees were get-going with the task. Already the constitution was on the legislative anvil. The Council decided not to make this charter of liberty a museum of out-dated clauses that have outlived their usefulness. Between the Federal Centre and Units, an inebriated wrangle for power was on surface. Moreover, Britain, France and America agreed to disagree over the basic nature of the constitution. The French wanted the Residuary rights to reside in the Units. America advocated the Centre to be all-in-all in power, with the units having none. Britain held that the other two Allies are wrong and that the 'golden mean' between the two is the best. Indecision proved disastrous. The Council made bold to brave through the crisis. The Germans were rapidly emerging from the stupor of defeat. The fast-tempoed, high-pressured, emotionally upset Germans refused to be coaxed and cajoled into accepting any constitution dropped from above. The hoopla of West Germans didn't cut much ice with the controlling powers. Yet, the Council boldly included Berlin as a 12th State in the Federal fixture. The military Governors were about to veto it. Then things took a sharp turn.

All Freedoms Save Quadripartite Control

On the other side of Germany, remarkable things were happening. There were moves to enable red infiltration to the west. The military governors of the western Allies tightened their belts for action. The people in west Germany in a tantrum. They thought that they had been made puppets in the democratic doll-dance with strings tied on to the nimble fingers of western Allied powers. The military governors released the final draft of Occupation statute which empowered the occupation forces freedom to do practically anything. The people resented to have their tongues tied, mouths gagged, and voice silenced. They were afraid that military authorities may have them manacled. The constitution-making made quick strides towards completion. On May 5, 1949 the Draft Constitution saw the light of the day. After four years of gestation, the Bonn constitution resulted. It was styled in quiet elegance. Surprisingly enough, the military governors accepted it. Now the parliament had freedom to guarantee all freedoms to the people. The Rights-of-man long beaten down and trampled over, had the long-looked-for resurrection. The Germans were restored to human dignity, their inalienable birth-right. On May 23, the constitution was ratified by the Sovereign Assembly and was proclaimed. The Germans were free except for the Quadripartite control by the High Commission which rested on Western Allies' pleasure to raise. Now the emergence of a Democratic Germany seemed to be only a matter of time.

Purple Patches in the Freedom-Charter

The constitution had West Germany in the van of World progress. The Assembly passed the constitution by 53 votes against 12. Prevention of supreme power from passing on to one single person, or better prevention of Hitlerism is facilitated by article of the constitution. The federal structure takes more after the United States of America than any other country. The residuary powers rest with the units with Federal authority pushed down into a strait jacket. The constitution provides two chambers and adheres to strict separation of powers. With judiciary above politics, justice is guaranteed to the ordinary citizen. Extraordinary courts are rendered impossible constitutionally. Death sentence and illegitimacy of children are ruled out as injudicial. Attention may be drawn to the fact that thirty per cent of German children were born outside wedlock in pre-1939 days. Conscription too is made illegal. The preamble of the constitution clearly says, that it holds good only during the transitional stage. The western Allies want it to serve only as a sign-post for the future.

Berlin and Bonn at Loggerheads

In the meanwhile Russia ushered an Eastern German Government into existence. On October 8, 1949 the East German State was inaugurated with a declaration that the People's Council will hereafter be the People's Parliament. And the Communist veteran, Otto Grottewohl has taken charge as Premier. In the meeting, the Bonn Republic was the recepient of repeated scoffs and jeers. Russia looks like a drunken bully, cannoning his way and trampling down everything in his path, calling it wisely and nicely Sovietization. High-pressure, full-steam activities of corrupt trouble-brewers didn't work well in West Germany. In the last four years East Germany and West Germany fought many a tense see-saw battles. The Sovietites are feuding, fighting, and fussing, and all against Western Democracies. Gambling for high stakes, the Soviet statesmen bellow and bull-charge at U. S. and U. K. They threaten to close in and step up the pressure on western zone. On the other hand Dr. Konrad Adenauer, the first leader of the Fourth Reich, the Bonn Republic, hates the British as much as he hates the Nazis. He wants Germany to have a place in UNO and freedom for Germans to shape their own destiny. After an interview with him Willie Frischauer writes, "German extremists are usually not grateful to their peace-makers. As Neo-fascism joins forces with unvarnished Hitler-worship, as German industrialists use the dismantling issue to get popular support, as German generals write the best sellers of the day, a new menace is growing that may force the world a third time to call halt." What will happen in the future remains in the lap of gods.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT EASTERN PAKISTAN

By BASUDHA CHAKRAVARTY

EASTERN Pakistan is to India more or less a puzzle. Not even to the West Bengalee, even the original East Bengalee who has not been to East Bengal after partition or indeed been there without any preconceived notion, can correctly describe East Pakistan as it is today. For that is the only province in that State where any considerable number of Hindus still remain, where some of those who migrated from the province have returned and some others will not return. That is a province about which reports are bewilderingly conflicting, where conditions are stated to have again become normal and are at the same time described by many as intolerable. Such blatant contradictions have been noticed even in statements by such a supposed authority as the High Commissioner for India in Pakistan, Sree Sitaram. While on a tour of East Pakistan, he said, he had found it a land of the milk of human kindness. Soon after he said, what he had seen in East Bengal had made him sick at heart.

The present writer would make the rather strange submission that both these statements were founded on truth. In the dialectics of communalism Eastern Pakistan is a perfect lesson. There is no simple truth regarding her, no over-simplifying the result of the impact of history upon her delicate, sensitive and carefully-woven texture of soul. The course of events that led to her being sliced away from Bengal to be part of a new State had its origin far outside. The theory of "two nations" had not been thought of in East Bengal. All the same it worked its way there and rent asunder the fine fabric of society that had been formed by feudalism. But feudalism had over-stayed in East Bengal as elsewhere and the theory of "two nations" eminently fitted into the social disequilibrium that had already occurred. For feudal power was vested overwhelmingly in the hands of Hindus while Muslims felt humiliated by that power. Now, feudalism was on the decline and Pakistan was a promise of deliverance from the communal domination it had come to connote.

Its demand arose on the basis of the two-nations theory. Establishment of Pakistan has been on a Muslim majority basis. Yet the demand for exchange of population from the more militant section of the Hindu community would re-inforce by the theory of two nations. It derives strength from talks that Pakistan is a Muslim State. What is operative, however, is that it is a State for, of and ruled by the Muslims with other communities permitted to stay on perpetual sufferance. These communities are supposed to be under the State's tolerant, even benevolent, protection.

This is the experience to be got out of a visit to East Bengal after it has settled down and is concerned to announce, as it announces by a notice at an important Dacca cross-road, that it has come to stay. During the first days of Pakistan things were very much as before. Fo changes wrought by history are quantitative before they become qualitative. While they are quantitative, they take time to reveal themselves. During the first days of Pakistan there was a general desire to avoid the impression that things were no longer what they had been. The exuberance that had followed the announcement of the achievement of Pakistan had worn out before the formal establishment of the State. Now is the second phase whose consequences are being felt.

Psychological inability of the minority community to reconcile itself to the position described above arose fundamentally out of the bewildered realization that Pakistan is the result of the recognition that Hindus and Muslims are two separate entities, that this is a State where the Muslims as such must rule. That, let it be conceded at once, primarily accounts for the large-scale exodus. It is frankly speaking a bar to non-Muslim loyalty to the State which it would need the State's special effort to remove. But the State may and does call for loyalty for its own sake and not be condmened if it does not feel called upon to make a special effort to get such loyalty.

Also from the position that Pakistan means Muslim rule flow such excesses in behaviour as have often been shown to be responsible for the alienation of the Hindus. Such excesses are facts, though one may call them, if one likes, isolated instances. They are a part of the general lawlessness that is often an accompaniment of a major political change. That the public at large do not condone such excesses hardly mitigates the harm they do ; for mere passive or oral sympathy is useless and such public opinion finds no organized or effective expression. Police protection against such lawlessness is notoriously lacking due both to corruption and inefficiency. And the general run of Government officials have not even in the changed political text outlived the communal complex with which possibly they had, in course of their official duties, to come more in contact than the ordinary public.

Very possibly similar difficulties are experienced by the minority community in what many Pakistanis somewhat undignifiedly if also falsely call "Hindu-

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stan". But we are here discussing the situation in Pakistan, and it is high time the tendency to cover one's own fault by finding fault with others should be curbed. And the fact remains that India has not admitted the "two-nations" theory so that the minority there has no reason to feel itself apart from the body-politic and the majority cannot, at least officially treat the minority as apart from itself.

In Pakistan again the Hindus have very naturally lost the monopoly position they used to occupy in trade and commerce, and often the unsympathetic attitude of officials operates to their additional disadvantage. Another disadvantage is the attempt deliberately made to set the native language to a Muslim pattern in order to express Muslim individuality, but often on the express plea that Muslims can have nothing in common with Hindus.

Altogether then the majority and minority communities in Pakistan despite the prevailing will for mutual adjustment, find themselves powerless against what is increasingly revealing itself as the inexorable will of history. The majority accept the position as something beyond their control ; the minority finds itself adrift on the uncharted course of migration. Migration has been on a scale large enough ; the spirit of migration has been more widespread still. In face of the establishment of Pakistan on the basis that Hindus and Muslims cannot together form a State on equal terms, Hindus and Muslims in Pakistan do not see their way to a composite nationality And the fact very probably was that Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah did not desire a composite nationality for Pakistan. Not that he desired non-Muslims to leave the State ; he wanted them to live as a protected minority. That is not a position conducive to composite nationality. Composite nationality is indeed ruled out by the very fact that the ruling party in Pakistan is a mono-communal organization. Though it is not to be assumed that had the original proposal to convert the Muslim League into a National League been carried out, Hindus would have joined it in any large number; yet it would have been regarded as a State that would lead towards inter-communal integration. Now the State policy is apparently against integration—very probably because it is thought that to bring in outside and possibly not fully dependable elements would weaken the basis of State solidarity.

For such apprehension, it must be admitted, there is reason. For Muslim nationalism on which Pakistan has been established does offer little scope for integration to non-Muslims, as it does not own the tradition of the Indian nationalist movement which has nourished non-Muslims to the last. It does not own, let alone draw any inspiration from, the ideological atmosphere of Indian nationalism.

Though Mahatma Gandhi is supposed to be as much respected in both the States, Pakistan declines to permit the playing of *Ramdhun* records in public places like cinema-halls. Meetings to remem Gandhiji on anniversaries of his birth and martyrd are attended by Muslims but not organized by th There is, of course, no question of remembering les leaders of Indian nationalism though Pakistan cla to have been inspired as much by anti-imperial as present-day India has been. These are mere st ments of facts and there is no question of praise blame. These facts prove that the Hindus rest on ideological background different from the Musl So it is as difficult for them to enter a compo nationality there as for Muslims to admit them such nationality. Accompanying this difficulty is difference in cultural outlook where the individu of Muslims wanting to preserve itself almost by clusiveness is pitted against the cultural superio complex of the Hindus and is lending itself to cha in literary forms and educational curricula. Preju plays at least as large a part as reason in the Hin unadaptibility to these changes.

So, that is the political-*cum*-psychological posit That determines the basis of State and society East Bengal today. Yet transcending it are people among whom traditions of age-long neighb liness are still at work. The new political set impinges on that tradition almost on class lines. T people as such feel that the Hindus' right to particip in the corporate life of the community is a ma of course. So while factors stated above are at wo and have led to a major change in the commu complexion of political life, no similar change offered by the life of the people. All are freely mov about and getting on with one another almost as m as before. Hindus perform their *poojahs* and do feel they are inconvenienced in any way. Even remote villages *kirtan* is sung at dead of night Muslims are not conscious about there being anyth novel or remarkable, far less objectionable, abou Inter-communal social life in the villages conti almost much as before. Social and cultural meet are being held in common ; athletic clubs w popular interest converges more surely than elsew are of mixed composition, and any suggestion they may be otherwise would cause surprise. S seems, almost despite unfavourable State policy, the people are on the way to resume inter-comm integration. Only it is known that some people left, and the reasons are not quite clear. Pak pleads that those who are leaving do so because won't live here unless they can dominate : they not ready to live on equal terms with Paki Their migration from Pakistan was necessary to the domination of those who want only to domin a final vindication of the position taken up asserted by Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah.

So, it would be true to say that trends of o and popular policies are not the same in East B and they even run somewhat counter to each

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That is because official policy is derived from immediate political expediency while the popular attitude, though not uninfluenced by political conditions, is unable to detach itself from the background of the inter-communal neighbourliness of generations. Official policy is exclusive even in that it guarantees protection to the minority; for by that guarantee it declines to recognize the minority as part of the nation. It has as its basis and strength in the Muslim intelligentsia which is still a rising middle class that is anxious to protect its security by exclusiveness against what it considers to be the former Hindu monopoly. Official and popular attitudes are at variance with each other leading to contradictory estimates of the position in East Bengal.

On a final assessment then of the establishment of Pakistan from the point of view of its basic nationalism, the largest Muslim State in the world, as Quaid-e-Azam rejoiced to call it, is firmly wedded to its political and cultural destiny determined by Muslim nationalism. That, it should never be forgotten, has itself been determined by history. No grudging or grumbling over it will, therefore, do. At the same time no State can in this century be run on theocratic lines. Economic and scientific laws are as much operative here as elsewhere. Economic and social forces come steadily into play. The demand for an equalitarian society grows. Those who are in power resist it and it is exactly they who bank upon a mono-communal national polity. To admit other communities into it is to imperil the *status quo*. So they must be kept at arm's length and though not oppressed, not trusted either.

But the popular movement for a democratic social order has no difficulty in admitting all communities as fellow-travellers. The communal question does not arise there at all. Anyone agreeing with the ideal can easily fit himself into the national entity envisaged under it. That seems a good prospect for the minorities provided they can align themselves unreservedly with the State. For efforts are bound to be made and are being made in Pakistan as elsewhere to stifle the people's movement as inimical to the State. So, as yet it is regarded as a matter solely for the major community. Association of the minority community with the movement is thought to be harmful to it, apart of course from the pure communist and socialist movements which are still the responsibility of specified groups. Incidentally it may be unsafe for the minority community itself. That itself suggests that the minority is far from integration with the Pakistani nation. Integration would run almost *pari passu* with the orientation of the monolithic character of the State into a People's State where the question of community would cease to be relevant. It would be difficult as long as the religio-nationalist basis of the State and the need to preserve the same remain the sheet-anchor of those who now constitute the ruling party. But economic and social forces are, as has been said before, operative here equally as elsewhere. It will not take long to live down the present phase of nationalism. World forces will sweep down here as much as elsewhere, and who knows? That will at once make possible and demand the minority's final reconciliation with and permanent loyalty to the State. The only way now for the minority is to let the dead past bury its dead, and to help the operation of forces which in Pakistan as well as India have been working towards establishment of a Government of the people where naturally religious considerations will be out of place. Such an approach will draw an immediate response from the general consciousness of inter-communal neighbourliness that has been the product of uncounted centuries. But how many among the minority will be content to live in that hope? How many indeed can work thus for a People's State? On the answer to that question depends the future of the Hindus of Pakistan.

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RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

BY NARAYANCHANDRA CHANDA

RESEARCH in education is almost a thing unknown in our country, not because our system of education is perfect and we do not require it, but because we have not yet been able to make education vivacious, all-engrossing and indispensable for the growth of our life. The foreign power that controlled the destiny of the people up to August 14, 1947, bestowed step-motherly affection and spent scant money on education. It knew, in the words of Tolstoy, that "the strength of a despotic government lies in the people's ignorance" and as such tried to "spread darkness in the name of enlightenment." Now that the responsibility of shaping the future of the country has developed on ourselves, it is time that we should pool our brains, devotion, energy and sincerity of purpose for making our motherland rich and glorious, noble and powerful, lofty and prosperous in all respects. And education is one of the most potent factors in the regeneration of a nation.

NEED FOR RESEARCH

Education may be looked on as a process through which social and cultural heritage is transmitted to

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young children so that they may fit in society and give their best to the general fund of human civilization. Herein lies man's superiority over animals. A human child profits by the experience, wisdom and cultural advance of his forefathers, whereas a kitten or a cub has no wealth of the past preserved for it. A human babe inherits this rich treasure. But unlike worldly wealth it cannot be possessed by virtue of birth or law of inheritance; it has to be acquired through a process of endeavour or *sadhana*. The Department of Education is entrusted with the noble task of devising ways and means for making this *sadhana* a success for the children of the soil.

The aim of the educator is to develop the latent abilities of the educand to the fullest extent. But as the abilities differ in quality and quantity in individual children, a single method of instruction or a particular course of study cannot be suitable for all. The teacher has therefore to assess the children's merits or abilities which are determined to a large extent by heredity and environment—'nature and nurture' in the words of the psychologists—and prescribe accordingly.

For the well-being of a child the efficiency of the educator is no less vital than that of a physician. But the latter's treatment of bodily ailment is visible and so spectacular, while the mental growth of a child as a result of the former's influence and longdrawn process is slow, gradual and imperceptible. As professionals, both require specialised training but while it is imperative with the physician, any graduate having no idea of child psychology or technical knowledge in methods of teaching would be considered qualified enough to be a teacher in a secondary institution in our country. As to the basic qualities of primary school teachers the less said the better.

Stressing the necessity of investigation and scientific research in the field of education an educationist observes:

> If we conducted our medical and engineering services and our industrial production with the same slipshod carelessness, the same disregard for precision of thought and language, the same wild and reckless play of sentimentality or class prejudice or material interest masquerading as principle with which we carry on our public discussions about education, most patients would die, most bridges would fall down and most manufacturing concerns would go bankrupt.
>
> Systematic, courageous and uncontaminated thinking about national education touches our national salvation.
>
> —Sir Fred Clarke: The *Study of Educatioon in England*, London, 1943, quoted in R.A.C. Oliver's *Research in Education*, 1946.

Teaching is a difficult job. As a physician should be thoroughly conversant with the human physiology, functions of organisms and their reactions to outward and inward stimuli, a teacher should know similarly the nature and peculiarities of children characteristic at different periods of age; he should be familiar with the currents and cross-currents of desires and tendencies that crop up in the mind of children as they advance in years; he should be able to visualise the colourful pictures the little children paint with their unbounded imagination and love of roamings in the land of the clouds. Mind is subtler than body and various are its freaks and foibles. The most essential qualities of a teacher are therefore *knowledge* of children and love for them. The truth has been beautifully said: To teach John Latin the teacher should know both John and Latin.

This knowledge has to be acquired by a careful study of children, by experiments and observations. Unless the knowledge is factual, derived from a study of our children in our environments, we cannot be sure of success so far as the development of our children is concerned. Are we not stuffing our brains with facts of educational experiments conducted in other lands? Have we assessed the needs of our children by diagnostic tests? No. Ours is a quack-like and groping-in-the-dark method.

Problem for Research

A child is an interesting study and when it is subjected to the process of education it faces numerous problems. Teachers have to find solutions to these. A child is born, we are told, with a 'cast of mind'. Is it determined by heredity, so that it is fairly stable and permanent? Is it not susceptible to modifications by the influence of environment? What are the effects of different environmental circumstances on the development of child's interest, *e.g.*, of city life as compared to country life, cultured home condition and slum home condition, vicinity to big industry and agricultural farm?

As to curricular subjects there is ample scope for investigation on the following lines: Is there a correlation between literary and scientific-cum-technical subjects? Do art and handiwork, music and dancing grow a more refined tendency in children than harder subjects such as mathematics or geography? How do memory and power of comprehensions wax and wane in children? How can the defects of examination be removed or a better method introduced? Do physical activities or study of poems or lives of great men, stories of adventures, sublimate the adolescents' energies and feelings which would otherwise manifest themselves in less desirable channels. How can the character-building functions of education be developed? How much leisure children have and how do they use it? How do they form their moral standards, their vocational or literary ambitions, their ideas of political economic and social problems, their attitude to their culture —past and present—to their religion, race and sex? How could their attitudes be properly guided? These and a host of similar problems await tackling by educational investigators.

Need Recognised

In pursuance of the recommendations of the Central Advisory Board of Education a Central Institute of Ed

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cation has been established at Delhi. Explaining the functions of the institute, Maulana Azad, Minister in charge of Education, said:

> It will turn out teachers who will be model teachers for provinces, but over and above all these, this institute will be a research centre for solving new educational problems of the country and will be a beacon light for the training institutions of the country. The problems facing the institute will be how to correlate the different systems of basic education, how to reform the present system of examination and how to mould the primary education of a child so that he is given full opportunity to develop his individuality and also equip himself to keep abreast of world affairs. This and similar other problems will come before the institute and it will have to find ways and means of solving them.
>
> —*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 21-12-47.

The move is in the right direction. What is needed is the multiplication of such problem-solving institutions by establishing one educational research institute in each province and the widening of their scopes. As geographical, climatic, economic and cultural conditions vary in different parts of India, the most competent body to offer solution to educational problems peculiar to particular areas would be a provincial research institute manned by educational experts.

The English Education Act of 1944 has set up a National Foundation for Research in England and Wales with the support of the Ministry of Education, the local educational authorities, universities, teachers and others. The Education Act has given the Ministry of Education and local educational authorities powers to conduct and aid research.

A similar move is a necessity in our country. Universities have got much to do in this respect. The field of education here has not been measured with any definite object of adopting scientific measures or introducing courses of study in keeping with the abilities and requirements of children. Measurements of intelligence and accomplishments, preparation of scales and standardised tests of children of various age-groups, practical research to find out solutions to different educational problems, educational clinic and guidance for parents and such other activities are necessary for making the learning process lively, effective and broad-based on realities of life.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

BAPU—THE MOTHER : *By Manuben Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1949. Pp. 56. Price twelve annas.*

A delightful picture of Mahatma Gandhi emerges from the pages of Manuben's diary, who as we know was in closest association with Gandhiji during the last, and most important, period of his life.

MR. GANDHI : THE MAN : *By Millie Graham Polak. Vora and Co. Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Bombay 2, 1949. Pp. 146. Price. Rs. 6.*

Most people are overwhelmed by the personality of a great man ; and there are indeed few who can draw a picture of their personality without being biassed one way or the other. One of those in whom this freedom is evident is Mrs. Millie Graham Polak, who was in close association with Gandhiji all through the stormy days of the South African campaign. This was also the formative period of Mahatma Gandhi's great social and political experiments.

Mrs. Polak has drawn a singularly beautiful picture of Gandhiji as a man. There are incidents which show not merely the depth of his strength of character, but also reveal the lighter and more human side of his life.

The book was originally published in England in 1931 ; and the present edition is an Indian reprint of the same. Although published so long ago, we believe the book has not only not lost in value, but has gained added interest when Gandhiji is no longer with us, and we yearn to know more about him so that we can love him instead of merely admiring his greatness.

KEY TO HEALTH : *By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1948. Pp. xxvi + 83.*

Long ago, Gandhiji wrote a book on the management of health. This was then translated into English. But it has now been superseded by another which Gandhiji wrote during his incarceration in 1942. The present booklet is an English rendering of the original Gujarati by Dr. Sushila Nayyar.

Those interested in nature-cure methods will find the book instructive, while others, who are interested in Gandhiji himself, will find revealed here another interesting aspect of the very complex personality of the great master.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

KURAL : *The great book of Tiruvalluvar. Selections from Books I and II with English translation and Notes by C. Rajagopalachari. Rochouse and Sons, Ltd., Madras. Price Rs. 5.*

The earliest Tamil poetry, and the best known of the *padinenkilkanakku* ("the 18 treatises in short metres"), of the post-Sangam period is the Kural,

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containing 1330 distichs. The name will be known to all who are interested in Indian literature, and there may be existing translations in modern Indian languages available. But the present publication from the distinguished pen of "C. R." will make it available easily to all English-knowing persons and is therefore welcome to both Tamilians and non-Tamilians. The classics which have stood the test of time will be found to contain advice and instruction even for an age full of hurry and bustle. The occasional notes by way of explanation and comment are characteristic of "C.R." by reason of their brevity and appositeness.

The first two books of *Kural*, dealing with 'Dharma' and 'Artha' have been thus rendered easily accessible to those who do not know Tamil. There are many shrewd observations regarding statecraft, and the reviewer cannot be wrong in associating the selections with the experience of the translator. The second book was translated by him in 1935, but later experience may have found room for revision.

Regarding the observations in the preface that the book is one of the oldest of extant Tamil books, that it is generally accepted as belonging to a period anterior to the second century A.D., and that the translator does not accept the "theory" that Tiruvalluvar was a Jain—it may be noted that Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri says that "the author was a Jain well-learned in the works of Manu, Kautilya and Vatsyayana." There is no sign of any year as the time of publication.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

HISTORY OF SRI VIJAYA: *By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. University of Madras. 1949. Pp. 157 and plates. Price Rs. 10.*

One of the most welcome signs of national awakening in this country is the interest which Indian scholars have been taking in increasing numbers in the fascinating history, not only of their motherland, but also of the lands beyond influenced by its immortal culture. Not very long ago Dr. R. C. Majumdar published a series of authoritative works bearing on the history of the Hinduised kingdoms of Champa, Suvarnadvipa and Kambuja. And now we have another scholarly work on the Hinduised empire of Sri Vijaya (with Sumatra as its centre) from the pen of the well-known South Indian historian Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. At the beginning of this book the learned author, while emphasising the wide divergence of views at many points of his story, declares it to be his aim "to present the whole subject as simply and as cogently as the (imperfect) nature of the sources and the incomplete knowledge of facts permit." No one can deny that this attempt has on the whole been very successful. Indeed every page of this book bears witness to the qualities which we have learnt to associate with the distinguished author—complete mastery of material (including, in this case, a thorough knowledge of the latest and most important French and Dutch authorities), sound judgment, unfailing courtesy in dealing with literary opponents and last but not the least, lucid and effective expression. It is obvious that such criticisms as we have to offer in a scholarly work of this kind can refer only to minor points. We could thus have expected illustrations of at least some of the figures described with such tantalising fulness in the chapter on Sri Vijaya art. Instead we are treated exclusively to a set of illustrations of some newly discovered antiquities of distant Borneo, which according to the author bear affinity to the art of Sri Vijaya. Again, while one may doubt the author's view (p. 60) of derivation of Javanese Siva-Buddha syncretism exclusively from Gauda, it is somewhat disappointing to find him silent about the probable influence of Bengal upon Tantric Buddhism in Indonesia (p. 109). It is also permissible to differ from the author's verdict (p. 105) that Sri Vijaya art was "distinctly South Indian in its original," though one need not necessarily commit himself to characterise such a view with Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Suvarnadvipa Vol. II, p. 331) as "an obsession."

U. N. GHOSHAL

WHAT IS PSYCHOANALYSIS?: *By Ernest Jones, M.D. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

The small volume is a reprint after twenty years of the book published under the same title in the Benn's series. Dr. Jones is the accedited leader of psychoanalysis at the present time. His original contributions did a good deal in firmly establishing psychoanalysis and spreading it all over the world. Abundant references to Jones' articles are found in Freud's writings. The volume is a brief presentation of the fundamental concepts and postulates of psychoanalysis, *viz.*, The Unconscious, Repression and Conflict, Sexuality, Dreams, Errors in and Disorders of mental functioning. The applications of psychoanalysis to medicine, education and other important fields of Sociology, Anthropology, etc., have been treated in a separate section. Students of these sciences will find enough materials in this section to stimulate their thoughts and they will certainly learn to look at their respective problems from a completely different angle. A brief history of the development of psychoanalysis has also been given. The advances that have been made in the theories and practices in the last twenty years and the new fields that have been brought under psychoanalytical studies have been incorporated in the Addendum with brief critical comments. Melanie Klein's and Karen Horney's contributions have been noted and Prof. Flugel's valuable studies on the application of psychoanalysis to sociological problems have been appreciated. Every intelligent man will find the book stimulating and useful.

S. C. MITRA

DISCOURSES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE BHAGAVAT GITA: *By Sri Mangal Charan, B.L. With a Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. To be had of Sri Tarakeshwar Nath, Advocate, Englishganj Road, Patna. Pp. 266. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This posthumous work is a collection of thirteen discourses on the Gita dictated by the author to his devoted colleague, Advocate Indradeo Narayan of the Arrah Bar. It discusses the evolution of the Universe, the mysteries of life and death, immortality of the soul and other topics treated in the Song Celestial. In a long Preface of twelve pages Sri Mahavir Prasad, Judge of Patna High Court and younger brother of the author, observes that the devout author was an ardent student of the Gita lifelong. He heard from the author himself how the latter once surprised Swami Bhaskarananda Saraswati, the eminent Pandit of Benares, with his scholarship. This Swami was considered an authority on the Nyaya School of Hindu Philosophy. When the author went to him to pay his respects both happened to discuss an aspect of the Nyaya. In the accidental discussion the author displayed so much grasp of the abstruse subject that the learned Swami was simply amazed. Some other interesting incidents of the author's life are also narrated in the Preface.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan looked through the manuscript and encouraged the publisher to bring it out. In his Foreword he remarks that the book is a "work

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fundamental value and contains the mature reflections of a mind steeped in the spirit of our ancient scriptures." He further adds that the author gives us in this volume "not the comments of the Acharyas, but his own independent reflections." Discourses begin on the second chapter of the Gita and end on the fourteenth. Some of the Sanskrit terms coined by the author bear marks of originality. A chart of evolution discussed in the sixth discourse is appended. A picture of the author is given. Though the book is sold at cost price, its printing, paper and get-up leave much to be desired.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

HOMEOPATHY IN INDIA : *By D. K. Choudhuri. Homeopathic Publicity Society, India, 1-B Bankarai Street, Calcutta. Pp. 8. Price four annas.*

Homeopaths in India who since the days of Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar have been almost without recognition by the State in India have yet played a part in ministering to the relief of this disease-stricken country. They hope that better days are ahead of them ; the small booklet gives expression to such a hope. The intrinsic merit and the cheapness of treatment under this system are great recommendations. We commend this booklet.

R.

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

SHASTRIYA PARIBHASAKOSH (The English-Indian Dictionary of Scientific Terminology) : *By Yashwant Ramkrishna Date, B.A., LL.B. and Chintaman Ganesh Karve, B.A., Editors of "Marathi Encyclopaedia", "Marathi Lexicon", "Dictionary of Idioms and Proverbs", etc. Maharashtra Kosha Mandal Ltd., Poona. Crown 8 vols. Pp. 18+630. Price Rs. 40.*

Ever since India came into close contact with England about two hundred years back her languages as every other aspect of her life and culture came to be immensely influenced by the West. New ideas came in along with new objects and Indian languages had to give expression to them. This process involved borrowing many European words and coining numerous new terms in different provincial languages. It has greatly enriched these languages though apparently no system has been followed in introducing new words, different words having occasionally been used by different authors at different times and in different languages. It is true that certain words have come to be fixed in particular languages for the more popular of the ideas. Sporadic attempts have also been made in different parts of the country from about the seventies of the last century to systematise the use of technical terms in the provincial languages. But it is a pity that records of these attempts—not to speak of words coined by individual authors from time to time and scattered in various works—are not easily accessible. One would therefore be glad to accord a hearty welcome to the publication under review which has collected and arranged Indian equivalents of English words of Science taken in a wider sense framed by various scholars for different regional languages, especially Marathi. Under each word it gives equivalents suggested by different scholars. It is admitted that no discrimination was made in selecting the equivalents on the basis of propriety and accuracy. So there are terms which might appear to be not quite appropriate. No reference again has been given to sources from which the terms have been taken. It is not therefore possible to ascertain the extent of their use if any. The introduction *inter alia* gives an account of the work already done in this connection in Marathi with a passing and rather scrappy reference to the work in other languages. The systematic and valuable contribution on the subject made by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta ever since its foundation in the nineties of the last century has not unfortunately found any mention here. It may be pointed out in this connection that Raja Rajendralal Mitra, the famous Indologist, took the lead in this matter in Bengal as far back as the seventies when Poet Tagore in his younger days came to be associated with it and we have reference to governmental efforts earlier still. But all these are minor defects which do not minimise the importance of this valuable publication which will be useful to people using any of the modern Indian languages as the terms are all Sanskritic and it has now been generolly accepted that Sanskrit should be the common basis all over India in framing new words, especially of a scientific and technical nature.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT

HARICARITA : *By Paramesvara Bhatta. Edited by Pandit V. Krishnamacharya. The Adyar Library Series, No. 63. Price Rs. 5.*

We have here a handsome edition of a small interesting poem of 253 verses dealing with the story of Krishna. The main interest of the poem lies in the fact that the *Vakyas* of Vararuchi, used in South India for calculating the position of the moon day after day, have been utilised seriatim at the beginning of the verses of the poem. Five of the *Vakyas* have been made use of in two verses each so that the total number of verses in the poem is five more than the usual number of *vakyas* a list of which has been appended to the edition. The edition is based on a solitary manuscript belonging to the Adyar Library. Unfortunately this does not mention the name of the author and the work has been tentatively attributed to Paramesvara, a member of the learned and well-known Bhatta family of Payyur, who has referred to a work of this name as his composition. Much credit is due to the learned editor who has not only reconstructed in many places the text of this rather artificial poem but throughout added a Sanskrit commentary which is much helpful in following the text which is not always very clear. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja has given in the Preface and the Introduction, an account of the manuscript material and a learned discussion about the date and authorship of the work.

Chintaharan Chakravarti.

ENGLISH-BENGALI

SIR GOOROODASS CENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME : *Edited by Anathnath Basu. University of Calcutta. 1948. Pp. viii+334. Price Rs. 10.*

The birth-centenary of Sir Gooroodass Banerjee fell on 1944. To commemorate this, the present volume has been recently published. The volume contains some excerpts from the writings and speeches of Sir Gooroodass including his famous Convocation addresses. Contributions of many reputed scholars and savants have enhanced the value of the volume.

In the English section. Prof. Priyaranjan Sen has dwelt on the life and work of Sir Gooroodas. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, Profs. Benoy Kumar Sarkar and Joygopal Banerjee, to

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name only a few, have dwelt on the various aspects of his life and character. Prof. Sarkar has specially narrated Sir Gooroodas's connection with the National Education movement since the Swadeshi days. Among those to whom the National Council of Education owed its inception Sir Gooroodas was the foremost. The National Education movement drew largely on his constructive genius.

The Bengali portion is enriched with a collection of the contributions of such stalwarts as Krishna Kamal Bhattacharya, Haraprasad Sastri, Rabindranath Tagore and Hirendranath Datta, who wrote at different times on Sir Gooroodas. It is very pleasing to remember even today that Rabindranath gave Sir Gooroodas the epithet of *Samajpati* in his *Swadeshi Samaj*, which means that the ideal self-sufficient community which the Poet wanted to set up, would have for its leader a man of the stamp of Gooroodas. Some other scholars have discussed in their valuable papers the different aspects of the man that he was. Certain incidents of his life jotted down by Gourimohan Mitra are interesting and instructive reading. The perusal of the volume will help the reader acquaint himself with most of the important events of his life and the time in which he lived.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

BENGALI

BHARATBARSHER SWADHINATA JUDDHER ITIHAS (1st Part) : *By Sukumar Ray. Published by Orient Book Company, 9, Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta. Pp. xv+154. Price Rs. 3.*

This is a history of Indian's struggle for independence in fifteen chapters from the Sepoy Mutiny (misnamed) in 1857 to Jalianwalabag slaughter in 1919. Unlike an ordinary history written for schools it is a book containing almost forgotten, unwritten and unknown chapters of the national struggle. It must be the credit of the author that he touches every phase of known movements in the country during these ninety years of the British domination. The great revolutionary Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee has written an Introduction to this volume. The book deserves to be widely read by our young men.

BANGALI : *By Probodh Chandra Ghosh. Published by the Commerce Dept., City College, Calcutta. Pp. 143. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The author in seven chapters has discussed in this small volume, the various problems and aspects of the Bengali race and life. He quotes many authorities both Indian and foreign in support of his contentions. Although the author is careful about the subject-matter of the book, he has not shown sufficient caution for the expressions and as such some may consider him to be an emotional writer. As the book has been composed in a spirit of ardent patriotism, it is indeed a pleasant study. Maps of Bengal in different periods (1660, 1730, 1905, 1912 and 1947) and a few census figures at the end have made this small volume informative. The book deserves a wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

PRAVASI KI ATMA-KATHA : *By Swami Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi. Distributors : Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 643. Price Rs. 8.*

This is not only an interesting autobiography of one of the most devoted servants of the noble cause of ensuring self-respect for the Indians overseas specially those who have settled down in South Africa for scores of years, but also an authentic history of that cause and, consequently, collaterally of an aspect of our epic, non-violent fight for freedom. The canvas, therefore, is too crowded with events and individuals to present an artistic self-portrait of the author, who incidentally is one of Gandhiji's creations of heroes out of clay. But its human note is so evident that the story of Swamiji's life reads like a romance. A full-length index at the end would have been very helpful because, without it, the reader fails to keep track of the personalities and problems covered in the book. The general make-up of the publication has left very little to be desired.

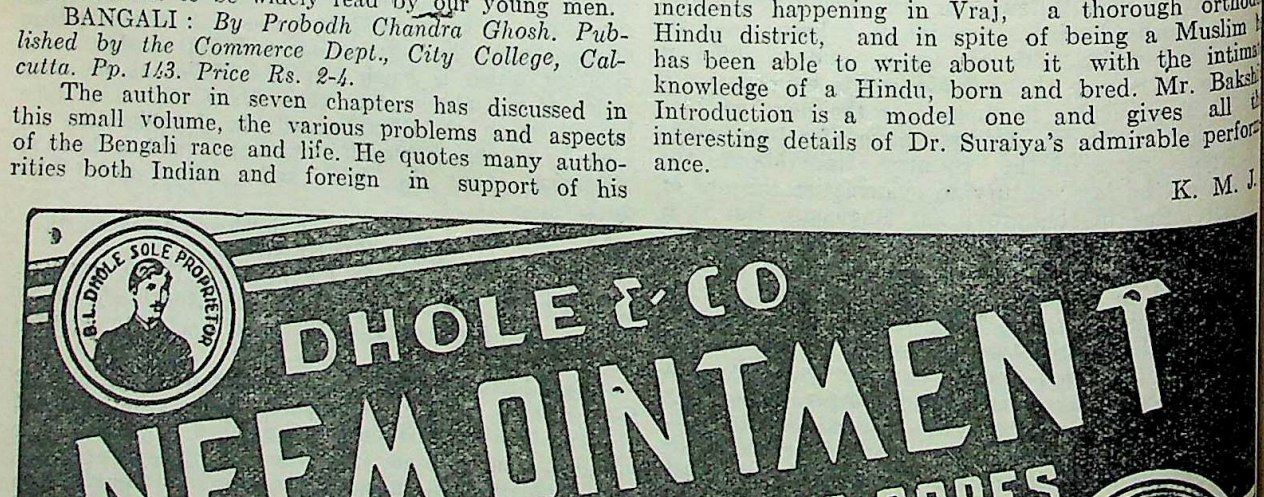
G. M.

GUJARATI

ANURADHA : *By Dr. M. O. Suraiya (of "Jogeshwari"). Printed at the Vismi Sadi Press, Bombay. 1948. Velvet-cover. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This finely printed and richly bound small volume is an adaptation in verse of Longfellow's *Evangeline*. The hero and heroine—both deep lovers—were not fated to wed, death intervenes and it is a pathetic sad love-story. Dr. Suraiya, with his facile brain, saw in it an incident which could be applied to two incidents happening in Vraj, a thorough orthodox Hindu district, and in spite of being a Muslim he has been able to write about it with the intimate knowledge of a Hindu, born and bred. Mr. Bakshi's Introduction is a model one and gives all the interesting details of Dr. Suraiya's admirable performance.

K. M. J.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS

India, Our Motherland

This month, on the twenty sixth of January to be exact, India will proclaim herself a sovereign democratic Republic. Our sacred motherland, the cradle of history's major civilization is renascent to-day. *Prabuddha Bharata* writes editorially :

The term 'secular state' is often misunderstood because the word 'secular' has various meanings, and unless the special implications in the particular context in which it is used are made abundantly clear, it is bound to give rise to misgivings. In the absence of such clarification, we are left to think that the word 'secular' may be understood to mean 'non-ecclesiastical or non-theocratic.' We do not for a moment think it has any reference to its other implication *viz.* 'that which is opposed to the religious or the spiritual.' We cannot subscribe to the view that a 'secular state' is indifferent or antagonistic to essential spiritual values, merely concerning itself with materialistic aims. We are glad Pandit Nehru has made an important observation in his Address to the U. S. Congress. He said: 'Material progress cannot go far or last long unless it has its foundations in moral principles and high ideals.' Political emancipation and the achievement of the material means of satisfying human wants at the cost of those higher ideals will degrade man into a selfish opportunist, and lead the nation away from the path of righteousness. No state can ignore the ethical and spiritual welfare of its people. For man is rooted in divinity and his spiritual hunger cannot be satisfied by a soulless humanistic ethics, however lofty. 'True religion and true morality,' says Mahatma Gandhi, 'are inseparably bound up with each other. Religion is to morality what water is to the seed that is sown in the soil.' If a change of heart has to take place in every one—rich and poor, official and non-official, the prducer and the consumer, — it can come only through a broad conception of Vedantic morality.

The growing spirit of secularism, much in evidence in other countries, is finding a fertile soil, in our national life.

Our sense of values are changing for the worse day by day. Fascinated by the achievements of science and the advancement of economics and industry, we are likely to throw off, in a frivolous manner, our firm allegiance to those great truths and ideals of religion and spirituality that have been the lifeblood of our national culture and civilization. The calamitous consequences of such disavowal are obvious. It is well-known that the great nationalist upsurge in India was the outward expression of her soul-force to meet the challenge of alien brute-force which threatened to undermine everything that she held precious and sacred for self-fulfilment. If democracy means government of the people, by the people, for the people, a secular State need not necessarily remain supremely unconcerned with the spiritual welfare of its people. If the State, which is the collective expression of its people, keeps itself aloof from the deeper problems that concern directly the fundamental inner being of the individual, it will be impossible to cure the nation of its spiritual malady which is at the root of the anti-social and anti-national tendencies.

Nations like individuals, when faced with crises in their history are saved by the power of strength derived from national ideals they have assiduously cherished and followed.

If religion, revitalized and re-adjusted to our present needs, has to play its part in shaping our national life and endeavour, it will not do to regard it as merely a personal or private concern of the individual. The multitude look up to their leaders for inspiration and guidance, and follow them with implicit faith. As such a great responsibility lies on the leaders of New India. The history of the world shows that the more far-sighted the leaders and the greater their reliance on moral and spiritual values rather than on mere economic or physical power, the more successful have they been in leading their followers to the desired goal. An ideal State is very much alive to its responsibility in building up the foundations of personality of the individual. 'Man-making' and 'character-building' are not to be left to the individual as his personal or private affair. The State, being a powerful human institution, should create for every worthy citizen the requisite social, economic, and political conditions indispensable for his perception and creative pursuit of the essential values in life, *viz. satyam, shivam, sundaram* (Truth, Goodness, and Beauty). The State should ensure absolute freedom of worship to its subjects, and protect them from persecutions, internal or external.

Prospects

The New Review observes :

With the birth of Bharat on January 26, the peoples of India will review the past with mixed feelings; elation at having achieved independence from Britain with the co-operation of Britishers, regret at the country's partition and at the fissional development in the body politic, uncertainty about the working of the Constitution, anxiety over political unity, social stability and economic progress.

Indo-Pakistan relations are as bad as could be, short of a shooting-war, the Kashmir problem has been given no solution and has not even been put into suitable equations, the imbroglio over linguistic provinces is daily worsening, and is growing into a challenge to Sardar Patel's talent ; conditions in trade and industry remian in a parlous state in contrast with the American economy which in 1950 will at its worst be as good as in 1949.

The Congress party in power has lost much of the glamour it gathered during the national struggle, and

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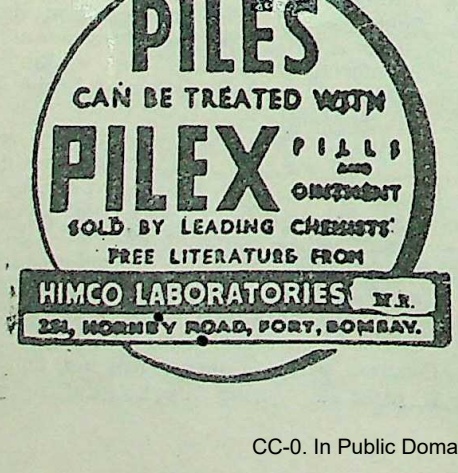
is made to bear the blame for all economic and social ills, though it has, on the whole, maintained order in the country with remarkable success. It is now being challenged from the left by a numerous but shaky coalition, and from the right by the return to politics of the Hindu Mahasabha which is daily growing in numbers and vocal power.

The codification of Hindu laws and customs brought grist to the Mahasabha's mills. There is an anomaly in the Constitution. Cultural autonomy is guaranteed to minorities, but not to the Hindu majority. It seems to have been taken for granted that the majority would be truly represented in the Assemblies by the sheer play of universal suffrage. This is a misapprehension of popular democracy; politicians are not necessarily representatives of a culture, elected as they are for all kinds of reasons. Would it not have been preferable to provide for cultural boards that could speak authoritatively on matters religious and moral, even if they were granted no more than a consultative voice? Such boards could easily be set up by organised religions nor would it be impossible for others to do likewise.

The present anomaly is glaring. The State is explicitly secular, consequently incompetent in religious matters, and indiscriminating among religions. Yet its assemblies are made to legislate on animal sacrifices, religious excommunications, sacramental marriages, at any rate as far as the majority is concerned. If the secular state is allowed to ignore the core of the doctrine and the cultural autonomy of the majority and to ride rough-shod over the convictions and feelings of the masses, will the guarantees the minorities are given in the Constitution be proof against the initiative of secularists? Moreover, can reforms on points which have a religious as well as a civic aspect be carried out, if they are not backed by the spiritual authorities of the groups directly concerned?

It is strange that cultural autonomy has not been given much attention. Some special officers have been nominated as government patrons of certain minorities, but they can hardly be taken as substitutes for cultural boards. It is stranger that Hindus have left Hindudom in the hands of politicians. Nobody can argue that past elections were as good as a referendum on the substance of the Hindu Code Bill. The Congress Command seems to have been ill-advised when offering to stand or fall by the vote on the bill. They will only add to the list of still-born bills and rouse Hindu opposition. Hindus may desire and seek reforms, but the parliament of a secular state is by definition a non-Hindu body unqualified to reform Hinduism. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam!*



Red China

The same *Review* observes :

The picture in present-day China is grey in many places, dark in many others, a blurred picture in which lights and shadows are constantly changing. It would even be hard to single out the main lines. If we keep to economics, which is the basis of communism, what has so far been developed in China is not the orthodox brand of Leninism, as could be suspected from the denunciations of Mao-Tse Tung by Trotskyists. The regime is called New Democracy; its programme includes land distribution, rationalising of industry and commerce, fostering of co-operatives, development of unions between workers and between peasants, and plans for the nationalisation of industries. So far, no collectivisation of farms, no suppression of private capital, not even graded income tax or food-rationing.

On the other hand, Chinese communists proclaim Marxism as their fundamental philosophy and they are working up their Red faith into qualities not unusual with communist apostles: selfless devotion to the Cause, discipline, incorruptibility and resignation to untold hardships, concern for the masses, qualities which commonly go with religious fervour but which democracy rarely enkindles. Religious-like dogmas are inculcated with indoctrination techniques: study circles, discussion groups, self-criticism, public confessions, all of them features of a revivalist movement. Thanks to such country-wide techniques, the communists introduce discipline, co-operative effort, fidelity in administration, concern for the masses among the iintellectuals and respect for the intellectuals among the masses, universal awakening of political consciousness and the sabotaging of the face-saving tradition.

The Kuomintang collapsed owing to its cupidity and stupidity, cupidity at all levels and stupidity in ignoring the masses and their feelings. It is by the reverse method that the Reds gained the upper hand.

Red Tangle

Not that communists will find it easy to rally the people in any permanent way. Many opportunists jumped on the Red bandwaggon at the last moment, even generals who had fought communism passed over to Mao-Tse Tung's party with their personal armies. Will Mao-Tse Tung be able to absorb such a kaleidoscopic crowd of supporters? In any case, with China's over-population, scarcity of certain natural resources and poor communications, can the Red leader raise the standard of living or even prevent further deterioration early enough to forestall a popular reaction? Will not the reaction be hastened by the 'special services' which are as intolerable as the worst of the Kuomintang agents ever were.

No Early Relief

What can be regarded as certain is that Mao-Tse Tung's regime will last quite a long time. It has a grip on industrial workmen, landless labourers, and especially on intellectuals who in China as in other countries are the most vocal and vociferous supporters of Marxism. Whether the peasant sector and the industrial section of the party, the old red guard and the ex-nationalist generals will pull together is unpredictable in that country where things do not regularly happen according to rule. China remains suspicious of whatever is foreign. Russia herself will have to go slow and quiet. America and American ways are at a discount, even more than all western democracies. What are the new communist countries to do? Britain favours early recognition of the Red Government because of her large trading interests. The U.S.A. is hesitant; among the

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policy-makers some argue that the sooner the inevitable is accepted, the better. Mao-Tse is faced with too many problems for a drive across South-Asia and is rather nursing Titoism. The State Department fears early recognition would imply 'a loss of face' and considers that it is easier and safer to wait and see. The other nations prepare recognition though they hesitate about the most opportune date; they are happy at the delay which was secured at the U.N.O. by admitting the complaint of the Ex-Generalissimo against Russian interference. What upsets them all is the establishment of a Far-Eastern Cominform at the Peking Conference of Asian and Australasian trade-unions and the visit of Mao-Tse Tung to Stalin, which might be the prelude to a secret Moscow-Peking axis.

Edgar Allan Poe

January 19, 1809—October 7, 1849

In October, 1949 fell the Centenary of the death of the great American poet and critic, Edgar Allan Poe. About him have raged bitter controversies but very few American men of letters have won more fame abroad than Poe. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Anything approximating to a just appreciation of Edgar Allan Poe has been slow to crystallise in America, where he has suffered more derogation than, say, in France or even in England. To the French "Symbolists," Poe was a major prophet; Mallarme translated his verse, and Baudelaire his prose; and M. Paul Valery salutes the "world-wide glory" of Poe and describes him as a pioneer "who considered the things of the mind and, among these, the production of literature, with an exactness, a sagacity, a lucidity, which had never before been found in a mind endowed with poetic inventiveness." On the other hand, Emerson dismissed Poe as the "jingle man," and Lowell found in Poe an odd mixture of genius and sheer fudge. If his admirers are idolatrous, his detractors are irascible. Yeats's categorical assertion that Poe is "always and for all lands a great lyrical poet" is counter-balanced by Brownell's no less categorical asseveration: "Poe's banquet is as bereft of wit as it is destitute of love. He lacked humour and he lacked heart....as literature his writings are essentially valueless."

Much has been written about the influence of Poe on the French "Symbolists," but it is still one of the open questions of literary history. It might be that Poe in his critical theories and in treatises like *Eureka* did no more than catch up stray rays from Coleridge and Shelley, and refracted them through the prism of his own lurid temperament. But in France the doctrine of "art for art's sake" came to be associated with Poe more than with anyone else, and Baudelaire, apostle of æstheticism like Gautier and Flaubert before him, quickly seized Poe's juggled conceptions and integrated them into his own æsthetic philosophy. As Mr. Matthiessen points out :

"Poe, in spite of gross crudities and lapses in taste, was the first man (in America) to declare that practice must not be separated from 'the theory that includes it'; and it was his strict if brittle insistence on the principle of art that helped free Baudelaire and the French Symbolists from the effluvia of romanticism, and so cleared the way in turn for the emergence of Pound and Eliot."

It might be true, again, that Poe created no tradition in America, and rather moved in a narrow groove of his own making. But his "William Wilson," an audacious imaginative study of the dual personality, was without doubt the original of Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, and Poe was obviously co-founder with Gaboriau of the modern detective story. Besides, Poe's influence on Henry James, Ambrose Bierce and Hart Crane, on the one hand, and on Rossetti, Swinburne and Ernest Dowson on the other, is at least an arguable proposition. Further, there was much in Poe's life to excite pity, admiration and contempt by turns; and so the critic is often swayed, now this way, now that, by the biographer. To dissociate poetry from poetolatry, to distinguish the man from the influence, to discriminate between the intrinsic and the historical value of his writings, and, above all, to extricate the man from the legend, all this is certainly a most difficult task. But the occasion of the Poe Centenary should prove auspicious for such a salutary undertaking. Walt Whitman wrote:

"In a dream I once had, I saw a vessel on the sea, at midnight, in a storm....On the deck was a slender, slight, beautiful figure, a dim man, apparently enjoying all the terror, the murk, and the dislocation of which he was the centre and the victim. That figure of my lurid dream might stand for Edgar Poe, his spirit, his fortunes, and his poems—themselves all lurid dreams."

Like the hero of his unfinished blank-verse tragedy *Politian*, Poe too was

...a dreamer and a man shut out
From common passions.

From his parents, both itinerant players, whom he lost early, Edgar Poe inherited his *Wanderlust*.

The chronic discords in the home of his foster-parents, John Allan and his wife, were likewise duly reflected in his star-crossed life. It is possible too that Poe as a child sustained a psychic trauma which rendered him incapable of normal healthy relationship with women. Already, at the age of fifteen, Poe was a shy, morbid, high-strung lad, consumed by his unearthly love for the mother of one of his class-mates, the immaculate "Helen" who was to inspire two of his famous lyrics :

All—all expired save thee—save less than thou:
Save only the divine light in thine eyes—
Save but the soul in thine uplifted eyes....

And

Helen, thy beauty is to me
Like those Nicæan barks of yore,
That gently, o'er a perfumed sea,
The weary, wayworn wanderer bore
To his own native shore.

Poe had his early schooling in England and after his return to America with the Allans proceeded to the University of Virginia, where he ran into debt, gambled heavily, and got into a thorough mess. He then joined the Artillery division of the United States Army; then entered West Point, but, for all his erratic brilliance, he was court-martialled in 1831.

Drifting to journalism, he published in quick succession a number of reviews, essays, poems and stories, which came to the notice of a widening circle of readers and gradually stabilised his position as a writer.

In the meantime, he married his cousin Virginia Clemm, then barely thirteen, and set up house with his wife and her mother. Virginia was the "Eulalie" of the lines—

I dwelt alone
In a world of moan,
And my soul was a stagnant tide,
Till the fair and gentle Eulalie became my blushing bride—
Till the yellow-haired young Eulalie became my smiling bride.

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She was, besides, the inspiration behind the short story "Ligeia" and the poem "Annabel Lee." And yet, neither in his life nor in his love, neither in his habits nor in his occupations, neither in his hopes nor in his fears, was normality ever a constituent. Alcohol and opium held him fascinated; he alternately drank himself to oblivion and solaced himself with laudanum.

After a brief agitated interval at New York where he made the acquaintance of Washington Irving and William Cullen Bryant, Poe settled down at Philadelphia for five years (1839-1844), easily the most peaceful and fruitful session of his terror-driven, wasted life. *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* came out in 1840, "The Gold Bug" and some of the Dupin stories came out one by one, each a marvellous essay in detection, while his essays in criticism gave him a certain standing among his contemporaries. But Poe was not the man to flirt with success for long. He would be drowned, and nobody could help him! Emasculated by the corroding sense of his own fatality, he dreamily took off from the hard ground, he clawed somnambulistically into the air, he wildly flew at shadows, he moaned melancholy tunes, he spiralled uneasily in mid-air, he suddenly gravitated to the ground and crashed into atoms. From Philadelphia to New York was a mad shift, made worse by Virginia's consumption and lingering agony.

Fame and poverty kept house together; spectres hovered above, and tragedy was, as it were, round the corner.

Virginia withered, Virginia died; and relieved at last from Virginia's strangely powerful hold, Poe embarked on wilder courses than ever. Intermittently the disturbed sky brightened for a brief second or two—there were lightning flashes—but all was lowering darkness again. Making a final frantic effort to redeem himself, Poe got engaged to Mrs. Shelton, but it was no use; a few days later he was picked up inexplicably delirious near a saloon in Baltimore, and died soon afterwards of pneumonia in his fortieth year. The fitful fever of his life was spent at last, and Poe was now gathered into the "hollow vale" and its eternal rest.

Such a life as Poe's was in all conscience a nightmare mixture of tragedy and futility, itself a blend of the macabre, the grotesque and the arabesque. Normality and actuality repelled him—he knew them not—and he therefore minimized them into zero and cantered into the regions of abnoramality, unreality. Says Professor C. M. Bowra:

"For Edgar Allan Poe and for Gerard de Nerval, the other world was always the real world, and actual phenomena a source of trouble and confusion which they refused to accept. The result was a search, conscious or unconscious, for some anodyne which should enable them to maintain their dreams."

In his life Poe found the anodyne in alcohol, in opium; in his art, he found it in the determined contemplation of dying beauty, in the vivification of charnel-houses and torture-chambers, in the laborious elaboration of crime and detection.

Peotry, according to Poe, is concerned, not with Truth, but with Beauty (as though Truth and Beauty were contradictories!)—especially Beauty that must die. Thus the most suitable, the most poetic, of all themes is the death of a woman who is adored but dies in the full flush of her beauty and bathed in all the radiance of her lover's adoration. A long poem, then, is a contradiction in terms; consistency of tone can be maintained only over a poem of 100 lines or less—or in a

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story that can be read through at a single sitting. And rhythms, now nervous and mild, now aggressive and bold, should fuse into a jet of melody that incarnates the tragedy at the heart of all supremely beautiful things.

While all this may very well be an authentic summing-up of Poe's own practice as a poet and literary craftsman, it rather empties of significance the world of art and reduces it to a ghost-gallery devoid of life and even of beauty. For the beauty that Poe manages to evoke is but a pale bloodless beauty, a mere simulacrum of the rich seething beauty in God's wide world. "The Raven," Poe's most famous poem, is a technical achievement of a high order; it creeps into one like an infection, and the fever waxes with each stanza till one comes to the very last:

And the Raven, never flitting, still is sitting—still is sitting
On the pallid bust of Pallas just above my chamber door;
And his eyes have all the seeming of a Demon's that is dreaming,
And the lamp-light o'er him streaming throws his shadow on the floor;
And my soul from out that shadow that lies floating on the floor
Shall be lifted—nevermore!

Then, suddenly, the spell is broken; the ague is gone—and one returns to life, and sanity, and health. Poe's remarkable technical gifts as a poet were nevertheless largely thrown away because he would not—perhaps he could not—come to terms with ordinary reality.

Poe's stories, again, granted all their excruciating power and craftsmanship, hold little commerce with the flesh and blood of actuality. Ideas are pushed to their logical conclusion; formulæ are inflated into persons; moods are evoked with a terrifying vividness and particularity; complicated problems are posed and solved with a pontifical solemnity—but, although they stimulate our interest, although they extort our admiration, they never overwhelm us. In stories like "The Fall of the House of Usher," "The Pit and the Pendulum," "Ligeia," and "The Black Cat," detail is added to detail with an uncanny astuteness, the "tone" is preserved with a diabolical consistency, and the contours of this crepuscular and sinister world are made to stand out in all their poisoned clarity before our awed, unbelieving eyes. Afraid or contemptuous of the familiar, the traditional, Poe sought refuge in the ugly, the fearful, the bizarre. Trafficking with terrors, he exchanged the pulses of humanity for the phantasmagoria of Lucifer's dream-kingdom. And yet what astounding craftsmanship has gone into tales like "The Assignation," "The Cask of Amontillado," "MS. Found in a Bottle" and "A Descent into the Maelstrom." Poe is rather like the ingenious inventors of our own day who mobilise all the resources of their trained intelligence towards the construction of more and yet more destructive weapons of war.

As the creator of M. Dupin and as the author of "The Gold Bug," Poe holds his own against scores of recent practitioners in the genre.

But even here Poe's eminence is subject to an important qualification. "The detective story, as created by Poe," says Mr. T. S. Eliot, "is something as specialised and as intellectual as a chess problem; whereas the best English detective fiction has relied less on the beauty of the mathematical problem and much more on the intangible human element." M. Dupin is apt to assume that life is a simple rule of three, but there are undreamt-of accidents—there are vast imponderables—there are unpredictable spurts of circumstance, and these must for ever defy the mere logician in search of Truth. Modern detectives like M. Hercule Poirot and Inspector Maigret, Father Brown and Lord Peter, are more in the Sergeant Cuff, than in the Lecoq-Dupin-Holmes, tradition. Poe, as usual with him, as was inevitable with him, went the whole way when he invented the story of detection, and by pumping in too much of ratiocination emptied it of human significance.

Poet and critic of poetry, daring experimenter and innovator, master of the macabre and the grotesque, wanderer between the physical and supraphysical realms, flowless craftsman and adroit thinker, wayward genius and devotee of Beauty, the elements were so mixed in Edgar Allan Poe that he was fated to become yet another of the "inheritors of unfulfilled renown," one of the anguished, intoxicated denizens of the world of poetry and art. He suffered intensely, his fragile nerves were keyed to an unbearable pitch, but as his suffering was often self-forged and his nervous tension but derived from his exotic sensibility, Poe surfeited himself with diseased abnormality and soul-destroying despair, and presently he loomed immense, a severe hooded figure, the Laureate of shadows and dank chambers and improbable possibilities.

He created a world of his own, a nightmare dream-world that not seldom glows with the poignancy of authentic tragedy. As a creative writer he blazed the trail in many directions, but what he achieved himself fell short of the promise held out by his extraordinary gifts. His flaw-fissured personality no less than his ingenious inventions and striking achievements inevitably created a legend that for a time overflowed the bare truth and almost threatened to engulf it. But the danger is past. It is now possible to evaluate Edgar Allan Poe with a greater approximation to the truth of things and to hail him, in the centenary year of his death, as a very considerable artist in prose and verse and as a pioneering and powerful force in modern literature.

The Indian and Pakistani Press

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha observes in *The Hindustan Review*:

Three notable recent trends in Indian journalism are, (a) the formation of certain groups of newspapers owned by one person or one organisation or company, (b) the establishment of some comparatively higih-class weeklies, and (c) the change of the attitude of the nationalist press from that of critics of the State (the late British Government) into almost unconditional supporters of the two Governments of India and Pakistan. Of the first trend, I may refer to the Birla group of dailies composed of the *Searchlight* of Patna, *The Leader* of Allahabad, and the *Hindustan Times* and its allied papers of Delhi; the Goenka group of dailies—the *Indian Express* of Madras, and the *National Standard* of Bombay; the Dalmia group of dailies and weeklies headed by the *Times of India* of Bombay, and the journals constituting the Dalmia group at Lahore and Karachi in West Pakistan; and the Free Press group owned by Mr. Sadanand, or his company, including the *Free Press Journal* and its Sunday edition *Jyoti* of Bombay, and the allied papers of Madras. There are similar groups owning journals in the Indian languages, as for instance, the *Janmabhoomi* group of dailies and weeklies in Bombay. Reference to the Dalmia group in Pakistan has already been made in connection with the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, and the and the *Daily Gazette* of Karachi, the latter now merged in the former, and issued simultaneously from both places, under the Lahore paper's name.

The second trend, namely the establishment of several fairly high class weekly journals, has been a prominent

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feature of Indian journalism since some time before the attainment of independence by the country. The most prominent of these are the *Republic* of Calcutta, the *Spark* of Patna, *Thought* and *People* of Delhi, *Hindustan Weekly* of Lucknow, *Swatantra* of Madras, *Blitz* (weekly and twice-weekly), and *Forum* of Bombay, and some others. Of the Calcutta weekly journals *Republic*, started in 1949, seems to have made the greatest impression on the public of the province. And Mr. Arthur Moore's *Thought*, and Shri Firoze Chand's *People*, are both notable additions to the weekly press, at Delhi. Patna also justly boasts of the oldest English weekly in India—the seventy-four years old *Behar Herald*, at present a well-edited organ of the Bengalis in the province. *Shankar's Weekly*, at Delhi, stands in a class apart, and is the best for presenting cartoons of current affairs.

The third new development in the Indian press, is its attitude towards the Government of the country. Until the 15th of August, 1947, the vast majority of Indian newspapers, in the Indian Union and Pakistan, were bitterly hostile to the then British Government, and their only business was to trounce and traduce that Government. The position was then easily understandable, as the Indian pressmen had no alternative to being what they were, and the only competition amongst them was as to who could sail closer to the wind without bringing oneself within the clutches of the law. When journalists were sent to jail for offences like sedition, and allied ones, they were then hailed as heroes, and, escorted to and back from jail with all the paraphernalia of a formal procession. All of a sudden the Indian pressmen found themselves (on the date of the transfer of power, the 15th August, 1947) transformed by force of circumstances beyond their control, from sedition-mongers into loyalists, and loyalists they have, broadly speaking, remained since then till now.

The result is that even the constitutional opposition, through the medium of the press, has practically disappeared both, from India, and Pakistan, and almost every action of the two Governments now finds an almost unlimited measure of support in the Indian and Pakistani press. The Hon'ble Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, India's Communications Minister, recently declared at a press conference at Allahabad: "It was the duty of the press at this critical juncture to speak out fearlessly what it honestly felt, and point out mistakes and misdeeds of the Government. The press should take a bold attitude if it wanted to prevent India from going the China way. People were more afraid of the Government today than they were before. It was surprising that newspapers which in former days said things outspokenly, whether the Government liked them or not, should now be so tame. The country needed a strong opposition party."

It would thus appear that by and large the Indian press had abdicated, at present, its real function of acting as constitutional critics of the State. A correct appreciation of this aspect of the situation will, it is hoped, lead, before long, to some solid improvement in the attitude of the press towards the Government of India, and also of that of Pakistan.

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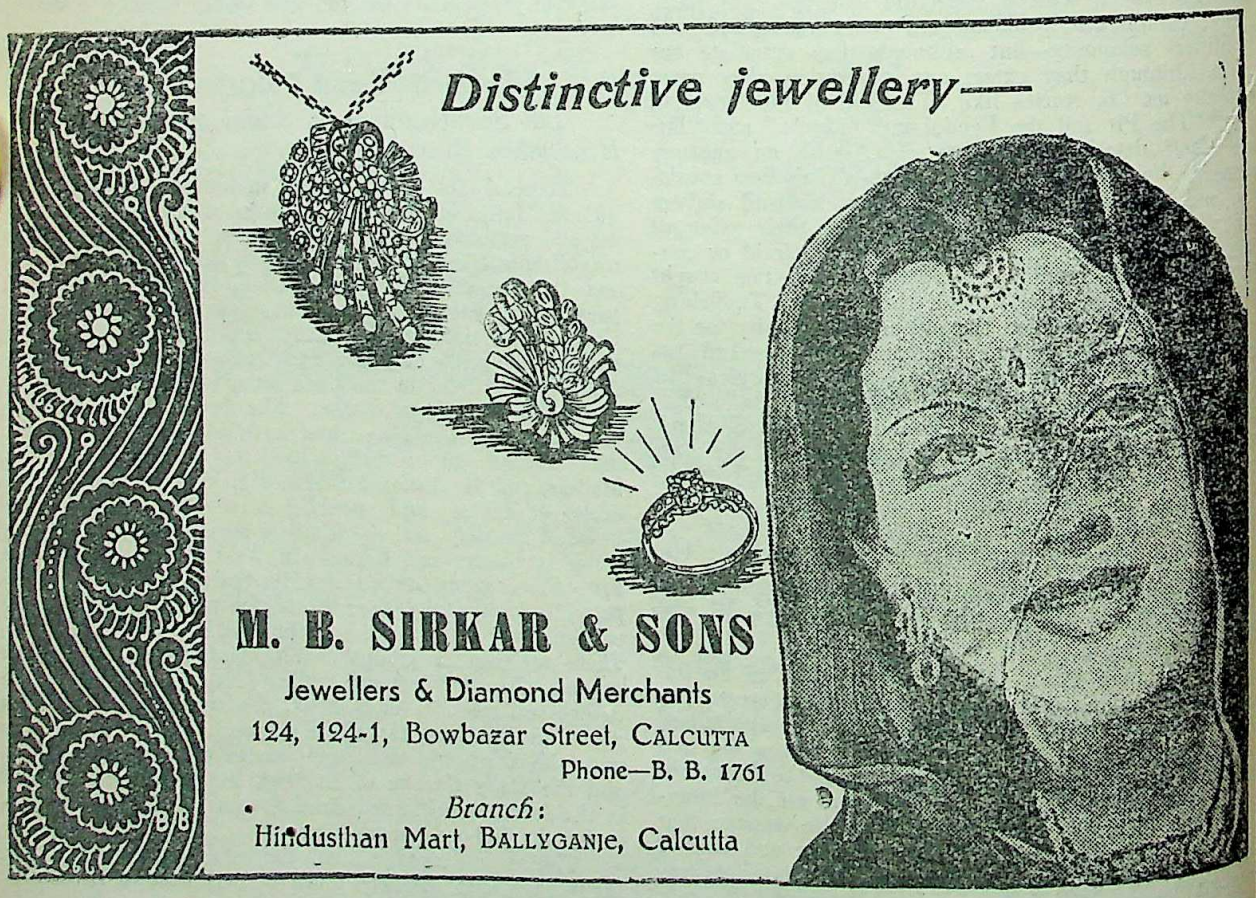

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Tea Industry in India and Pakistan

Arnold Whittaker writes in *The Asiatic Review*, July 1949:

Assam produces more than half the total crop of India and Pakistan. Assam was the first area to be developed, and was followed by planting in the Himalayan foothills in 1842, in the Surma valley in 1856, in Darjeeling during the next two years, and by 1874 in the Western Dooars. In South India commercial planting had begun in 1853, but developmnt was slow and nearly two-thirds of the total acreage under tea was planted after 1900.

The industry, which has now an annual crop of almost 600 million pounds is a comparatively modern one. Its development is a tale of British enterprise and endurance, for it has survived economic adversity and lived through a political revolution—albeit a peaceful one. It has achieved a remarkable measure of autonomy in that much of the legislation which governs its production and exports, the recruitment of its labour forces and the marketing of its product was initiated by the industry itself. Its critics say that the Government was merely the agent for the industry; its friends say that it provides a perfect example of the harmony which should exist between Government and industry generally. That this tradition is continuing with entirely new governments in power and in an entirely changed political climate suggests that practical men on both sides find that the method works.

The China Trade

The tea industry was established in China many centuries before the Christian era. By the ninth century A.D. there was an impressive volume of literature on the growth of the plant and the technique of tea drinking. Tea had all the medicinal and gastronomical virtues imaginable but of special interest to me the twentieth item on the list given in a Chinese manuscript now in the British Museum which runs: "It strengthens the use of due benevolence." As your lecturer I can only hope that the Royal Society of Arts brew distils this quality for its audiences.

The dominance of the China tea industry had two unfortunate effects on the development in India. First, the fact that the East India Company had the monopoly of the tea trade with China caused that company to discourage any tea venture in India. In 1813, however, Parliament curtailed the company's powers in India and served notice that the China monopoly would end in 1833. In 1834 Lord William Bentinck, who had been appointed Governor-General in 1827, appointed a committee to submit "a plan for the accomplishment of the introduction of tea culture into India and for the superintendence of its execution." The very wording of that injunction shows the determination and farsightedness of its author—accomplishment and execution strike the note. That committee set about its business so thoroughly that the facts it established launched the tea industry with surprisingly few misadventures. Secondly, although Lord Bentinck's committee quickly found beyond all doubt that the tea bush is indigenous to Upper Assam, a scientific commission set up later became obsessed, as did many other members in the Government, with the merits of the China plant; and when the Government of the day started to clear jungle in Dibrugarh they rejected "the degraded Assam plant" for the China variety imported with great difficulty and at enormous expense. Another obsession that only the Chinese knew how to manufacture tea was more quickly abandoned when the first—and last—contingent of Chinese labourers specially imported ended their journey in jail for rioting, arson and theft.

Early Days in Assam

As early as 1815 a British officer (Colonel Latter) had reported that certain of the hill tribes in North-east Assam made a drink from wild tea growing in the hills. In 1923 Major Robert Bruce took a trading expedition to Sibsagar and found wild tea, the seeds from which were collected by his brother, C. A. Bruce, in the following year and planted in the Commissioner's Garden at Gauhati and in Bruce's own garden at Sadiya. In 1825 this Society of Arts offered a gold medal—or fifty guineas—"to the person who shall grow and prepare 20 lbs. of good quality tea."

Mr. C. A. Bruce was appointed the first Superintendent of Tea Culture in Assam in 1836. In 1838 the first shipment of manufactured Indian tea was ready. It consisted of eight chests, about 350 lbs., which were sold in January, 1839, in the Mincing Lane auctions at prices ranging from 21s. to 34s. a pound. In 1839 Upper Assam was brought under British control and the Government transferred its main tea-growing interests in the following year to the Assam Company which appointed C. A. Bruce its first Superintendent.

The company ran into difficulties for disease took a heavy toll of its managers and their labour forces. Clearing this heavy jungle was costly although 2,500 acres were under cultivation by 1841 and 29,000 lbs. of tea were produced. By 1847 the company was on the verge of bankruptcy when a change of management and increased cultivation of the despised Assam variety pulled the company through to the dividend-earning stage by 1852. This successful example was followed by other companies; and by 1859 there were more than fifty private enterprises producing tea. The degraded Assam plant had come into its own. Today all the tea-producing countries outside China and Japan are seeking Assam strains for their finest commercial teas.

The War Years

From these beginnings grew the industry which is, outside China, the largest producer of tea in the world, employing 1¼ million persons and housing over 3 million. I like to think that the shades of Major Bruce and his brother, who, with their teams of labourers used to hack their paths through the jungle in search of tea bushes, often in danger from the Burmese invaders who had dispossessed the local Ahoms, have seen in 1942 their successors building roads and bridges through the jungles of the Naga Hills to repel another invader from Burma—the Japanese. In 1942 the Indian Tea Association called for volunteers from its British managers, doctors, Indian staff and labour forces to build airfields from which supplies were to be flown to China: to build camps and roads along which were coming exhausted refugees fleeing from the Japanese in Burma; to keep roads open through the monsoon and for transporting stores for an army which finally was to drive the Japanese from Burma. And to answer this call there came the garden labour contingents numbering at one time 96,000 men, each contingent fully equipped with its own transport and medical supplies and its own jungle clearing tools. Out of the "degraded Assam plant" came the resources which helped to fly

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supplies to China and which helped to defeat the enemy of the homeland of tea—surely one of time's odd revenges.

HEALTH ON THE PLANTATIONS

The development of this industry would have been impossible without a continuing and on the whole successful fight against disease. In 1949, penicillin, the sulpha drugs and paludrine have become household words and their success a popular story. But to maintain a labour force of 1¼ million persons in the field—you will forgive this somewhat martial language—was an unremitting struggle for the doctors and the managers. Now the British planter has a health record better than his contemporaries in England; but only fifty years ago a newspaper could describe the planter's diet as "quinine every morning, castor oil twice a week and calomel at the change of the moon." It is only eighteen years ago since the Whitley Commission reported that "The toll of life extracted in India every year by epidemic diseases is still very high and of them all malaria is perhaps the most devastating."

In 1928 Sir Malcolm Watson, of the Ross Institute, went out to India to examine the possibility of organising a scheme to assist the tea industry to control malaria. In 1930 the industry was facing its most serious financial crisis due to excess production and a slump in consumption. Nevertheless, a number of British firms and individuals came forward to guarantee funds which led to the establishment of the Indian Branch of the Ross Institute, which now serves many other industries in India. A footnote to this story is that malaria has become a very minor cause of absenteeism—in my own company, of less significance than influenza. And when the industry's divisions marched into the Naga Hills in 1942 they had a lower sickness rate than many of the picked combatant units. That struggle, of course, goes on and nutrition in these days of food shortages and disorganized supplies is the recurring problem. It remains true, however, that the average labourer in a tea garden is better fed, better housed and in better health than his opposite number in the village; but clearly that standard of well-being is not a fixed one. The imagination which could finance the Ross Institute in a time of financial crisis is still there and will take care of the post-war health problems.

PRODUCTION

The combined production of India and Pakistan is close on 600 million pounds. Taking 200 cups of tea to the pound this gives you, according to your inclination, either astronomical figures or a Niagara. The industry on the whole takes the view that increased consumption is the main problem, although the loss of the production from the Netherlands East Indies (approximately 260 million pounds) means that for the time being there is a firm market for all the Indian Continent producers. Various estimates are available about the present yield from the Netherlands East Indies. As internal order is restored there, production will probably expand rapidly. With increasing supplies of fertilisers, the yields in India and Pakistan can be increased as indeed they can by what is known as coarse plucking. But these increased yields may be at the expense of quality teas and may provoke a reaction from that most patient purchaser—the British housewife.

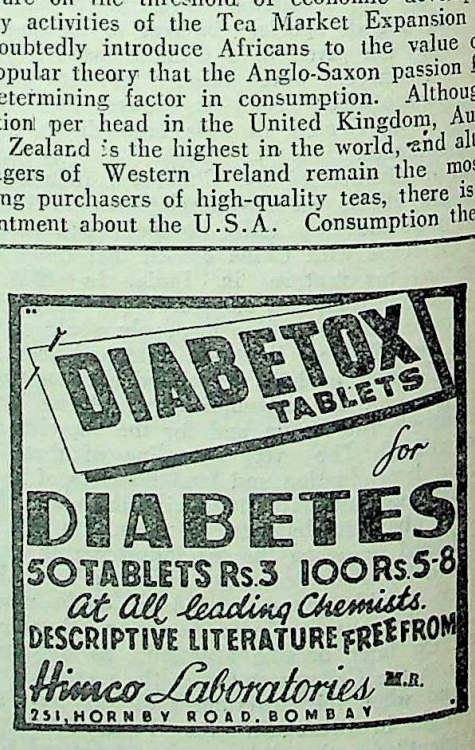
CONSUMPTION

The largest consumer of tea is the United Kingdom, which in 1947 took 420 million pounds. More important from the point of view of India and Pakistan is the fact that the United Kingdom takes half their production. The Ministry of Food in 1949 hope to buy 300 million pounds of Indian tea. If ever the United Kingdom consumer reduces his consumption even fractionally below his present level of nine lbs. per head per year that fact could spell a crisis in India and Pakistan. By contrast, if the American consumer could raise his consumption to more than *nine ounces* per head per year that fact would spell not necessarily increased prosperity but increased dollars for the equipment of India's new industries.

The most significant item in the present consumption is the rapid increase of tea drinking in India and Pakistan. The potentialities of this market were recognised as far back as 1903 when the industry itself asked the Government to impose a levy on export teas, the proceeds to be used for promoting sales in India. By 1915 consumption had risen to 20 million pounds, by 1945 to 150 million pounds, and during the current year provided transport delays are overcome this figure will be exceeded. The Indian Army was an enormous consumer of tea and its returned soldiers will not abandon the habit. More important however has been the effect of inflation. Wages have risen sharply at a far greater rate than the price of tea. To its desirable qualities is added the fundamental fact that thousands can afford to buy it for the first time. In India as elsewhere, it is that cheapest drink after water. This new demand comes at a time when India and Pakistan have export drives and tea is a most important export. In spite of an excise duty, Indian packers are buying export teas for internal consumption and their competition has caused the price of low-quality teas to be higher in India where the tea is grown than in countries several thousands of miles away. There are some who believe that India and Pakistan could consume all the tea these countries produce, though consumption which depends on the continuance of inflation is hardly a firm basis for prosperity. The inflationary symptoms have been repeated in North Africa and the Middle East. The effects of vast amounts of purchasing power pumped into these countries during the War have not worn off, and their demands for tea are increasing. With a world demand for petroleum from these countries, and the consequent increase in their purchasing power, it would seem that this demand for tea is likely to continue.

A "LAMENTABLE INVENTION"

The continent of Africa is probably the most promising new market for the teas of India and Pakistan. There too, we are on the threshold of economic development and lively activities of the Tea Market Expansion Board will undoubtedly introduce Africans to the value of tea. It is a popular theory that the Anglo-Saxon passion for tea is the determining factor in consumption. Although the consumption per head in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand is the highest in the world, and although the cottagers of Western Ireland remain the most discriminating purchasers of high-quality teas, there is much disappointment about the U.S.A. Consumption there is



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been falling, and the competition from the coco-cola and the coffee interests is keen and successful. It was from America that the lamentable invention of the tea bag came. These bags contain, in theory, enough tea to make one cup, but it has sometimes resulted in there being as many as 400 tea bags to the pound. What happens is that the consumer tries to get two or more cups from one bag. One lady proudly sent to her tea packer a used tea bag from which she had made ten cups of tea! To the alleged quick service of the tea bag must be added the more pernicious "dry service." This is a tea bag which sits alongside the spoon and is served with a cup of tepid water. Tea is made by the customer dipping the bag into the water.

One factor in the consumption of tea is the taxation it bears. Tea is so easy to tax, whether by a country which grows it or by a country which drinks it, or by both, that we are apt to forget that all consumers are not wedded to it. In addition to taxation there is now a large subsidy in its price—in England it is 10½d. a pound, in Australia it is 2s. a pound and in Eire it is 2s. 2d. If subsidies are removed, will people continue to consume tea at the present rates? Will the Governments of Pakistan and India recognise early enough that their teas may not be able to carry an export duty of 4½d. a pound plus an import duty in the United Kingdom of 6d. and a subsidy of 10½d.?

Marketing

Before the War, the London auctions in Mincing Lane attracted the teas of the world because they attracted the buyers of the world. During the war bulk purchase of teas in India for allied and certain neutral countries was introduced and lasted till 1946. The United Kingdom decided that it would continue with bulk purchases whilst the Government of India decided that other countries should buy their tea in India. The system of bulk purchase tends to encourage quantity rather than quality production. Whether and when London auctions will be restarted is a difficult question. Meanwhile, the Government of India is making special efforts to increase the importance of auctions at Calcutta and Cochin, whilst the Government of Pakistan is attempting to start auction at Chittagong. Facilities at present are poor in India and Pakistan, whilst the climate militates against the storage of good quality teas. So long, however, as the largest buyer, the Ministry of Food, continues to buy for the world's most important market under a bulk contract resumption of London auctions will be difficult if not impossible. It is doubtful whether the skill of Mincing Lane can be exported from the banks of the Thames to the banks of the Hooghly and the Karnafuli. What is not in doubt however is that until bulk purchase is replaced by auctions, the fully stretched and sorely tried British housewife will not be able to get the choice of blends she had in pre-war days.

The Labour Force

Having touched on the product I should like to end this talk with a comment on the man who makes it possible—the Indian labourer and his family. Much has been done recently to improve his wages and his working conditions, his housing and his health. Much remains to be done. Governments have pressed for more welfare measures with such zeal and with such a lofty disregard as to the availability of the materials with which, for example, new houses could be built that the industry has now to ask these Governments to remember that the perfect is the enemy of the good. In the present inflationary conditions the best that can be hoped for is to consolidate the gains that have already been made. In the fight against disease and the struggle to improve nutrition the population in the tea gardens are better served than their brothers in the villages. With the passing of the seller's market it will be an achievement if all the present gains can be held.

I have made no mention of the research station maintained by the industry at Tocklai, nor of the remarkable degree of co-operation existing between the industry and the Government in Ceylon and the Netherlands East Indies, which produced one of the world's most successful schemes for the regulation of production and exports. The industry in India and Pakistan will continue to need this co-operation; and the roles which they are assuming in South-east Asia are one of the most hopeful signs that, internationally and internally, this great industry will be well served by the new Governments of India and Pakistan.

Van Dijck : 350th Anniversary

This year (1949) Antwerp has celebrated the 350th Anniversary of the birth of Van Dijck. It was indeed in 1599 that the great artist was born in a house called "De Berendans"—the Bear's Dance—on the edge of the large Market Square. Van Dijck, Rubens said, is my best pupil, and that explains much of the development of this artist who became the first portrait painter of his time. At the outset of his career he had worked in close contact with Rubens, and that had given him a sense of quality, stimulated by friendly competition with the Master. If Rubens had not been there, Van Dijck would have been the first painter not only in Antwerp but also in Western Europe.

Needless to say that the prosperous city of Antwerp, which is so conscious of its artistic past, has feasted this Anniversary with appropriate pomp. First of all there was folkloric procession which walked through the city on the 3, 10, and 17th July. The Flemings are specialists in organizing folkloric ceremonies, and the Van Dijck procession consisted of 21 living pictures illustrating the life and work of the painter. One scene showed the departure of Van Dijck for Italy riding a beautiful horse, which was a present of Rubens. In Italy Van Dijck went from one princely court to another to paint. The Italian Princes quarreled amongst each other to have him. He was known already at that time as "il pittore cavalieresco," the knightly painter, and we find him in all the most fashionable palaces of Genoa, Rome, Venice, Mantua, Milan, Turin, and Palermo. Van Dijck, the Fleming, felt perfectly at home in sunny Italy, just as he would later perfectly be at home in foggy England. And it was in Italy, that he developed that taste for refined portraits of noblemen and high church dignitaries.

After his return from Italy Van Dijck settled in Antwerp and his workshop there was one of the meeting places of all leading personalities of the century. Mary of Medici, Queen of France, came in person to his studio to sit for a portrait. Soon afterwards Van Dijck spent a short time in Holland, where he made portraits of the Stadhouder Constantijn Huygen, of Amelia van Solms and of leading Dutch painters.

Van Dijck went to England, where his work as painter to the Court of Charles I, gained him the title of Sir Anthony. In England Sir Anthony made portraits of the majority of British noblemen. He painted Charles I, and Mary, Princess of England, on the occasion of her wedding to William of Orange. Van Dijck himself got married to an influential lady at the Court. In between his periods of feverish activity in England, he travelled to the Hague, and Paris. In less than 10 years he made 350 paintings, of which more than a hundred are in private collections in Britain.

This is the life that was illustrated in the procession in Antwerp, in which 2,000 people participated. During the months of June and July the Antwerp Museum also

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housed a great exhibition of the Master's works. Negotiations are pending with several countries to gather a hundred of Van Dijck's best works.—*Belgium*, August 1949.

What to Do About China ?

For all the furious activity in Washington last week, the United States was making haste slowly on a new policy toward China. Everywhere it turned, it found itself smack up against a stone wall. And while the White House, the State Department, the Pentagon, and Congress all were certain there must be a way out of the cul-de-sac into which the nation had blundered, they differed vociferously on just what it was.

On December 29 Mr. Truman met with several of his top advisers to discuss the China dilemma. Out of the meeting came a belated Navy Department announcement that it had ordered the carrier Boxer and two destroyers to sail from San Diego on January 11 into the Western Pacific. The following day the Joint Chiefs of Staff revealed its intention to visit Japan early in February to discuss with General of the Army Douglas MacArthur plans for combating Communism in the Far East. In his New Year's statement, MacArthur began delineating his views. The Japanese, he said, had the "inalienable right of self-defense" against "international banditry."

The Big Questions.—The immediate problem which faced the United States was a twofold one :

Should the Red regime in China be recognized?

Should the nation do anything toward helping the Nationalists keep Formosa out of Communist hands?

To the first question, both the Administration and Congress had a quick and easy answer : No. It was too quick, too easy; it didn't decide anything. Even as the Joint Chiefs' plans were made public, India announced that it had recognized the Communists. It was virtually certain that Great Britain and several other members of the Commonwealth, the Scandinavian countries, and France would soon follow. Russia and Yugoslavia had granted recognition long since. Under the circumstances, how could the United States keep the Chinese Reds from membership in the United Nations Security Council and the UN General Assembly? Could it use the veto? Should it? No one seemed to know.

The United States might well be placed in the preposterous position of carrying on discussions in UN with a government whose existence it didn't officially admit.

The problem of Formosa was equally complicated. General MacArthur had been insisting for months that Communist capture of the island would have tragic consequences for the United States. Formosa, he argued, must be held at all costs. Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson had supported this point of view.

The Joint Chiefs, on the other hand, while conceding the strategic importance of Formosa, had contended that Chiang Kai-shek couldn't hold it without direct American military assistance—and the consequent risk of war. Secretary of State Dean Acheson had backed the Joint Chiefs, adding that military intervention would alienate India as well as give the Communists an opportunity to inveigh against "American imperialism."

Last week Chairman Tom Connally of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Republican Sen. William F. Knowland of California injected themselves into the debate. They proposed that a military mission be sent to Formosa to advise the Nationalists on training and tactics and to supervise the use of American arms aid.

The morale of the Nationalist forces was good, Knowland said. The training methods which had been instituted by Gen. Sun Li-jen, a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute, were excellent. And land reforms had abated popular unrest, which previously threatened Chiang's grip on the island.

This week, the Connally-Knowland proposals stirred up some speculation. The President, United Press correspondent John Steele reported, asked the Joint Chiefs to study a deal under which the United States would obtain 99-year leases to bases in Formosa in exchange for shipments of arms to Chiang. And Herbert Hoover urged that the Navy be sent to Formosa to block a Red invasion.—*Newsweek*, January 9, 1950.

New Industrial uses for Atomic Energy Reported in U.S.

Washington, December 14.—The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission has made public 57 reports covering new discoveries and progress in the application of atomic energy for use in medicine, chemistry and engineering.

A significant development of atomic research, one report noted, is the rapid expansion of the use of fluorine and fluorine chemistry in industry.

Before the war, pure fluorine's cost was so excessive that it was used rarely, despite the fact that fluorine was a vigorous reacting element and fluorine compounds have uniquely valuable properties in chemistry. An electrolytic method for making fluorine, developed by the Du Pont Corporation for the atomic energy program, has cut the cost to $1.00 a pound. One of the reports just released describes the highlights of the processing.

Another report describes a new method of leak detection, originally developed at the University of California laboratories under the atomic program. The new technique of detecting leaks, called the halide-torch method, is described as more sensitive and rapid than the common soap-bubble test generally used in industry. Thus, the new method may be widely adopted for immediate use in industry.

A report in the medical field describes tests at Los Alamos, New Mexico, in which a scientist found that small but continuous doses of gamma radiation produced small but significant decreases in the number of white blood cells in the workers exposed. The study was made of men who received 0.2 Roentgens a week of gamma radiation for more than two years. The tests indicated that the routine blood count is the earliest and best available indicator of radiation effects.—*USIS*.

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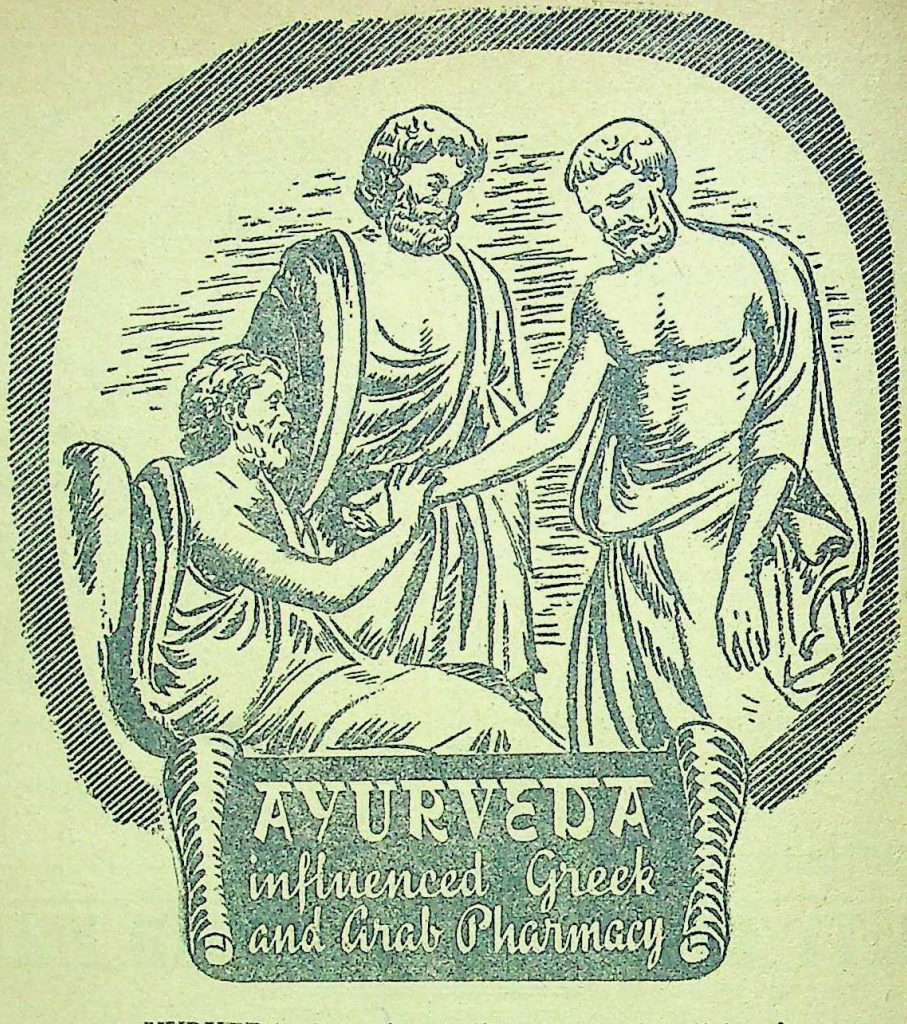

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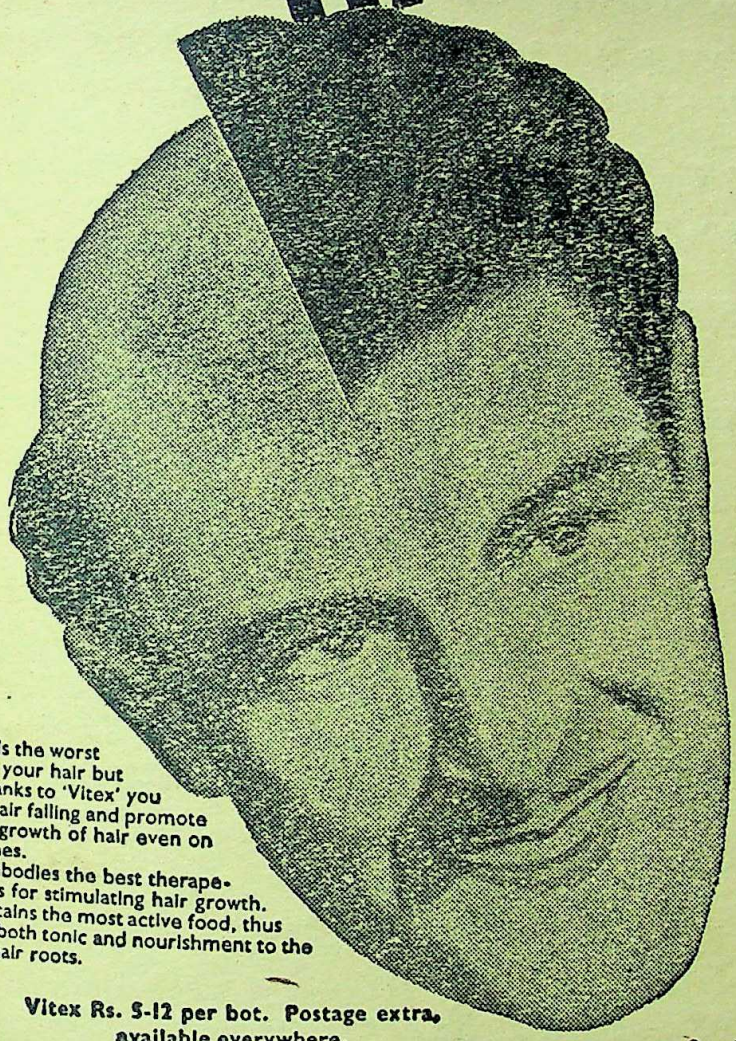

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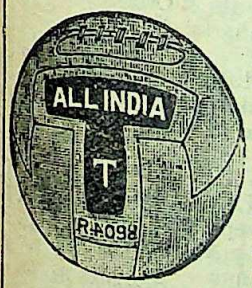

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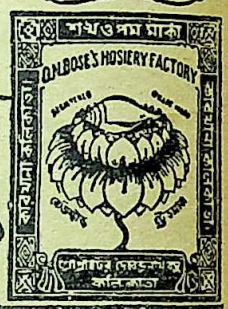

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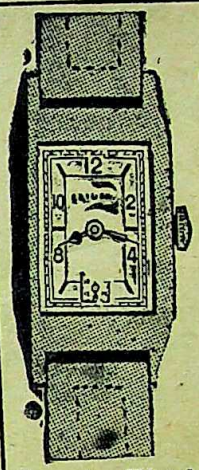

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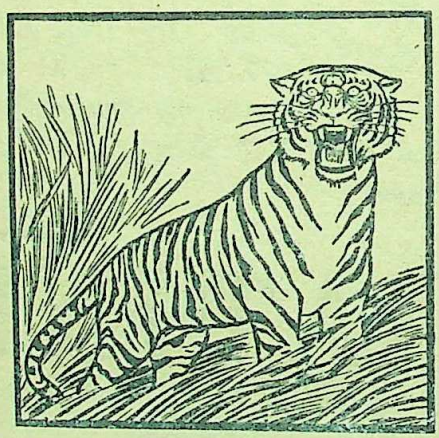
TIGER  **BRAND**

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VOL. LXXXVII, No. 5 WHOLE No. 521

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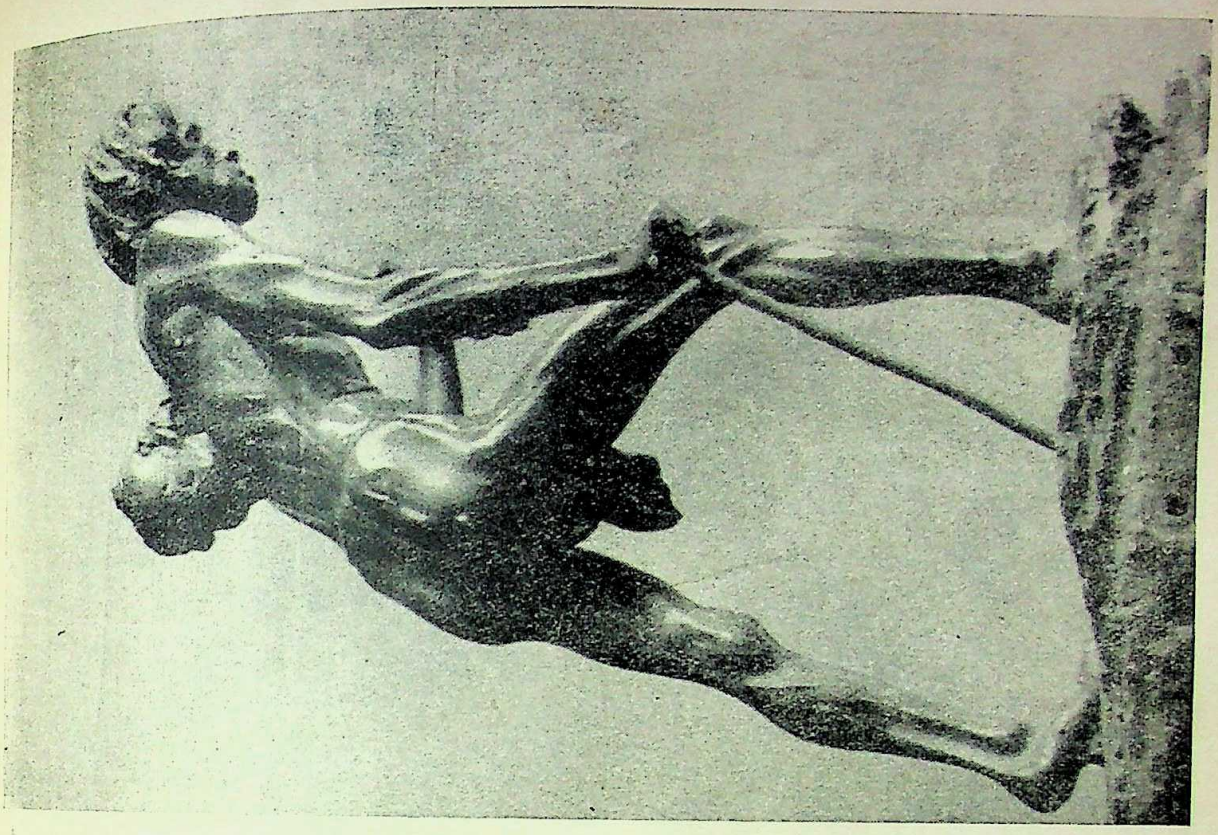

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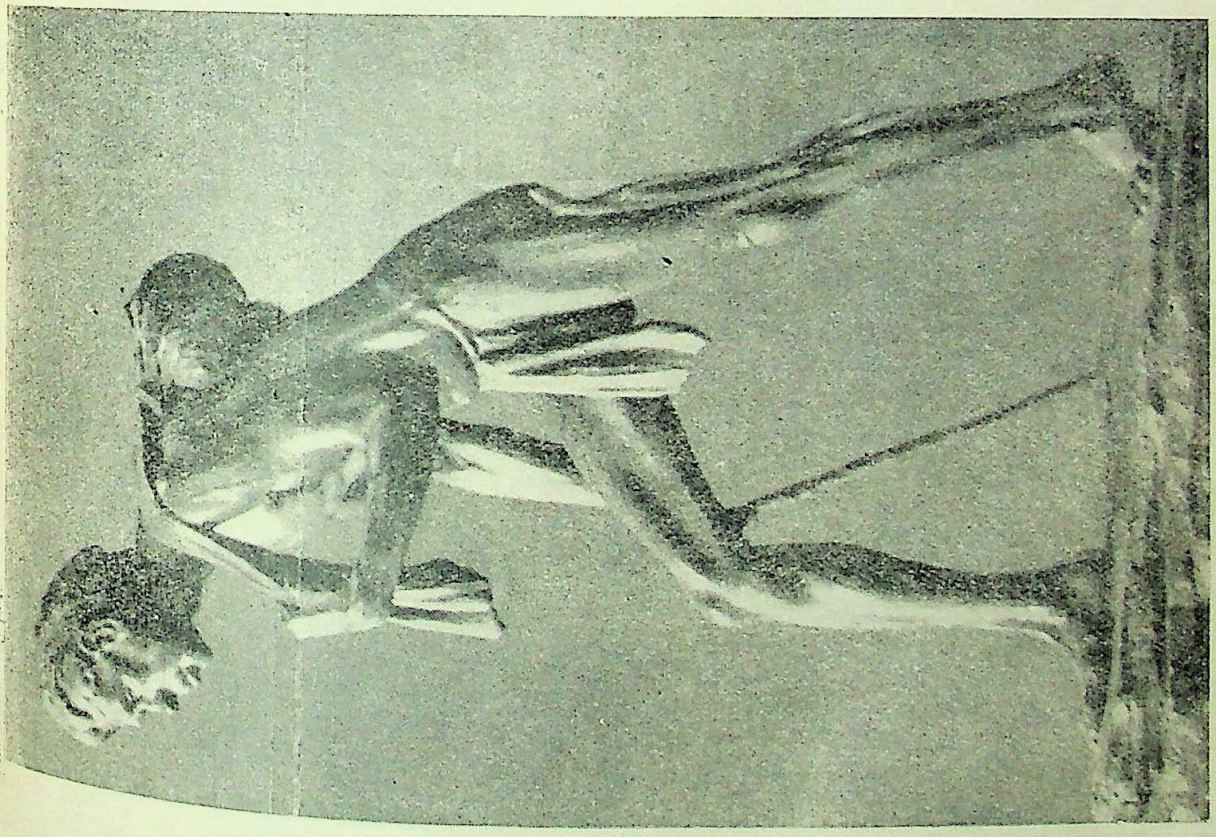

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THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY 1950

VOL. LXXXVII, No. 5 WHOLE No. 521

NOTES

The Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact

The question before Bengal is the Pact and its implementation. The rest of the Union of India has been satisfied with the speeches and reasonings of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, and has decided to consider the fate of the entire Bengali race as a purely parochial—though somewhat troublesome—issue. But the world outside has got quite a different picture. That picture may seem to be an irritating phantasy in the eyes of our Rip van Winkles, who have been soothed by the lullabys uttered by our somewhat gullible Olympians in whom even today, as ever, the wish is the father of the thought, tied up as they are with shibboleths and taboos and surrounded as they are with time-servers and sycophants.

To illustrate our point we quote *in toto* a despatch to the *New York Times* of April 12 by its extremely capable special correspondent, C. L. Sulzberger:

Outbreak of a full-scale war between India and Pakistan which could conceivably have led to a world conflict apparently was averted narrowly this past week-end as a result of some skilful behind-the-scenes diplomacy and level-headed statesmanship displayed by Liaquat Ali Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru in the New talks.

During the past month, the situation had been deteriorating rapidly. (a) *New riots in Bengal had forced mass Moslem migration into East Pakistan. Military dispositions were being taken* and irresponsible press elements were calling for "action" by India.

The new United States Ambassador to Pakistan, energetic Avra Warren, who came here straight from his previous post in Finland without taking any leave, found the atmosphere increasingly pessimistic.

Karachi was convinced that India was being pushed to aggressive action by the extremist Mahasabha organization. (b) *Information here was that India had concentrated almost her entire army in the vicinity of West Pakistan.*

(c) *After the troop movements had been completed,* according to Pakistan sources, *the Indian press, using the excuse of February's anti-Hindu riots in East Bengal, began a propaganda campaign* for police action by India in East Pakistan.

Simultaneously, it is claimed here, (d) *India quietly encouraged Afghanistan to foment trouble* with Pakistan along tribal areas of the North-West Frontier Province which Kabul covets and hopes to organize into an Afghan satellite "Pathanistan." Fakir of Ipi, a north-west tribal leader who had been a traditional nuisance, showed signs of restiveness and it is claimed here he was encouraged financially by New Delhi.

(e) *Pakistan feared India would informally invade East Bengal* and then, when Pakistan resisted, claim Karachi had begun a war and attack in Punjab with her assembled forces.

Mr. Warren, when appraised of the gravity of the situation by Pakistani leaders, flew to New Delhi to consult with United States Ambassador, Loy Henderson and pushed for compromise talks. (f) *Last week's discussions between Prime Ministers Nehru and Liaquat Ali eventually resulted.*

However, after slow progress, these almost broke down Friday evening. The Pakistani Government was extremely worried lest they fail utterly. It reckoned that in such an event war would break out in a matter of days or weeks. The monsoon commences in East Bengal at the end of May, making it unfit for campaigning later.

Fortunately Saturday morning a final compromise was reached. (g) *It is now regarded as a virtual certainty that the danger of war can be excluded until autumn—after the end of the monsoons.*

Unfortunately so much blood has been spilled on both sides since the partition was effected August 15, 1947, that not only do many Indian extremists ache to reconquer all the territory of the subcontinent but some Pakistanis would like a crack at the "Bharat," as they call the Indian Union. About 1,000,000 Hindus and Moslems have been slaughtered in the two and a half years and 14,000,000 have emigrated.

This country, which blames Lord Mountbatten for the tragic situation and claims he could have maintained order by keeping British troops in India some months after the partition, figures it has a one-to-four military inferiority with India although the pro-

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portion is slightly less unfavourable in the air and in armor. Both sides have famous fighting troops.

Pakistan's navy is inferior and it depends on that to maintain contact between its two areas divided by more than 1,000 miles of India. It has somewhat redressed its inferiority on land by withdrawing almost all regular forces from the north-west frontier tribal area and depending on subsidies and the common appeal of Islam to keep the tribes quiet.

(h) *But Pakistan will be militarily inferior for some time to come.* It has no coal, makes no steel and partition left it without a single munitions factory, almost without an arsenal and with few technicians.

According to Finance Minister Ghulam Mohammad, the partition awarded to Pakistan 164,000 tons of military stores in India of which only 23,000 have been delivered "and that mostly useless."

(i) *Pakistan is anxious to buy up to 200 of the latest type Sherman tanks from the United States and to improve her air force to attain balance with India's* estimated seventy-two Tempests and Spitfires plus three jet fighters and nine American Liberators. It is argued that a better arms balance between the two nations would safeguard peace.

It would seem that the political temperature has dropped sharply during the last seventy-two hours and that despite unsettled conditions in both East and West Bengal and inability to adjust the Kashmir dispute, (j) *the danger of war has at least been postponed for six months.*

Now a plain analysis of the above shows that a very powerful section of world opinion has been led to believe that :

(a) The genesis of the present crisis was in West Bengal and not the eastern part where peace reigned supreme. (b) That the efficient Pak spy-chain inside our defence and war organisation sent full and convincing intelligence about warlike movements to Pakistan proving (c) that the entire outcry against the widespread atrocities and nation-wide race-riots in East Bengal was a totally got-up affair. Indeed India's machinations reached into (d) Afghan and Pathan territory. It is further shown that the "sweet reasonableness," shown by Mr. Liaquat Ali at Delhi, was induced (e) by the imminence of war on very disadvantageous terms for Pakistan, and that (f) the U. S. A. Foreign Department—as also Mr. Attlee—intervened, causing the collapse of Pandit Nehru. It is clearly proved (g) (j) that this pact is a temporary truce forced on India to give Pakistan breathing space, and moreover (h) since Pakistan will be militarily inferior for "sometime to come," it will have to obtain (i) armour and planes from U.S.A. within the truce period to offset the disparity.

Question remains, which version are we to believe ? As for the Pact, we will say that the proof of this latest *Dehli-ki-laddoo* is in the eating thereof. When we see the misery-laden refugee masses stream back to East Pakistan in thousands, we shall start to regain faith. *We shall entertain no other proof.*

Indo-Pak Trade Agreement

The Indo-Pakistani Agreement for the revival of trade has been published after ratification by both the Governments. Although the Agreement will be in force up to July 31, 1950, provision has been made for supplies to be completed by a later date if necessary. The Agreement includes a deal in which Pakistan will sell four million maunds of raw jute and will, with the proceeds, make purchases in India. It is also stated the two Governments will make efforts to increase the flow of trade so that Pakistan may obtain the coal she needs and India may get the cotton she requires. This virtually lifts the ban on coal export to Pakistan without making any mention of it in the Agreement.

The jute deal has raised a storm of protest all over West Bengal. Before even the Delhi Agreement had passed the stage of uncertainty, the jute deal had become a *fait accompli*! Several jute dealers' associations had protested against this deal. It had been clearly pointed out from several knowledgeable quarters that the deal had been ill-timed and would not serve the best interests of the country. The agreement price to be paid for the raw jute from Pakistan, though lower than the control price for "bottoms" in India, was higher as compared with prevalent prices in Pakistan. The Jute Dealers' Association, Calcutta, expressed its belief that if India kept up a rigid attitude in negotiating with Pakistan for a few months more, the situation would favour India as there has been a large accumulation of low quality jute lying in East Bengal in a practically unsaleable condition. The Association also pointed out in a telegram to the Commerce Minister that the quality of jute for which negotiations were going on are absolutely unsaleable to any other country except India, irrespective of prices, and as such, the Association is of the opinion that any deal at a price higher than that obtaining in Pakistan would mean a tacit acceptance of Pakistan's unduly enhanced currency ratio.

In an article to the *Hindusthan Standard* on April 20, a correspondent analysed the business aspects of the deal and pointed out that India was being asked to pay 35 per cent more for a thing for which she was the only buyer. The concluding portion of the report is of importance :

> So far as the stock position and output of jute goods are concerned, it is no longer true that India is dependent on the sweet will of Pakistan to keep her jute mills working. India has not been idle since Pakistan started this trade war with special reference to jute. We have developed our own resources ; and a position has been reached in which we shall not need to buy from Pakistan more than a third of our former purchases. *From the long-term point of view, therefore, this deal is, to say the least of it, unnecessary. But it has most dangerous immediate consequences. By helping out of the glut of raw jute, we shall help*

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her to put up the prices in the immediate future both because stocks will have been reduced and also because her merchants will be getting more money with which to rig up the market. If this purchase of 800,000 bales at the present juncture is not made, the world supplies of jute in the 1950-51 season will be 3 million bales, being unsold stocks from the current crop in the hands of Pakistani cultivators and being the unsold stocks with Pakistan Jute Board ; plus 4 million bales (may be 5 million bales as, in spite of reduction in acreage, the crop in East Bengal is due to favourable weather conditions, likely to turn out a bumper crop) of Pakistani crop in 1950-51 season ; plus 5 million bales being Indian grown jute for the next season ; plus at least 500,000 bales of mesta and other fibres ; or, in all 13½ million bales. Even a tyro in the jute business knows that nothing can keep the 1950-51 prices of jute at current levels. It is a safe guess that, in four to five months' time, the price of jute should work out to less than Rs. 25 per maund delivered at the mills in Calcutta.

Thus not only are we helping Pakistan to sell her jute, we are helping her also to put up the prices against us.

But the worst aspect of the jute deal is that it will cut across our most vital national interests in the years ahead. Faced with the demand for higher prices for raw jute, and bearing in mind our heavy trade deficits with Pakistan, the Government of India decided to develop our resources in raw jute, wipe out the adverse balance with Pakistan and improve our general balance of trade position with the rest of the world. This jute deal proposes to take us back to the old position. And what is worse, it proposes to give gratuitous strength to the Pakistan rupee and to Pakistan's contention that its currency is worth more than ours. *It is impossible to think of any proposal which can at one stroke do even half as much harm to our national interests, short-term as well as long-term.*

It is now widely rumoured that more than normal interest had been taken in the deal by the officials of the Commerce Department. Only the Commerce Minister, Shri K. C. Neogy, opposed it all along. The gain for India in this deal is still a matter of mystery, the disadvantages to be encountered by us a few months hence is quite clear from the extract from the *Hindusthan Standard* correspondent quoted above. We consider it imperative in the interest of the State that names of the firms that have got the contracts and the officials through whom the agreement has passed should be published. The public must have clear knowledge of the persons who are responsible. *We have to write strongly on this matter because we feel that the agony and misery of millions in the two Bengals have been capitalised by Big Business with the aid of high officials with such haste as can only be characterised as shameless and brazen. This deal must be kept before the public eye, in its fullest significance, therefore.*

While the jute deal was going through in Karachi, Sardar Datar Singh came to West Bengal and tried to persuade the Government to allocate more acres to jute. We have no doubt that the same process is going on in Bihar and Assam. We fail to understand what is the idea behind these moves to increase jute acreage in India while the Mills would run to Pakistan even for hubby jubbies and bottoms. We have a suspicion that the same attempts are being made now as was done during the League period of British regime when the helpless jute cultivator was placed completely at the mercy of the ruthless greed of the Indian Jute Mills Association, so much so that sometimes it did not even pay the grower to cut the jute.

The entire matter of jute require a thorough reorientation. Mr. Walker is the representative of the Jute Mills but he has been made the Jute Controller. His interests must conflict with those of the jute-grower, the jute dealer (as revealed by the Jute Dealers' Association of Calcutta) and the indigenous manufacturers of jute mill accessories. We think that time is now ripe for the establishment of a Jute Board in India in which the Mills, the Accessories Manufacturers, the dealer and the grower should be evenly represented. The President of the Board should be an Indian Economist of unchallenged integrity who is not identified with any of the above interests.

The following is the text of the Agreement ; it differs very little from the Indo-Pak Trade Agreement of 1948 which had been systematically violated by Pakistan :

"1. The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan being desirous of reviving trade on a balanced basis between their two countries, have through their respective representatives, who met in Karachi on April 19-21, 1950, agreed as a first step as under :

2. The Government of Pakistan, through their Jute Board, shall arrange to supply to the Chairman of the Indian Jute Mills Association on the specified dates 4m maunds of raw jute in accordance with the terms and conditions given in the annexe to this Agreement.

3. The Government of India undertake to arrange the supply of 20,000 tons of jute manufactures of Indian origin to the Jute Board of the Pakistani Government in accordance with the terms and conditions stated in the annexure and grant licences for this purpose where necessary with maximum despatch.

4. In addition, the two Governments shall facilitate the purchase by Pakistan from India through normal trade channels of the following goods and commodities : Cotton textiles, fine and superfine, 45,000 bales; cotton yarn of counts 40 and above 5,000 bales; mustard oil 7,000 tons; tobacco 500,000 lb.; steel sheets, corrugated and plain, 5,000 tons; wheels, tyres and axles 1,000 tons; timber from Assam, Malabar and Punjab (I) 12,000 tons; cement for East Bengal 50,000 tons; woollen manufactures (value) Rs. (Indian) 50,00,000

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5. The two Governments agree to use their good offices to ensure prompt deliveries of the goods mentioned in clauses 2, 3 and 4 above.

6. Transactions under Clauses 2, 3 and 4 of the Agreement shall take place in Indian rupees, for which a separate account shall be maintained by the State Bank of Pakistan with the Reserve Bank of India. The value of goods and commodities purchased by Pakistan under Clauses 3 and 4 of the Agreement shall, as near as possible, be equal to the value of jute purchased by India.

7. In addition to the commodities mentioned above, the two Governments agree that trade in the following commodities shall be permitted to take place without import, export and exchange restrictions on either side in respect of transactions in these commodities, to the extent that traders in either country are able to finance exchange of goods without any assistance from either Government in the shape of releases of foreign exchange :

(*a*) To and from India and Pakistan : Vegetables; fruits (fresh and dry); fish (fresh and dry); poultry; eggs; milk and milk products; betel leaf.

(*b*) From Pakistan to India : Cotton-seed, soda ash, hides and skins, handloom cloth and betelnuts.

(*c*) From India to Pakistan : Leather, spices, myrobalan, soaps other than washing soaps, paints and varnishes, drugs, chemicals and acids, cigarettes, bidis and matches, sewing machines, electric fans, silk and artificial silk fabrics, glassware, bauxite, umbrellas, silica sand, washing soap, lanterns, handloom cloths of various descriptions.

8. The goods imported under this agreement shall not be re-exported by either country.

9. (*a*) The two Governments undertake to give every reasonable facility for the import and export of commodities, and in particular to facilitate the use of the routes and methods of transportation that are most economical and convenient.

(*b*) In order to facilitate resumption of normal rail movement and to ensure that transportation difficulties are promptly attended to, a meeting of representatives of the Railway authorities of the two Governments shall be arranged as soon as possible.

10. Both parties shall arrange to meet as frequently as possible, and in any case once in a month, in order to (*a*) Examine the progress in the movement of goods on either side, (*b*) Ensure that a balance of trade is maintained in the transactions covered by the Agreement, (*c*) Settle any issues that may arise in connexion with this Agreement, (*d*) Explore possibilities of extending the scope of this Agreement.

11. The Government of Pakistan agree to supply 150,000 tons of wheat to the Government of India at a price to be settled between the two Governments for which purpose negotiations will be opened as soon as possible.

12. This Agreement shall come into force with immediate effect and shall remain in force up to July 31, 1950, but shall continue to apply beyond that date in respect of such goods and commodities specified in Clauses 2, 3 and 4 above as are not supplied before the expiry of that date for good and valid reasons it shall be deemed to have been ratified by both Governments unless either Government notifies to the contrary before April 30, 1950."

Jute Deal

Annexure : "It is agreed between the Chairman of the Pakistan Jute Board (the seller) and the Chairman of the Indian Jute Mills Association (the buyer), Amount (*a*) that the seller shall deliver to the buyer, 4m maunds of jute.

"*Types* : (*b*) that the types of jute to be delivered shall be cuttings 1.9m maunds, Hubbi jubbi and ropes 100,000 maunds, rejections 2m maunds.

"*Price* : (*c*) that the price shall be for delivery at the mills and in Indian rupees : Cuttings Rs. 28 per maund, Hubbi jubbi and ropes Rs. 30 per maund, rejections Rs. 34 per maund.

"*Delivery* : (*d*) that delivery shall be as follows: By May 15—1m maunds cuttings; 100,000 maunds Hubbi jubbi and ropes, 500,000 maunds rejections. By May 31—300,000 maunds cuttings, 500,000 maunds rejections. By June 30—300,000 maunds cuttings, 500,000 maunds rejections. By July 31—300,000 maunds cuttings, 500,000 maunds rejections.

"The Jute Board of Pakistan as the seller will make every endeavour to complete deliveries within the specified time, but will have the option of the period.

Then follow the clauses *re Insurance* (*e*), *Inspection* (*f*), *Moisture* (*g*).

Payment : (*h*) That the seller shall draw on the buyer in Indian currency for the full invoice value of the jute and the bill of lading and original policy of insurance will be given up by the seller to the buyer through their respective bankers, who shall be authorized to make immediate settlement.

After (*h*) come the clauses *re* (ii) Final settlement, (iii) Short-weight claims and (iv) the clause excluding the jute certified by the Narayanganj or Chittagong Chamber of Commerce.

Then follow the usual clauses for check and survey and of arbitration. There is also the specification of the Gunnies to be delivered to the jute sellers.

Nehru-Liaquat Agreement and Kashmir

The main topic of discussion in India during the past month has been the Nehru Liaquat Agreement and the main question asked everywhere has been—Will it succeed ? The influence this Agreement will have on Kashmir, although Kashmir is not included in its

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has also been one of wide discussion. An article on this subject, which appeared in Pandit Nehru's paper, the *National Herald* of Lucknow, on April 17 last, must receive serious attention. The Article is one of the very ably written series appearing under the pen-name of *Sanjay*. The significant portions are :

The agreement imposes an obligation on India and on every Indian to accept Pakistan as an established fact. By "established fact" it is not meant that we should regard Pakistan as a bitter pill which has to be swallowed, or as a curse of God which has to be endured for the atonement of our sins. We should regard Pakistan as an established fact in the same way as England regards France today.

Friendship is possible and desirable in spite of bitter memories. The memories of what the League said and did before the partition is certainly the biggest psychological wall not only between Pakistan and India, but also between the Hindus and Muslims within each country. But a few facts will help us in plucking out this rooted bitterness from our memory.

What are these facts? First, the two-nation theory was not the root cause of the demand for Pakistan. The basic causes were economic. The two-nation theory was used by Mr. Jinnah as a weapon of propaganda. The more the Congress opposed. Pakistan, the more blatant became Mr. Jinnah's propaganda. Secondly, Hindus were to some extent responsible for the creation of Pakistan. It was the considered opinion of Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Sapru and many others that an agreement between Hindus and Muslims would have been reached at the Round Table Conference but for the attitude of representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha. Thirdly, it may be true that horrible atrocities were committed by Pakistanis, but Indians gave as much as they got.

The unity of India is a concept far more difficult to give up. But here too several facts may help us. First, Pakistan was created as much by Hindu small-mindedness as by Muslim fanaticism or British intrigue. Secondly, Indians must not forget that history has not always treated India's political unity as sacrosanct. Many of us confuse the unity of Indian civilisation with political unity. The former remained intact even when India was divided into many States. It can remain intact even today though the sub-continent is divided into India and Pakistan. But it will remain intact only if there is a friendship between India and Pakistan. Thirdly, this is not the first occasion when Indians have compromised their ideal of the political unity of India. If we can tolerate the existence of Afghanistan and Ceylon, which were always part of India, why cannot we accept Pakistan? Fourthly, even political unity may return to this continent one day, just as it is slowly returning to Western Europe. But such political unity only come after a long period of friendship between India and Pakistan.

The obligations imposed on India by the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement may be summarised as follows: (*i*) India should accept Pakistan as a permanent fact, and (*ii*) it should accept friendship of Pakistan.

If India fulfils these two obligations, several results will follow. First, Pakistan shall not need the two-nation theory as a cementing force. Secondly, Pakistan will drop her insecurity complex. Thirdly, Pakistan will cease to regard the Hindus in East Bengal as a potential fifth column of India.

So much for obligations imposed on India. What about the obligations in Pakistan?

The greatest obligation on Pakistan imposed by the Nehru Liaquat Agreement is to discard the two-nation theory. Unless this accursed theory is officially buried by Pakistan and her people, the agreement has very little chance of success. Pakistan has no excuse whatever to retain it after signing the Delhi Agreement.

But what is meant by "discarding" the two-nation theory? An official declaration on a scrap of paper which would be as easy to violate as to make is not meant. The Government of Pakistan must give concrete proof of their resolve to abolish the two-nation theory from their territories.

For example, they can do two things:

(1) They must renounce the use of the two-nation theory as a weapon of propaganda in Kashmir. If Pakistan continues to incite the Muslims of Kashmir in the name of Islam, she cannot claim to have discarded the two-nation theory. Her willingness not to "talk" two-nation theory in Kashmir is the acid test of her sincerity in this matter.

Secondly, to show their sincerity in the matter, the Pakistan Government should allow Hindus to return to West Pakistan wherever practicable. I am not suggesting a wholesale reversal of the exchange of populations which took place in the Punjab in 1947, such a wholesale reversal would hardly be possible today.

So much for the respective obligations of the two Governments. To put them in a nutshell, India must accept Pakistan as a permanent fact and Pakistan must discard the two-nation theory. These two respective obligations are fundamental. If they are fulfilled, many problems and disputes between the two countries will cease to exist. But if they are not fulfilled, the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement will fail.

There are some obligations which are common to India and Pakistan. The Agreement implies that both countries have resolved that no dispute between them shall be settled by war. The Agreement presupposes a resolve by each country that none of the existing issues between them is worth a war. Now, what are the main existing issues between India and Pakistan? They are: (1) Kashmir, (2) Canal water dispute, and (3) Evacuee property. The Nehru-Liaquat Agreement implies a decision by India and Pakistan

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that neither Kashmir, nor Canal water, nor evacuee property is worth a war. If such an understanding exists, the agreement will succeed. If it does not exist, the agreement will not yield any result.

India is under a moral obligation after this agreement to use her waters in such a manner that Western Punjab is not converted into a desert for lack of it.

Pakistan's record in the matter of evacuee property has not been happy. The Pakistan Government must do justice to the refugees who have left Pakistan and who are not allowed to remove or sell their properties. In fact, much of the present bitterness in India against Pakistan will vanish if Pakistan restores evacuee property to its rightful owners. India should follow suit.

Lastly, there must be an agreement on Kashmir. Without it, the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement itself will appear unreal.

An agreement on Kashmir is essential for the success of the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement for more than one reason. First, as long as Kashmir dispute remains unsolved, Pakistan will not bury the two-nation theory. She hopes to win the plebiscite with the weapon of the two-nation theory. She hopes, even without a plebiscite, to undermine Sheikh Abdullah's position in Kashmir with the help of the two-nation theory. Secondly, as long as the prospect of war over Kashmir remains on the horizon, each country will regard her minority as the fifth column of the other. Thirdly, retaliation and counter-retaliation, which are inseparable from an atmosphere of war and fifth columns, will wreck the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement.

In a nut-shell, Kashmir is not worth a war.

But then, what is to be done about it?

There are only three alternatives: (1) Plebiscite, (2) Partition, and (3) Independence of Kashmir with an international guarantee.

Prima facie, a plebiscite appears to be the most reasonable solution. It is democratic. It has been accepted in principle by both India and Pakistan.

It shall give the people of Kashmir an opportunity to exercise self-determination. But after a careful and anxious consideration of the problem, I have come to the conclusion that the benefits of a plebiscite in the present situation are illusory.

The biggest complication is the nature of propaganda permissible to either party before the plebiscite. What shall the Muslim League say to the people of Kashmir? Shall it say, "You are Muslims, Hindus and Muslims are two nations, Pakistan is a Muslim State, and, therefore, you must vote for Pakistan." How would this be consistent with the recent declaration by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan that Pakistan is a secular democracy like India?

We observed the two-nation theory in action during the 1946 elections in India. But what has been the effect of its propaganda on Hindu-Muslim relations both in India and Pakistan? Calcutta, Noakhali, Bihar, Rawalpindi, East Punjab and Bengal paid the price. For these reasons I have come to the conclusion that a plebiscite in Kashmir will be the worst possible move after the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement.

The second alternative is that both India and Pakistan should accept Kashmir as an independent sovereign State whose neutrality should be guaranteed by both, and by the United Nations. I need not discuss this alternative, as neither India nor Pakistan, nor even the National Government of Kashmir nor the Azad Kashmir Government are prepared to accept it.

The third alternative is the partition of Kashmir. In my view this is the wisest alternative. I need not discuss the actual details of partition. Perhaps the present truce line between the Indian and Pakistani forces may become the permanent boundary between India and Pakistan. Minor adjustments may be made in favour of one or the other party, but these are questions of detail. The fundamental question is: "Shall there be a partition of Kashmir, or shall the question be settled by plebiscite or war?" War is ruled out. Plebiscite will be extremely undesirable in view of the past record of the two-nation theory. The only alternative, therefore, is partition.

Some people may object to partition on the ground that it violates the principle of self-determination. This is not quite true. Kashmir is not a homogeneous State. It is composed of many communities. Economically, too, Kashmir is not a single homonegeous unit. For all these reasons, I am of the opinion that partition without a plebiscite will in no way amount to a vivisection of a homogeneous people.

The Kashmir Problem

On December 23, 1947, the Indian Government took the Kashmir problem created by Pakistan's aggression on this State to the forum of the United Nations Organization. Through tortuous diplomacy the Anglo-Saxon Powers—the United States and Britain—have been able to screen the offender and put him and the complainant in the same position. The Anglo-American Powers have shown their hands rather crudely, the Soviet Union has been rather strangely reticent, a contrast which has gone in her favour. The latest news from Lake Success, is dated April 12; it announces the appointment of a Mediator:

> The United Nations Security Council today appointed 61-year-old Australian jurist, Sir Owen Dixon, as Mediator in the Kashmir dispute. Both India and Pakistan had earlier accepted him.
>
> Voting on the appointment was eight in favour and two abstentions, the latter being India and Yugoslavia. None voted against. The Soviet member was absent owing to the Chinese boycott.
>
> The duties laid out for Sir Owen in a Council resolution of March 14 include the following functions:
>
> To help the preparation and supervision of a programme of demilitarisation in the disputed zone.
>
> Be at the disposal of the two Governments and of the Security Council in making any suggestions which

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they may think will contribute to a solution of the dispute.

To take over the responsibilities and powers formerly held by the United Nations Kashmir Commission.

To prepare for the time when Admiral Chester Nimitz can take over as Administrator of the Kashmir plebiscite.

In appointing Sir Owen, the Council also reaffirmed its earlier request to the two Governments to take all necessary precautions to ensure that the present cease-fire shall be faithfully observed.

They are also expected to take all possible measures to ensure the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations.

After the vote on Sir Owen's appointment, Fawzi Bey, Security Council's Chairman, said that with the appointment "yet another step has been taken by the Security Council towards the solution of the unfortunate dispute between India and Pakistan.

"I am confident that those steps will eventually lead to harmony and understanding between the two countries."

He also paid tribute to the spirit of co-operation shown by the two parties themselves. He added that the Council would note with gratification the "noble far-sighted course" which inspired the recent meeting between Pandit Nehru, Indian Prime Minister, and Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan.

"The agreement they reached in Delhi merits the highest commendation from the Security Council."

Mr. Arne Sunde of Norway then called today's decision a "satisfactory conclusion of a difficult stage in the process of bringing about peace and the settlement of the unfortunate dispute between India and Pakistan."

Mr. Warren Austin, United States representative said that his country wished to encourage everyone in the United Nations to continue to make substantial gains for the settlement of an extremely complicated situation.

"This is a story of a notable achievement by two great countries which were suddenly confronted with a difficult problem at a time when they were emerging from a colonial status into freedom."

The United States wished to strengthen the arm of Sir Owen "as far as it is proper for a United Nations and Security Council member to do so."

Mr. Gopala Menon on behalf of the Republic of India announced acceptance of Sir Owen Dixon.

Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan Foreign Minister, followed with the announcement of Pakistan's acceptance.

The Pakistan Minister said: "It bears emphasising that over this difficult problem, the measure of agreement so far reached by the parties is embodied in the two resolutions of the United Nations Commission of August 13, 1948, and of January, 1949."

"Sir Owen's duty and function will be to assist in the implementation of a programme of demilitarisation on the basis of the McNaughton proposals. Once this is done, the Plebiscite Administrator can assume the functions assigned to him.

"The United Nations representative will receive the fullest support, assistance, and co-operation of my Government. It is unnecessary to add anything more at this stage. I hope that the agreement reached between the Governments on connected problems may mean that the United Nations Mediator will find his task rendered easier than it was feared it might otherwise have been."

After India and Pakistan both promised to support Sir Owen, Sir Alexander Cadogan of Britain said his appointment "marks an important advance towards a peaceful and satisfactory settlement of this extremely difficult situation."

Sir Owen Dixon, Australian High Court Judge, is a man who has played many parts in a career of public service to the British Commonwealth.

Law had been his career, but outside the bar and off the bench, he had been diplomat and wartime administrator of vast enterprises.

Close friends and associates regard his outstanding characteristic of clear, level-headed thinking and his ability to dig down to the roots of stubborn problems as ideal for perhaps the thorniest job he has yet had to tackle.

His appointment as a High Court Judge by a Conservative Government in 1921, was welcomed by all political parties. This followed a three years' term as Acting Chief Justice of the Victorian State Supreme Court. Many of his judgments have stood the test both of time and higher tribunals. His fearlessness in legal interpretations and in wedding commonsense to the Statutes gained him a great reputation.

He succeeded Mr. Richard Casoflas, Australian Ambassador in Washington. For two years, he played a vital part in co-ordinating the United States and Australian efforts to make his country a great military and supply base, an arsenal, and a training ground for the war against Japan.

Those two years, under constant pressure from his own Government and treating with a Government harassed by calls from all its allies, he displayed qualities of tact and strength that won him the highest commendations.

He returned to the Australian High Court three years ago.

Nehru-Liaquat Ali Agreement

Following is the full text of the Indo-Pak Agreement jointly signed on April 8 by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan :

(*a*) "The Governments of India and Pakistan solemnly agree that each shall ensure, to the minorities throughout its territory, complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship, subject to law and morality.

"Members of the minorities shall have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in the public life of their country, to hold political or other office, and to serve in their country's civil and armed forces.

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"Both Governments declare these rights to be fundamental and undertake to enforce them effectively. The Prime Minister of India has drawn attention to the fact that these rights are guaranteed to all minorities in India by its Constitution. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has pointed out that similar provision exist in the objectives resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. It is the policy of both Governments that the enjoyment of these democratic rights shall be assured to all their nationals without distinction.

"Both Governments wish to emphasise that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens, and that it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances."

(*b*) "In respect of migrants from East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, where communal disturbances have recently occurred, it is agreed between the two Governments :

(*i*) That there shall be freedom of movement and protection in transit ;

(*ii*) That there shall be freedom to remove as much of his movable personal effects and household goods as a migrant may wish to take with him. Movable property shall include personal jewellery. The maximum cash allowed to each adult migrant will be Rs. 150 and to each migrant child Rs. 75 ;

(*iii*) That a migrant may deposit such of his personal jewellery or cash as he does not wish to take with him with a bank. As proper receipt shall be furnished to him by the bank for cash or jewellery thus deposited and facilities shall be provided, as and when required, for their transfer to him, subject, as regards cash to the exchange regulations of the Government concerned ;

(*iv*) That there shall be no harassment by the customs authorities. At each customs post agreed upon by the Governments concerned, liaison officers of the other Government shall be posted to ensure this in practice ;

(*v*) Rights of ownership in or occupancy of the immovable property of a migrant shall not be disturbed. If, during his absence, such property is occupied by another person, it shall be returned to him, provided that he comes back by the 31st December, 1950. Where the migrant was a cultivating owner or tenant, the land shall be restored to him, provided that he returns not later than the 31st December, 1950. In exceptional cases, if a Government considers that a migrant's immovable property cannot be returned to him, the matter shall be referred to the appropriate minority commission for advice.

Where restoration of immovable property to the migrant who returns within the specified period is found not possible the Government concerned shall take steps to rehabilitate him.

(*vi*) That in the case of a migrant who decides not to return, ownership of all his immovable property shall continue to vest in him and he shall have unrestricted right to dispose of it by sale, by exchange with an evacuee in the other country, or otherwise. A Committee consisting of three representatives of the minority and presided over by a representative of Government shall act as trustees of the owner. The Committee shall be empowered to recover rent for such immovable property according to law.

The Governments of East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura shall enact the necessary legislation to set up these Committees.

The Provincial or State Government as the case may be, will instruct the district or other appropriate authority to give all possible assistance for the discharge of the Committee's functions.

The provisions of this sub-paragraph shall also apply to migrants who may have left East Bengal for any part of India, or West Bengal, Assam or Tripura for any part of Pakistan, prior to the recent disturbances but after the 15th August, 1947. The arrangement in this sub-paragraph will apply also to migrants who have left Bihar for East Bengal owing to communal disturbances or fear thereof."

(*c*) "As regards the province of East Bengal and each of the States of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura respectively, the two Governments further agree that they shall :

1. Continue their efforts to restore normal conditions and shall take suitable measures to prevent recurrence of disorder.

2. Punish all those who are found guilty of offences against persons and property and of other criminal offences. In view of their deterrent effect, collective fines shall be imposed, where necessary. Special courts will, where necessary, be appointed to ensure that wrongdoers are promptly punished.

3. Make every possible effort to recover looted property.

4. Set up immediately an agency, with which representatives of the minority shall be associated, to assist in the recovery of abducted women.

5. Not recognise forced conversions. Any conversion effected during a period of communal disturbance shall be deemed to be a forced conversion. Those found guilty of converting people forcibly shall be punished.

6. Set up a Commission of Enquiry at once to enquire into and report on the causes and extent of the recent disturbances and to make recommendations with a view to preventing recrudescence of similar trouble in future. The personnel of the Commission, which shall be presided over by a judge of the High Court, shall be such as to inspire confidence among the minority.

7. Take prompt and effective steps to prevent the dissemination of news and mischievous opinion calculated to rouse communal passion by Press or

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radio or by any individual or organisation. Those guilty of such activity shall be rigorously dealt with.

8. Not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or purporting to incite war between them and shall take prompt and effective action against any individual or organisation guilty of such propaganda."

(*d*) Sub-paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 of "*c*" of the Agreement are of general scope and applicable, according to exigency, to any part of India or Pakistan.

(*e*) In order to help restore confidence, so that refugees may return to their homes, the two Governments have decided (1) to depute two Ministers, one from each Government to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary ; (2) to include in the Cabinets of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam a representative of the minority community. In Assam, the minority community is already represented in the Cabinet. Appointments to the Cabinets of East Bengal and West Bengal shall be made immediately.

(*f*) In order to assist in the implementation of this agreement the two Governments have decided, apart from the deputation of their Ministers referred to in E, to set up Minority Commissions, one for East Bengal, one for West Bengal and one for Assam. These Commissions will be constituted and will have the functions described below :

(*i*) Each Commission will consist of one Minister of the Provincial or State Governments concerned, who will be Chairman, and one representative each of the majority and minority communities from East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam chosen by and from among their respective representatives in the Provincial or State legislatures, as the case may be.

(*ii*) The two Ministers of the Governments of India and Pakistan may attend and participate in any meeting of any Commission. A Minority Commission or any two Minority Commissions jointly shall meet when so required by either Central Minister for the satisfactory implementation of this agreement.

(*iii*) Each Commission shall appoint such staff as it deems necessary for the proper discharge of its functions and shall determine its own procedure.

(*iv*) Each Commission shall maintain contact with the minorities in districts and shall have administrative headquarters through Minority Boards formed in accordance with the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948.

(*v*) The Minority Commissions in East Bengal and West Bengal shall replace the Provincial Minorities Boards set up under the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948.

(*vi*) The two Ministers of the Central Governments will from time to time consult such persons or organisations as they may consider necessary.

(*vii*) The functions of the Minority Commission shall be :

(*a*) To observe and to report on the implementation of this agreement and for this purpose to take cognizance of breaches or neglect.

(*b*) To advise on action to be taken on their recommendations.

(*viii*) Each Commission shall submit reports, as and when necessary, to the Provincial and State Governments concerned. Copies of such reports will be submitted simultaneously to the two Central Ministers during the period referred to in E.

(*ix*) The Governments of India and Pakistan, and the State and Provincial Governments, will normally give effect to recommendations that concern them when such recommendations are supported by both the Central Ministers. In the event of disagreement between the two Central Ministers, the matter shall be referred to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan who shall either resolve it themselves or determine the agency and procedure by which it will be resolved.

(*x*) In respect of Tripura, the two Central Ministers shall constitute a Commission and shall discharge the functions that are assigned under the agreement to the Minority Commissions for East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam. Before the expiration of the period referred to in "E," the two Central Ministers shall make recommendations for the establishment in Tripura of appropriate machinery to discharge the functions of the Minority Commissions envisaged in respect of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam.

Except where modified by this agreement the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December 1948, shall remain in force.

Nehru's Speech

Following is the significant portion of Pandit Nehru's statement on April 10, in the Indian Parliament on the Indo-Pakistan Agreement :

"I beg to place on the table of the House an Agreement signed by the Prime Minister of Pakistan and by me on behalf of our respective Governments.

"We have had many agreements in the past and we have had many breaches of agreement also. I think I may say with justice that this particular Agreement, both in regard to its contents and its timing, has a peculiar significance and importance. Our future depends upon the measure of compliance in Pakistan and India.

"During the past weeks and months, the whole country, and more particularly Bengal, have faced tragedy and disaster and it is not surprising that people's minds should have been excited and passion let loose. Yet the disaster that came and the tragedy that overwhelmed vast numbers of people appeared to be a prelude to an even greater catastrophe.

"As I sat hour after hour, discussing these matters

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of grave importance with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, I saw an unending stream of unhappy, fear-stricken refugees, uprooted from their homes, facing a dark and unknown future. I experienced their sorrow and misery and I prayed for guidance as to how this could be stopped.

"All the ideals I had stood for since fate and circumstance pushed me into public affairs, appeared to fade away and a sense of utter nakedness came to me. Was it for this that we had laboured through the years, was it for this that we had had the high privilege of discipleship of the Father of the Nation?

"We have to grapple with material facts, but even more so we have to grapple with immaterial things in people's minds and hearts. We have to deal with fear and passion and prejudice. As the House knows, scenes of horror have been enacted in many places. News of this had unnerved and angered many people. The time had come when we had to make a final effort to stop this rot or to drift inevitably towards catastrophe. Formal State communications were too slow and too barren of results. It became essential that there should be some personal touch and a frank discussion of the situation and the problems and an earnest attempt to solve them.

"I invited the Prime Minister of Pakistan to come to Delhi and he was good enough to accept this invitation. For seven days we discussed the Bengal situation as well as many other matters which have poisoned the relations of India and Pakistan. Both of us were burdened with a heavy sense of responsibility for the fate of our countries and of many millions therein was involved in these discussions. The matter was not merely a political one or an economic one, but essentially a human problem in which human lives and human suffering were involved in a measure that was almost unthinkable. The problem was not a mere Bengal one but essentially all-India. Indeed its repercussions went far beyond the borders of India and Pakistan. Because of this, the world took deep interest in this meeting and its result.

"The first part of the Agreement deals with certain fundamental democratic rights of all citizens and nationals and it is declared therein that minorities must have complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country, freedom of occupation, speech and worship, equal opportunity to participate in the public life of the country, to hold political or other office, and to serve in the country's civil and Armed forces.

"All this has been laid down, as the House knows, in our Constitution and it was not necessary for us to repeat it. It became necessary, however, to say so, because doubts had arisen in people's minds, and these doubts had been frequently expressed, that the Pakistan State was based on a certain communal idea and therefore could not give equality of citizenship to its minorities.

"The Prime Minister of Pakistan repudiated this with force and said that in the Constitution they were framing, it was their intention to lay down these democratic rights, as we had done in our Constitution. Indeed this had been stated already in the objectives resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. He assured me that his Government believed in the modern conception of a democratic State and that indeed there could be no other form of State under modern conditions. This assurance is embodied in part 'A' of the Agreement.

Secular State

"We have called our State a Secular State and there has been some misunderstanding on this, as if it was something opposed to religion or morality. Some misguided people in our country have even demanded something in the nature of a communal State here. But so far as this House is concerned and the vast majority of the people in our country, we have definitely adopted the idea of a secular State and we intend to adhore to it in full measure. This does not mean that religion ceases to be an important factor in the private life of the individual. It means that the State and religion are not tied up together. It simply means the repetition of the cardinal doctrine of modern democratic practice, that is the separation of the State from religion. and the full protection of every religion. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has made it clear in the Agreement that his State is based on these modern democratic ideas.

Ownership of Property

"This last provision, that is the retention of the ownership of immovable property and the right to sell or exchange it, will apply to all the migrants who have left East Bengal or West Bengal or Assam since the 15th August, 1947. Thus this provision will include those 15 lakhs of persons who have come away from East Bengal in the course of the last two years and a half. This provision will also include the migrants who have left Bihar for East Bengal owing to communal disturbances.

Minority Commissions

"In order to assist in the implementation of this Agreement, it has been further decided to set up Minority Commissions in East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam. The Central Ministers will have the right to attend and participate in any of the meetings of any Commission. Either of them may call for a joint meeting of any two Minority Commissions. These Commissions will be charged with the implementation of this Agreement and to report from time to time thereon.

"In the event of the Central Ministers supporting any recommendation, they will be normally given

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effect to. If there is disagreement between the two Central Ministers, the matter shall be referred to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan who shall either resolve it themselves or determine the agency and procedure by which it will be resolved.

"The problem before us has many aspects, but perhaps the most important is the psychological and human aspect. Conditions have been created which make it difficult, if not impossible, for people to live in their homelands and so vast numbers of them have preferred to leave everything they possessed and go to distant places rather than live always with insecurity and fear as their companions.

"Unless this fear and insecurity are removed completely and normal civilised conditions of life prevail, this problem will not be solved in spite of all agreements. An agreement is a step, and a step only, in a certain direction. It has to be followed up by many other steps and more particularly by a change in the very conditions of life. By this Agreement the Governments of Pakistan and India have pledged themselves to take those other steps also and I feel sure that this House will give its full support to this great enterprise, which means so much to millions of our countrymen. To the people of East and West Bengal and Assam, I would make a special appeal, for they have suffered most from this tragic upheavals and they are concerned most with the implementation of this Agreement. The whole of India has not only sympathised with them but has shown that sympathy in many ways.

"Their cause has become the cause of the whole country. So far as the refugees are concerned, the Government of India has undertaken unlimited responsibilities for their welfare. But while we shall undoubtedly look after, to the best of our ability, those unhappy persons who come as refugees and try to rehabilitate them, it is clear that this is no satisfactory solution of this great problem. The only solution is to produce proper conditions to live in their homelands, wherever these may be. The only solution is to put an end to the barbarism and inhuman behaviour that we have witnessed during these past weeks.

"If one thing is certain, it is this : That we shall not serve our people or our country or the cause of humanity by encouraging private violence and inhuman behaviour. That is the way of degradation and weakening the nation.

"The brief course of our history as an independent nation has been bedevilled by our strained relations with Pakistan and the conflicts that have resulted from them. Those conflicts led to this disaster in Bengal and we came on the verge of something far greater even than that. We have stopped ourselves at that edge of a precipice and turned our back to it. That by itself is, I submit, a definite gain. It is now up to us, as it is up to the Government and people of Pakistan, to live up to our professions and to face all our problems with sanity and goodwill and the fixed determination to put an end to that vicious atmosphere that has surrounded us for these two and a half years.

Liaquat Ali's Statement in Pak Parliament

The following is the main text of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's statement to the Pakistan Parliament on the Indo-Pak Minorities Agreement :

"Hon'ble members are aware that the Prime Minister of India and I met in Delhi on April 2 to discuss measures to deal with the minority problems in India and Pakistan with special reference to the situation in West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal. The conversations between us, which were conducted in an atmospheere of frankness and cordiality, concluded on April 8 when, I am happy to say, we reached an Agreement which I am presenting to the House.

"The Agreement, it will be seen, has two aspects; a general one and a special one. In its general aspect it deals with fundamental rights of the minorities and with measures for preventing communal disorder and for dealing with it effectively, should such disorder occur at any time in any part of India or Pakistan. In its special aspect, the Agreement deals with the present situation in West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal with particular reference to the question of suppression of disorder wherever it is still occurring, the stoppage of present exodus of minorities by creating conditions necessary for the restoration of confidence, the return of the refugees to their homes and the machinery for the implementation of these purposes.

"The fundamental rights reiterated in the Agreement are in accordance with the principles of the Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in March 1949. These rights include complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, protection of life, property, personal honour and culture, and freedom of occupation, speech and worship subject to law and public morality. Both Governments have reaffirmed that the enjoyment of these rights is guaranteed to all minorities and have also stated that members of the minority communities have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in public life, hold political and other office and to serve in the country's civil and armed forces.

"At the same time a most important principle has been re-emphasised, that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens and it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances. The reiteration of this concept has been

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found to be necessary because much political and communal mischief in both countries is the result of a failure to recognise this basic principle.

"Among measures of general application approved by the two Governments to prevent or deal with communal disturbances are the punishment of those found guilty of offences and the imposition of collective fines where necessary; the prevention of dissemination of news and mischievous opinion calculated to rouse communal passion by Press or radio or by any individual or organization and the punishment of those responsible for such dissemination; the prevention of propaganda directed against the territorial integrity of either country or purporting to incite war between them, and prompt and effective action against individuals or organisations responsible for such propaganda. Other important features of the general aspect of the Agreement are non-recognition of forced conversions and the setting up of an agency to assist in the recovery of abducted women.

"In the part of the Agreement relating to conditions in West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal a number of special provisions have been made in addition to the general provisions referred to above.

"These special provisions are necessary in view of the unsettled conditions, which are responsible for the present exodus. The most important of these measures is the decision of the Governments of Pakistan and India to depute two Ministers, one from each Government, to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary in order to help restore confidence, to facilitate the return of the refugees to their homes and generally to assist in implementation of the provisions of the Agreement. These two Ministers will work together in close co-operation, and I earnestly hope that with the authority of the two Governments behind them, they will soon succeed in the accomplishment of their noble mission.

"Another important measure that has been accepted by both Governments is that a Minister of the minority community will be included in the Governments of West Bengal, Assam and East Bengal. The Commission will consist of a Minister of the Provincial or State Government concerned and a representative each of the majority and minority communities, chosen by and from among their respective representatives in the Provincial or State Legislature. These Commissions will observe and report on the implementation of the Agreement and advise on action to be taken on their recommendations. These two Central Ministers will remain in touch with the Commissions and may attend and participate in their meetings. The agreed recommendations will be normally given effect to. If there is disagreement between the Central Ministers, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan shall consider and decide on ways and means to resolve the disagreement. The services of the Central Ministers will no longer be required when the present emergency has passed.

"While the two Governments are opposed to large-scale migrations, they do not want to place any impediments in the way of those who wish to go.

"Provisions, have, therefore, been made for freedom of movement and protection in transit for the migrants and for increased customs facilities of a specified nature. The rights of a migrant to ownership of his immovable property and occupancy in land will not be disturbed.

"These are the main features of the agreement. I shall now proceed to make some general observations.

"The restatement of fundamental rights, the reaffirmation of their applicability to the minorities in both countries and the solemn guarantee given by both Governments for the reinforcement of these rights should provide cause for particular satisfaction to all concerned. Some fears have been expressed from time to time by those who have an imperfect understanding of the concept of an Islamic State that such a State will be theocratic and that it may not be guided in its policy by principles of equal status, rights and citizenship in respect of the minorities, who reside in it. Such fears are entirely baseless. Their frequent repetition cannot but do immeasurable harm to the peace of mind of the minority community.

To anybody who has made a study of the Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, it must be clear that concept of an Islamic State rests essentially on the acceptance of the principles of freedom, equality and social justice applying to all citizens without distinction of religion, at the same time safeguarding the culture and way of life of the majority and minority communities. I hope that all talk of Pakistan being a theocratic State, where discrimination is made, will now cease.

"Hon'ble Members will recollect that when I spoke in this House on the situation in East Bengal on March 28, I stated that there were two major reasons why Hindu exodus from East Bengal was still continuing even though completely peaceful conditions prevailed in that province. These reasons were the continuance of communal violence in India and a persisting propaganda in the Indian Press and by several Indian leaders, that India should invade Pakistan. The present Agreement recognises the importance of these factors. The restoration of normal conditions and the adoption of suitable measures to prevent recurrence of disorder have been accepted as the foremost responsibility of each Government. In regard to propaganda directed against the territorial integrity of either country or constituting incitement to war, the two Governments have agreed, as I have stated before, to prevent such propaganda and to take immediate and effective action against individuals or

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organisations responsible for such propaganda. Strict observance of this provision is, I consider, of the utmost importance.

"In the end I should like to say that the present Agreement has been arrived at between me and the Prime Minister of India after a great deal of careful thought and in a spirit of helpful understanding of each other's approach to the problem that confronts us. I believe, and so does the Prime Minister of India, that this agreement, if properly implemented, will lead to the eradication of fear and suspicion which stalk this sub-continent today.

"As a result of my conversations with him I am satisfied that he will do everything possible to see that the life, property, culture, citizenship and other rights of the minority in all parts of India are fully safeguarded. I hope that he too was satisfied that I will do everything possible in this direction in Pakistan. It is my firm intention to implement this agreement to the full. In this task I ask for the co-operation of leaders of public opinion and men of goodwill in both countries, and also in particular, the co-operation of the Press on both sides of the border. Let none of us do anything that may jeopardise the completion of the delicate and difficult work that lies ahead of us. A false word or action today may upset the balance, which may be impossible to redress for generations to come.

Nehru's Broadcast to Nation

The following is the full text of the broadcast by the Prime Minister :

"We have passed through trying times which test men's souls. Hundreds of thousands of people have been uprooted from their homes in Bengal and suffered intolerable agony. Millions have lived under the dark shadow of fear and insecurity. But apart from those people in East Bengal, in West Bengal or Assam, apart from the vast armies of refugees who have gone through these ordeals, all of us, wherever we might be, have shared in this suffering and torment of soul and out of this torment has come passion and the insensate action that passion brings forth. We seemed to have lost our moorings and struggled blindly for a blind future.

Fortunately we have pulled ourselves up before greater disaster overwhelmed us. As you know, for a full week the Prime Minister of Pakistan and I discussed with the earnestness of spirit these terrible problems that faced us. I had the advantage of conferring with my colleagues from day to day, for they carried the burden equally with me. As a result of these long talks, an agreement was signed on behalf of the two Governments on Saturday afternoon and I placed this before our Parliament this morning.

What is the value of this Agreement? How far will it be implemented? To what extent will it succeed in producing hope and security in these affected areas of Bengal and Assam and elsewhere? Will it solve the problems that confront us? These questions are asked, and rightly asked, for an agreement may remain on paper only, as we have seen other agreements remain.

My answer to these questions is firstly, that the mere fact of an agreement is good and to be welcomed, because it turns people's minds to the ways of construction and away from the ways of destruction; secondly, I can tell you with all confidence and in all honesty that both of us, who had these long talks, were animated by an earnest and urgent desire to find a peaceful and satisfactory solution. We were impelled to do so by the very gravity of the situation and by the compulsion of events. I have no doubt that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, will exercise his great influence in the fullest degree to help in implementing this Agreement and in producing those conditions of peace and security and good living for the minorities in Pakistan. Need I assure you that my Government will do their utmost to fulfil the letter and the spirit of this Agreement.

We have crossed a very big hurdle, but other hurdles remain. I do not wish to minimise the difficulties confronting us. For they are many. But whatever difficulties remain, if you and I and all of us are determined to surmount them, we shall inevitably succeed. I venture, therefore, to speak to you with faith and confidence. During these thirty years and more that lie behind us it has been my high privilege to come in personal contact with millions of my people and they have honoured me with their love and confidence beyond measure. I can never repay that debt. Because of that intimate companionship, both on occasions of triumph and failure, or joy and sorrow, we have grown to know each other. Even when our great master, the Father of the Nation, was with us, we slipped occasionally and failed him, but we pulled ourselves up again because of his teaching.

So I speak with some confidence of the future, though that confidence is tempered with realism. This is no time for an easy optimism, as it certainly is no time for pessimism, we shall go ahead with strength of mind and purpose and with faith in the task we have undertaken.

You may examine this Agreement closely and you may perhaps criticise some part of it here and there. But the real thing that counts is the spirit underlying it. If that spirit is absent, then the Agreement is a mere scrap of paper. If the spirit gives it life, then it may well be the beginning of a new and vital approach to our problems, and approach that is bound to succeed.

What will Pakistan do ? Will they implement the agreement ? That is often asked. I am sure that the leaders of Pakistan will strive to their utmost capacity

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to implement it. But why ask what others will do? It is for us to determine what we do, and duty rightly done inevitably produces right results. That is the lesson not only of Gandhiji but of all the sages who have gone before him and left their imperishable imprint on the minds of our ancient race.

I do not expect some magical change suddenly because of this agreement. I do not expect the great exodus to stop because large numbers of people have been uprooted and are on the move. I do not expect petty incidents to stop suddenly. Let us not be frightened because there is no sudden change of this kind. Let us not lose our balance of mind. But I do expect a new and purer atmosphere to prevail which will gradually affect people's minds and hearts and remove those poisonous tendencies that have betrayed them. I do expect this process to go on slowly at first and then with greater force, till it produces a sea-change of great magnitude.

But changes do not happen of themselves and even fate, if there is such a thing, takes effect through men's minds and activities. This change will come and must come if you and I are determined to bring it about. We have played about too long with these problems and conflicts. It is time that we face them in the way we used to face our problems of old, firm in our anchor and in our ideals and refusing to admit that any power could stop us from our onward march.

This agreement has already been welcomed by large sections of our people and by the world abroad. A few friends are critical and are doubtful about the results that may come from it. I can understand that criticism and that doubt. But I would ask them to look at it in the context of events and to think of what the alternatives might have been. I am convinced that the agreement is good as far as it goes and will bring immediate relief in some measure to the suffering millions of Bengal. I am convinced also that it can be made the starting point of further advance in the right direction.

To my friends and colleagues of Bengal, I would make special appeal for, while all are concerned with these problems, their concern is obviously far greater, as their burden has been far greater also. Bengal has shown on so many occasions in the past that she can rise at a moment of crisis and face it with strength and calm vigour. The young men and young women of Bengal are the most promising materials in India to build up our nation. Unhappily, circumstances have denied them opportunities and there is a spirit of frustration among them and the unhappiness that comes from it. We have to rid ourselves of this frustration and lack of purpose and divert the bright intelligence and vitality of Bengal in the direction of constructive effort. The first effort is to face this problem of today with faith and confidence and not to allow oneself to succumb to the doubt that enervates and weakens.

I have spoken of Bengal because East and West Bengal are the crux of the problem. I would like to speak of Assam also in the same way and I would also like to refer to my own province now called Uttar Pradesh. All my younger days were spent in the towns and villages of this Province and I have been grieved that trouble should occur where so many valiant fights for freedom were fought. I earnestly trust that we have seen the end of this dirty business there and elsewhere.

A great responsibility rests on the Press. Governments may act rightly or firmly, but ultimately a great deal depends on how the Press functions and what lead it gives to our people. I trust that that lead will be in favour of the complete success of this great enterprise on which we have launched.

The test of a people and of a nation comes when they are up against difficult and intricate problems. Any person can live an easy life. It is only in times of trial that a people proves itself worthy or unworthy. On past occasions our people have shown their worthiness and have not failed to do great deeds. Let us again get back something of that old spirit, that old idealism, that old courage and faith and acquit ourselves like men—*Jai Hind.*

Dr. Mookerjee's Statement

The following is the text, in main, of the statement made by Dr. Mookerjee on April 19 :

After expressing his regrets at his inability to reconsider his resignation despite requests from persons for whom he had the highest regard and after expressing his gratitude to Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and all friends for the opportunity he had been given to serve the country in the first National Cabinet of free India, he said :

"My differences are fundamental, and it is not fair or honourable for me to continue as a member of a Government whose policy I cannot approve of. In all fairness to the Prime Minister I should state that when I communicated my decision to him on April 1, even before the Prime Minister of Pakistan had arrived in India, he readily appreciated my standpoint, acknowledged our differences and agreed to release me from the burden of my office. A withdrawal at a subsequent stage would not have been fair to him or to me.

"I have never felt happy about our attitude towards Pakistan. It has been weak, halting and inconsistent. Our goodness or inaction has been interpreted as weakness by Pakistan. It has made it more and more intransigent, and has led us to suffer all the greater and even lowered us in the estimation of our people. On every important occasion we have remained on the defensive and failed to expose or counteract the designs of Pakistan aimed at us.

"I am not, however, dealing today with general Indo-Pakistan relations, for the circumstances that have led to my resignation are primarily concerned with the treatment of minorities in Pakistan, especially in East Bengal. Let

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me say at once that the Bengal problem is not a provincial one. It raises issues of an all-India character, and on its proper solution will depend the peace and prosperity, both economic and political, of the entire nation.

"There is an important difference in the approach to the problem of minorities in India and Pakistan. The majority of Muslims in India wanted partition on a communal basis, although I gladly recognize there has been a small section of patriotic Muslims who consistently have identified themselves with the nation's interest and suffered for it. The Hindus, on the other hand, were almost to a man opposed to Partition.

"When Partition became inevitable, I played a very large part in creating public opinion in favour of the partition of Bengal, for I felt that if that was not done, the whole of Bengal and also, perhaps, Assam would fall to Pakistan. At that time, little knowing that I would join the first Central Cabinet, I along with others, gave assurances to the Hindus of East Bengal, that if they suffered at the hands of the future Pakistan Government, if they were denied elementary rights of citizenship, if their lives and honour were jeopardized or attacked, free India would not remain an idle spectator and their just cause would be taken up by the Government and people of India.

"During the last two and a half years, their sufferings have been of a sufficiently tragic character. Today I have no hesitation in acknowledging that, in spite of all efforts on my part, I have not been able to redeem my pledge, and on this ground alone—if on no other—I have no moral right to be associated with the Government any longer.

"Recent happenings in East Bengal have, however, overshadowed all their past woes and humiliations. Let us not forget that the Hindus of East Bengal are entitled to protection from India not on humanitarian considerations alone but by virtue of their sufferings and sacrifices, made for generations, not for advancing their own parochial interests, but for laying the foundations of India's political freedom and intellectual progress. It is the united voice of leaders that are dead and of the youth that smilingly walked up to the gallows for India's cause that calls for justice and fair play at the hands of Free India of today.

"The recent agreement, to my mind, offers no solution to the basic problem. The evil is far deeper, and no patchwork can lead to peace. The establishment of a homogeneous Islamic State is Pakistan's creed and a planned extermination of Hindus and Sikhs and expropriation of their properties constitute its settled policy.

"As a result of this, life for the minorities in Pakistan has become nasty, brutish and short. Let us not be forgetful of the lessons of history. We will do so at our own peril.

"If any one analyses the course of events in Pakistan since its creation, it will be manifest that there is no honourable place for Hindus within that State. The problem is not communal; it is essentially political.

"The agreement unfortunately tries to ignore the implications of an Islamic State. But anyone who refers carefully to the Objectives Resolution passed by the Pakistani Constituent Assembly and to the speech of its Prime Minister will find that, while talking in one place of protection of minority rights, the resolution in another place declares 'that the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed.' The Prime Minister of Pakistan, while moving the resolution, said :

"You will also notice that the State is not to play the part of a neutral observer wherein the Muslims may be merely free to profess and practise their religion, because such an attitude on the part of the State would be the very negation of the ideals which prompted the demand of Pakistan, and it is these ideals which should be the cornerstone of the State which we want to build. The State will create such conditions as are conducive to the building up of a truly Islamic society which means that the State will have to play a positive part in this effort. You will remember that the Quaid-e-Azam and other leaders of the Muslim League always made unequivocal declarations that the Muslim demand for Pakistan was based upon the fact that the Muslims had their own way of life and code of conduct. Indeed, Islam lays down specific directions for social behaviour and seeks to guide society in its attitude towards the problems which confront it from day to day. 'Islam is not just a matter of private beliefs and conduct'."

"In such a society, let me ask in all seriousness, can any Hindu expect to live with any sense of security in respect of his cultural, religious, economic and political rights? Indeed our Prime Minister analysed the basic difference between India and Pakistan only a few weeks ago on the floor of the House and his words will bear repetition. He said : 'The people of Pakistan are of the same stock as we are and have the same virtues and failings. But the basic difficulty is that the policy of a religious and communal State followed by the Pakistan Government inevitably produces a sense of lack of full citizenship and a continuous insecurity among those who do not belong to the majority community.'

"It is not the ideology preached by Pakistan that is the only disturbing factor. Its performances have been in full accord with its ideology, and the minorities have had bitter experiences times without number of the true character and functioning of an Islamic State.

"The agreement has totally failed to deal with this basic problem.

"There is an impression in many quarters that the agreement recently made is the first great attempt of its kind to solve the problem of minorities. I am leaving aside for the time being the disaster that took place in the Punjab; in spite of all assurances and undertakings the problem was solved in a most brutal fashion. Afterwards we saw the gradual extermination of Hindus from the N.-W.F.P. and Baluchistan and later from Sind.

"In East Bengal about 13 million Hindus were still living and their future had been a matter of the gravest concern to all of us in India. Between August, 1947, and March, 1948, as many as 500,000 Hindus were squeezed out of East Bengal. There were no major incidents as such; but

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circumstances so shaped themselves that they got no protection from the Government of Pakistan and were forced to come away to West Bengal for shelter. *During that period there was no question of any provocation given by India, where normal conditions had settled down: there was no question of Muslims being coerced to go away from India to Pakistan.*

"In April, 1948, the first Inter-Dominion Agreement was reached in Calcutta, dealing specially with the problems of Bengal. If anyone analyses the provisions of that agreement with the recent one, it will appear that in all essential matters they are similar to each other.

"This agreement, however, did not produce any effective result. India generally observed its terms but the exodus from East Bengal continued unabated. It was a one-way traffic, just as Pakistan wished for. There were exchanges of correspondence: there were meetings of officials and Chief Ministers; there were consultations between Dominion Ministers. But, judged by actual results, Pakistan's attitude continued unchanged.

"There was a second Inter-Dominion Conference in Delhi in December 1948, and another agreement was signed, sealed and delivered. It dealt with the same problem—the rights of minorities specially in Bengal. This also was a virtual repetition of the first agreement.

"In the course of 1949 we witnessed a further deterioration of conditions in East Bengal and an exodus of a far larger number of helpless people, who were uprooted from their homes and thrown into India in most miserable conditions. The fact thus remains that in spite of two Inter-Dominion Agreements, as many as 1,600,000 to 2 million Hindus were sent away to India from East Bengal.

"About a million uprooted Hindus had also to come away from Sind.

"During this period a large number of Muslims also came away from Pakistan, mainly influenced by economic considerations. The economy of West Bengal received a rude shock and we continued as helpless spectators of a grim tragedy.

"Today there is a general impression that there has been failure both on the part of India and Pakistan to protect their minorities. The fact, however, is just the reverse. Hostile propaganda has been also carried on in some sections of the foreign Press. This is a libel on India and the truth must be made known to all who desire to know it. The Indian Government—both at the Centre and in the provinces and States—generally maintained peace and security throughout the land after the Punjab and Delhi disturbances had quietened down, in spite of grave and persistent provocations from Pakistan, by reason of its failure to create conditions in Sind and East Bengal whereby the minorities could live there peacefully and honourably. It should not be forgotten here that the people who came away from East Bengal or Sind were not those who had decided to migrate to India out of imaginary fear at the time of partition. These were people who were bent on staying in Pakistan, if only they were given a chance to live decent and peaceful lives.

"Towards the end of 1949, fresh events of a violent character started happening in East Bengal. On account of the iron curtain in that area, news did not at first arrive in India. When about 15,000 refugees came to West Bengal in January, 1950 stories of brutal atrocities and persecutions came to light. This time the attack was directed both against middle class urban people and selected sections of rural people who were strong, virile and united; to strike terror into their hearts was a part of Pakistan's policy.

"These startling reports led to some repercussions of a comparatively minor character in certain parts of West Bengal. Although these were checked quickly and effectively, false and highly exaggerated reports of so-called occurrences in West Bengal were circulated in many parts of East Bengal. This was clearly done with official backing and with a sinister motive.

"In the course of two to three weeks, events of a most tragic character, which no civilized Government would ever tolerate, almost simultaneously broke out in numerous parts of East Bengal, causing not only wanton loss of lives and property, but resulting also in forcible conversion of a large number of helpless people and shocking outrages on women.

"Reports which have now reached our hands clearly indicate that all this could not have happened as stray sporadic incidents. They formed part of deliberate and cold planning to exterminate the minorities from East Bengal; to ignore this is to forget hard realities. *During that period our publicity both here and abroad became hopelessly weak and ineffective.*

"This was partly done in order to prevent repercussions within India. Pakistan, however, followed exactly the opposite course of action. The result was that we were dubbed as aggressors while the truth was reverse of it.

"During these critical weeks—although there were people who were swayed by passion and prejudices—vast sections of India's population were prepared to leave matters in the hands of the Government and expected it to take stubborn measures to check the brutalities perpetrated in Pakistan.

"At that hour of crisis we failed to rise equal to the occasion. Where days—if not hours—counted, we allowed weeks to go by and we could not decide what was the right course of action. The whole nation was in agony and expected promptness and firmness, but we followed a policy of drift and indecision. The result was that, in some areas of West Bengal and other parts of India, people became restive and exasperated and took the law into their own hands. Let me say without hesitation that private retaliation on innocent people in India for brutalities committed in Pakistan offers us no remedy whatsoever. It creates a vicious circle which may be worse than the disease; it brutalizes the race and lets loose forces which may become difficult to control at a later stage.

"We must function as a civilized State and all citizens who are loyal to the State must have equal rights and protection, irrespective of their religion or faith. The only effective remedy in a moment of such national crisis

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can and must be taken by the Government of the country and if it moves quickly, consistent with the legitimate wishes of the people and with a full sense of national honour and prestige, there is not the least doubt that the people will stand behind the Government.

"In any case, the Government acted promptly to re-establish peace and order throughout India. Meanwhile, Muslims, though in much lesser numbers, had also started leaving India. A good number of them belonged to East Bengal and had come to West Bengal for service or occupation. Pakistan realized the gravity of the situation only when it found that on this occasion, unlike previous ones, there was no question of one-way traffic. Since January last at least one million people have come out of East Bengal to West Bengal. Several hundreds of thousands have gone to Tripura and Assam. Reports indicate that thousands are on their march to India today and they represent all classes and conditions of people.

"The supreme question of the hour is, can the minorities continue to live with any sense of security in Pakistan? The test of any agreement is not its reaction within India or in foreign lands but on the minds of the unfortunate minorities living in Pakistan or those who have been forced to come away already. It is not how a few top-ranking individuals in Pakistan think or desire to act. It is the entire set-up of that State, the mentality of the official circles—high and low—the attitude of the people at large and the activities of organizations, such as Ansars which all operate together and make it impossible for Hindus to live.

"It may be that for some months no major occurrences may take place. Meanwhile, we may in our generosity supply them with essential commodities which will give them added strength. That has been Pakistan's technique. Perhaps the next attack may come during the rainy season when communications are virtually cut off.

"I have found myself unable to be a party to the agreement for the following main reasons:

"First, we had two such agreements since partition for solving the Bengal problem and they were violated by Pakistan without any remedy open to us. Any agreement which has no sanction will not offer any solution.

"Secondly, the crux of the problem is Pakistan's concept of an Islamic State and the ultra-communal administration based on it. The agreement sidetracks this cardinal issue and we are today exactly where we were previous to the agreement.

"Thirdly, India and Pakistan are made to appear equally guilty, while Pakistan was clearly the aggressor. The agreement provides that no propaganda will be permitted against the territorial integrity of the two countries and there will be no incitement to war between them. This almost sounds farcical so long as Pakistan troops occupy a portion of our territory of Kashmir and warlike preparations on its part are in active operation.

"Fourthly, events have proved that Hindus cannot live in East Bengal on the assurances of security given by Pakistan. We should accept this as a basic proposition. The present agreement, on the other hand, calls upon minorities to look to the Pakistan Government for their safety and honour, which is adding insult to injury and is contrary to assurances given by us previously.

"Fifthly, there is no proposal to compensate those who have suffered, nor will the guilty be ever punished, because no one will dare give evidence before a Pakistan court. This is in accordance with bitter experiences in the past.

"Sixthly, Hindus will continue to come away in large numbers and those who have come will not be prepared to go back. On the other hand, Muslims who had gone away will now return and, in our determination to implement the agreement, Muslims will not leave India. Our economy will thus be shattered and possible conflict within our country will be greater.

"Seventhly, in the garb of protecting minorities in India, the agreement has reopened the problem of the Muslim minority in India, thus seeking to revive those disruptive forces that created Pakistan itself. This principle carried to its logical conclusions will create fresh problems for us which, strictly speaking, are against our very Constitution.

"This is not the time, nor the occasion for me to discuss alternative lines of action. This must obviously wait until the results of the policy now adopted by the Government are known. I do not question the motives of those who have accepted the agreement. I only hope the agreement will not be unilaterally observed. If the agreement succeeds, nothing will make me happier. If the agreement fails, it will indeed be a very costly and tragic experiment.

"While I have differed from the line of approach adopted by our Government to solve a malady which perhaps has no parallel in history, let me assure the House that I fully agree that the supreme need of the hour is the maintenance of peace and security in India. While the utmost pressure can and must be put upon the Government of the day to act rightly, firmly and in time to prevent the baneful effects of appeasement and guard against the adoption of a policy of repression, no encouragement should be given to create chaos and confusion within our land.

"If the Government is anxious to have another chance —and let us understand it clearly that this is the last chance that it is asking for—by all means, let the Government have it. But let not the critics of Government policy be silenced or muzzled.

"To our misfortune, one of the parties to the agreement has systematically broken its pledges and promises and we have no faith in its capacity to fulfil its future pledges, unless it shows by actual action that it is capable of so doing.

"While dealing with the problem of refugees, we will have to consider also the stupendous task of rehabilitation. The present truncated province of West Bengal cannot simply bear this colossal burden.

Sardar Patel's Broadcast

The following are the salient parts of Sardar Patel's broadcast at Calcutta on April 21 :

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I have now spent almost a week in Calcutta studying the feelings and problems of Bengal, at first hand, and helping the Chief Minister and his colleagues with my advice on the many difficulties which confront them and the people of Bengal in their most delicate and onerous task of implementing the agreement.

Never before have I felt the handicap of my health so bitterly and poignantly as during these busy days, for that has deprived me of the opportunity of personally extending to our unfortunate brothers and sisters, who have suffered and borne so much, a few words of sympathy and solace.

But for the vain, though sincere and earnest, attempts which I made to persuade my two Honourable colleagues from Bengal to withdraw their resignations from the Cabinet, I would have come to Calcutta earlier. I had hoped that, as always, on this occasion also I could rely on their help and co-operation from within, but they have chosen a different path. I regret this greatly, but conceptions of duty can vary and, if they feel that they can serve their conscience best by keeping out of Government, they are fully entitled to their decision.

I for myself still feel that they could have looked after the interests of West Bengal and alleviated the sufferings of its people much more effectively and satisfactorily from inside Government than outside, and that they would have served their State and country better by continuing to voice the innermost feelings and urge of their kinsmen during the decision—and policy-making deliberations of the Cabinet. The choice between conscience and country is sometimes difficult to make; I for one believe that occasions do arise when one has to subordinate one's own fundamental conceptions to the larger interests and more absorbing call of the country.

During my stay in Calcutta, I have interviewed men of divergent views and interests.

I found, along with an understandable undercurrent of doubt and suspicion, resentment or anger, a willingness to give credit for another person's honesty of convictions and sincerity of purpose. This has enabled me to place before my listeners, in its true perspective, the merits of the agreement, of which some of them were bitter critics, or even hostile opponents. I have also been sustained in this task by the love and devotion which all of them uniformly showed to me and the trust and confidence they reposed in me. For all this, I am deeply grateful.

The question before West Bengal is not so much whether the agreement is good or bad, beneficial or harmful but whether, in the face of the stark reality of a partitioned Bengal under two independent Governments, and placed in the present set of circumstances any other peaceful means is open to it to bring hope and faith and succour and relief to the unfortunate victims of the recent disturbances on both sides of the border. I have asked, and looked, in vain for an alternative. The Press editorials, representatives of public opinion in West Bengal and even my distinguished friend and colleague, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee have failed to provide me with an answer. In a situation of this kind, which involves the life, property, honour and fates of millions I think in the interests of these unfortunate sufferers Government are entitled from their critics to a more helpful approach to such momentous problems.

In a democratic Government there can be no question of muzzling or silencing critics, except of course those who have the responsibility of sharing the burden of Government; nevertheless, an international agreement, pledging the honour and solemn word of a country, does impose a certain amount of restraint and responsibility and a certain code of international propriety which the critics would do well constantly to bear in mind. I think we are entitled to ask that, if the critics have no practical alternative to suggest, the pledged word of the country demands their co-operation and support.

I know that people, in the light of the past history of agreements which have fallen in disuse, or pledges which have been broken, approach the latest one with sceptical cynicism and even convinced disbelief. The researches in such past made by critics have yielded no new discoveries or facts which were not known to those who undertook upon themselves the burden of implementing the agreement. Human nature, as far as I am aware, places no limit of time on its capacity to change; even deathbed repentance or remorse acquires a religious merit of its own. Therefore, on the basis of past remissness, to accept future bad faith as an unalterable fact, denotes a lack of faith in the basic goodness of human nature which constitutes the very elements of our philosophy. After all, I have yielded to none in past doubts and future fears of the successful implementation of such agreements, but belief and trust have also a place in one's mental equipment and these have helped to make up my mind to give the agreement a fair trial.

I also know that my West Bengal friends are genuinely worried about the concept of an Islamic State and the consequences which, in the light of history, such a concept is taken to entail. *In the face of a clear acceptance of the fundamental principles of democracy by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, we have no alternative but to mark time and to put it to the test.* The one thing that made a profound impression on me in accepting the Pakistan Prime Minister's assurances at their face-value was the earnestness and visible sincerity with which he laid stress on the need for bringing the two countries closer in our life-time. We have at least the background of previous associations and of past friendships and goodwill; the new generation will grow under the full belief and faith in absolute separatism.

I would, therefore, ask you to approach the Pakistani Prime Minister's assurance on this matter in the spirit and desire of coming closer together than drifting apart. If we drift apart, the task of keeping minorities within the geographical limits of our respective frontiers would become immeasurably difficult, whereas if we make a genuine attempt at closer understanding with trust and confidence in each other, there is some chance for minor-

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rities on either side living a life of peace and security to which they are entitled under any civilized Government.

I regard it profitless at this stage to enter into any disputation of respective responsibility for the tragedies that have occurred on both sides of the border. *I can tell my West Bengal friends quite candidly that it is the ugly and deplorable incidents which happened on our side of the border that made a world of difference to our capacity and freedom to deal with the problem more effectively and expeditiously.* To counsel firmness and consistency in such circumstances or to charge Government with weakness, hesitancy or inconsistency is to ignore the elementary rule of prudence that one can act correctly only when one's conscience is clear and not clouded by one's own guilt. Those who demand more heroic remedies will do well to ponder over this simple fact.

Similarly, you cannot talk of peace and in the same breath raise clouds of suspicion and distrust. If the talk of peace within the country has any meaning, it is the bounden duty of all who profess to guide public opinion to think, say and act in such a manner as not to rouse the latent or active forces of discontent, hostility and bitterness. In such a contingency the power of the pen has to be wielded with a grave sense of responsibility which the custody of destinies of millions involves, and the instrument of speech is to be used to soothe rather than to hurt, to assuage rather than to alienate, to heal rather than to wound.

Some of my friends have charged Government with having descended from the lofty principles of the new Constitution to the acceptance of a communal principle in the composition of Ministries. It is rather difficult for me to appreciate the force of their argument. Is it their contention that the Constitution lays down no responsibility for ensuring that the minorities are suitably represented in Government? Does the Constitution, in any manner, bar temporary expedients of restoring confidence among the minorities? Do they wish that we should have left the Hindus of East Bengal without any means of approach to the highest executive of the State?

When we removed reservation for minorities from the Constitution, I made it quite clear that this imposed a great obligation on the majority community to give the minorities their due. Is it seriously contended that the giving of a Ministership to a minority is the gift of something to which the minority is not entitled, at least at a time when its confidence in the majority is shaken? To question that part of the agreement is to betray a mentality which is entirely opposed to the secular basis of our own Constitution and a complete ignorance of the basic conception of a national State.

Let me now briefly explain why I feel that the Indo-Pakistani agreement gives a reasonable chance, if worked in the proper spirit, for retrieving the ground that has been lost during the last two years. For the first time, we have provided for supervision and control over the day-to-day implementation of the agreement. The Central Minister of the Government of India and a representative of minorities in the Provincial Cabinet of Pakistan will be there to ensure that the agreement is implemented in Pakistan in letter and in spirit.

Similarly, any refusal to avail ourselves of the facilities and machinery available for safeguarding the interests of minorities in East Pakistan could only be construed as a point against us.

Similarly, the agreement, while providing for full facilities to those who wish to come away, makes fair arrangements for those who wish to remain in Pakistan. I can quite realize the reluctance and hesitation of those who have recently come to India after undergoing or witnessing, or out of a sense of fear at the horrors that have been perpetrated, to return to their homes. But I would ask them as well as those who have come earlier to consider the fate and spirit of resignation or helplessness of those who are remaining behind. After all, they have also undergone the same excruciating experiences. Self-preservation may be the law of nature, but sharing sorrows and sufferings or standing by their fellow creatures in the hour of need is equally a dictate of the better side of human nature.

It is in this spirit and for these reasons that I would like to appeal to my brothers and sisters who have come away to India or are thinking of making their departure from East Pakistan to reflect on what I have said above. In the heat of the moment, they should not make up their mind once and for all against any possibility of hope of return to the paternal acres.

In giving the right lead at this critical juncture, in creating the proper psychology and in encouraging the correct approach to this difficult dilemma, a special responsibility devolves on leaders of public opinion in India, in particular on those leaders and workers who have come away from Pakistan. *It is my settled conviction that had those whose moral duty it was to stand by their countrymen after partition done their part they would have provided a beacon of light to a distracted people and an inspiration to a demoralized community. When I say this I am thinking in particular of that saintly figure whose life is a poem of self-effacement in the service of his follow-men. I mean my old and valued friend, Satish Babu, who has never left his post of duty and whose steadfastness and devotion to his cause is a shining example to others who are hesitating, or who are still wondering whether the risk is worth taking.*

I would appeal to these friends and colleagues of mine to follow the Mahatma.

In the meantime, the policy of Government is clear and unequivocal. They will strain their utmost to implement this agreement and, at the same time, to make the lot of those who have come away as happy as possible. In the sacred task of extending relief to them, we shall not recognize any State boundaries nor stint any resources that we can command. In that task, the Central Government will help the West Bengal Government to the utmost of its strength and capacity.

We shall also undertake the task of rehabilitating those who might eventually decide to make India their

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permanent abode. I would, however, appeal to them to lend a helping hand in these twofold tasks by complying with such directions and arrangements which the Government of West Bengal might make for their relief or rehabilitation, whether inside or outside West Bengal.

It has pained me considerably that interested persons should exploit this opportunity for dissuading refugees from leaving their allotted places outside West Bengal and for pressing upon them the need for asking for relief or rehabilitation within the area of West Bengal itself. I hope leaders and workers in West Bengal will place their services unreservedly at the disposal of Government in this great humanitarian problem and will co-operate wholeheartedly in tackling the difficult task with which that Government is faced.

I should also like to make an appeal to my friends in West Bengal fully to comprehend the delicate and difficult situation in which they are placed. The agreement has been concluded and its implementation is a point of honour both for the Government and the people of India. Public opinion throughout India outside West Bengal and the State Governments have almost unanimously and wholeheartedly accepted the concluded arrangements, and are determined to work the agreement to the best of their ability and competence. *Would it then pay the people of West Bengal to have a different or contrary line even partially? Let not West Bengal isolate itself and alienate the rest of India.* West Bengal today needs all the sympathy and help that it can get from the rest of India, and I can assure my friends here that they have that sympathy and help in full measure. The heart of West Bengal is sound. I have faith in West Bengal and its people, I have belief in its destiny, and it is in this spirit that I make an earnest appeal to my friends to rise up to the occasion and play their part in this critical hour of the nation.

Finally friends, as one who can conscientiously say that he has not allowed to let slip one single opportunity of promoting the cause of minorities in Pakistan and of safeguarding their interests by all such means as were open to us in this country, it is my earnest appeal to you to make up your minds quickly to give the Indo-Pakistan agreement a fair trial.

Let us not indulge in impotent rage or mere supercharged emotional outburst. Instead, let us make a constructive, helpful and wholehearted contribution to the relief of suffering humanity on both sides of the border and help to make their lot a more tolerable one.

Pakistan's Home Front

The *Bombay Chronicle* has a regular feature entitled "Gleanings from Urdu Press" which others of the Indian press, daily and weekly, may emulate so that their readers may be enabled to bring informed minds to the discussion of Indian affairs—India's and Pakistan's.

The world has been fed on the thesis that Islam recognizes no distinctions of race or sect under its dispensation. We have known how thin and unsubstantial this claim has been. And the following, summarized from the Pakistan press in the *Bombay Chronicle*, will help prick the bubble. It throws light on the home front of the new State that has been carved out of India.

"On the sectarian front a wave of opposition has been sweeping over the Qadiani sect. Recently some 65 adherents of the Qadiani faith headed by Sheikh Bashir Ahmed went over to Qadian in East Punjab. They visited their 'spiritual homeland' as pilgrims. While departing from Qadian the leader of the Pakistani Qadiani group received a message from the Imam, Mirza Bashruddin, urging that the Qadianis were very anxious to return to Qadian as early as possible and that they should remain loyal to their Government in conformity with their article of faith. This has caused a flutter in non-Qadiani circles.

Suspecting the *bonafides* of the Qadiani sect the bi-weekly *Kansar* of Lahore reads in the message the implication that the Qadiani people would prefer to go over to Qadian in India. It goes even so far as to suspect that the Qadianis, mostly holding high positions in Pakistan Foreign Embassies and Army, are in an advantageous position to be in possession of secrets of the State. As enjoined by their flexible faith the Qadianis are likely to transfer their loyalty to India when they have set foot on Indian soil. If this happens, as it seems very likely, the Qadianis would exploit the secret information regarding Pakistan in favour of India.

The growing bitterness against the Qadiani minority can well be illustrated by the fact that the Ahrars had recently organised a conference to rake up the old dissensions and disputes. In order to eradicate the Qadiani evil they have started the publication of a bi-weekly *Azad* from Lahore. Commenting on the appearance of the *Azad*, the weekly *Kansar* writes that the Qadiani community is so badly cornered that the Qadiani press has been gagged. The paper is determined to expose the Qadianis that they were on principle opposed to the creation of Pakistan. Being the supporters of unity of India on religious basis they have no love for Pakistani nationality.

As a sequel to the Ahrar Conference the Qadianis of Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat called a counter conference at Sialkot. Choudhary Asudullah, brother of Sir Mohd. Zafrullah Khan, presided over the meeting. One of the speakers, Allah Ditta, a Qadiani missionary, spoke of Prophet Mohamed in derogatory language. The non-Qadiani section of the audience took exception to the utterance. As a further development, the Qadiani refugees have formed a Pakistan Muhajir League, quite apart from the Refugees' Association of Western Pakistan.

Criticising the statement of Sir Mohd. Zafrullah Khan which he gave on the statements of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel regarding the Hindu Maha-

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sabha's threat of reuniting India and Pakistan, the daily *Anjam* of Karachi writes that Sir Zafrullah seems to be too naive and credulous to trust the window-dressing statements of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel who have condemned Dr. Khare's speech for the time being only because India could not bear further encumbrances. Dr. Khare is quoted to have said that there was no conflict between the ideology of the Sabha and the views expressed by Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel.

Commenting on the Qadiani issue the weekly *Afaq* of Lahore writes that the present sectarian antagonism against the Qadiani people might develop into an economic problem. The missionary spirit has now pervaded the commerce and industry on which the Qadianis have concentrated their efforts, following Partition. It has become very difficult for the non-Qadianis to enter into the sphere dominated by the Qadianis. In the Government machinery particularly, the Qadianis have been exercising great influence with the result that their co-religionists get greater facilities."

Pakthunistan

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, the present Premier of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, in his more innocent days as a member of the Congress had a book published in March, 1945, entitled *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier*, exposing the British policy of bribery of the Pathan Maliks. In this book he wrote :

> "The Pathans and Afghans are interchangeable words. They call themselves Pakthun or Pushtoon in their own language. The Pathans numbering about 15 millions are spread out and occupy the part of Afghanistan south of the Hindukush, the entire tribal belt, the Frontier Province, and part of Beluchistan between Quetta on the south, Gomal Pass on the north, including the Zhob Valley. They speak a common language which is called Pushtu."

The wheel of fortune has made this Kashmir Muslim an upholder of Pakistani conceits and ambitions which run counter to the wishes and sentiments of the 7 million Pakthuns east of the Durand Line. Afghanistan is naturally interested in their blood brothers; and her support of their cause as against Pakistan's has become a sore point with the rulers of this State and their supporters in the Anglo-American world who have become more solicitous of the Pathan's fate as a pawn in their game of power-politics. One of these latter, Sulzberger by name, a widely known correspondent, has delivered certain opinions in favour of Pakistani pretensions.

Writing to the *New York Times* from Jalalabad a despatch which appeared on the 23rd April last, this sapient observer has grown anxious about a "move" said to be under the contemplation of the Afghan Government which would effect the "partition" of the new State carved out of India. This Sir Oracle opines that the historical basis of the Pakthun Movement is "unrealistic" and "insufficient." The quotation from the book refutes this charge, as the attributes of a Pakthun State are there—a common and easily demarcated territory, a culture expressed in a common language, Pushtu, are links that are stronger than those that hold together Pakistan. The Punjabee Muslim, the Sindhi Muslim, the Pathan and the Bengalee Muslim speak different languages; East and West Pakistan are separated by 1200 miles of Indian territory.

Mr. Sulzberger could not be unaware of these facts. He slurs over these marks and notes of differentiation and has begun to beat the big gun of Communist threat. He thinks that by supporting the Pakthun Movement, Afghanistan has been "putting ideas" into the head of the Soviet Union. It is a laughable plea; the Soviet Union has no reason to borrow "ideas" from Afghanistan.

India's Food Front

We will be glad to be assured that the fight against food scarcity in India, for her food sufficiency, has been moving towards victory to be attained within 18 months hence. We know that a note of urgency has been introduced into the campaign by the worsening of our economic conditions, by the fear that our people cannot any longer afford the luxury of importing food from outside whether in the dollar-dominated area of the United States or the rouble-dominated area of the Soviet Union or the sterling-dominated area of the "British" Commonwealth. We have heard how Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's plea for a million-ton wheat deal with the United States on a barter basis in exchange for lac and manganese ore has failed to materialize ; so also is the experience with the Soviet Union between which and India trade appears to have come almost to a stand-still owing to differences of opinion in the matter of exchange rate, as a reply of Shree N. V. Gadgil to a question on the 19th April last informs us.

This demonstrates that neither "free enterprise" nor Communism have been able to free themselves from the profit motive. And it forces us to depend more on our own labour power and natural resources. In this matter the Indian Government appears to have a long-range plan. They appointed an Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee in April, 1949. Conditions in 1,000 villages are being sampled and studied, as the labourers in our fields may make or mar the chances of success in our food front. We have seen summary of a report on a Madras village, Vandalur, in the Chinglepet district. A "ryotwari" village, free from the so-called zemindari handicap, Vandalur's agricultural labourer earns about Rs. 323 per year in kind or cash, the latter being about Rs. 177. The other occupations in which they were engaged were mud-working, cutting palmyra leaves, wood splitting and carting. Only a third of the families derived incomes of more than Rs. 360 and this has been partly due to the larger earning strength.

The report of this particular village may be accepted as representative of the whole of our village

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economy. The preliminary findings of the Committee support the view that the "Indian farmer has not raised his standard of living," nor is there "any appreciable improvement in his economic conditions," though, in the case of Vandallur, "indebtedness appeared on the decline"; only about 15 of the 362 families of 5 members each were in debt—the average debt being Rs. 42 per family.

This improvement may be marked, but owing to changed circumstances it only heightens our all-round poverty. The remedy is more intensive cultivation, the provision of greater irrigation facilities.

Cultivators of the Nermmuda Valley Division of Bhopal entered an era of great agricultural development when tractors were used for the first time by the Chief Commissioner at Bari 60 miles south-east of Bhopal before a large assembly.

The tractor machines were set in motion. The gathering witnessed the ploughing operations initiated on a one-mile furrow. *Kans*, the terrible weed, was seen being uprooted in no time, the seed which had thrown generations of peasantry out of their occupation. There are six lakhs of acres of land in the Province which have to be tractor-ploughed. It will take from six to seven years to clear the whole area, and every available machine will be brought into use. The Government of India has, at present, sent thirty tractors and another thirty will come later.

It is hoped that before the next rainy season 25,000 acres will be ploughed.

From the Nermmuda Valley to the deserts of Rajputana is no great distance. There is activity there. The Governments of India and Rajasthan have both fully realised that regular famine conditions in Marwar and some parts of Rajasthan should not be tolerated. In their efforts to end such conditions, multipurpose schemes are envisaged, and have already been put into practice by launching irrigation projects with a view to reclaim barani and uncultivated lands.

The Chambal project in Kotah and Udaipur divisions which is expected to generate one lakh kilowatts and to irrigate 350,000 acres of land is now going ahead. Rupees one crore for the completion of this project have already been sanctioned, and Marwar is expected to be self-sufficient in food by 1951.

In Bikaner division also the Ganga Canal claims irrigation of immense acreage, and as Mr. Bhure Lal Baya, Transport Minister, said recently, the Bhakra project, when completed would irrigate about four lakh acres of land in Rajasthan.

Steps are also being taken to improve irrigation in Shekhawati in Jaipur division and Jaiselmer in Jodhpur division. The Rajasthan Government in a recent Press communique stated that the steps were being taken to repair and improve the existing tanks and storage works on scientific basis.

Further north-east in the Kangra Valley, the lands of

waters of five seasonal rivulets (Kuhls) in Palampur and Rampur *tehsils* in Kangra district are being harnessed to irrigate 8,000 acres of land in Kangra district. The Irrigation Department has estimated that additional 55,000 maunds of foodgrains will be yielded by the lands to be irrigated by these Kuhls.

Civil Liberty in Bharat

The High Courts and the Federal Court have been engaged in hearing cases where the use of detention by law or ordinances has been challenged before them. The second session of the All-India Civil Liberties Council, held at Patna on 15th April last has tried to focus anew public opinion on this subject. The President, Sree Atul Chandra Gupta, Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, instanced the Detention Act lately passed in the Central Legislature of India:

> ". . . what is the effect of the Act on the lives of ordinary men and women? Any one who takes any part in the public life of the country cannot be sure what acts or conduct may not imperil the security of the State in the eyes of the executive. The concept is so broad, without any particularisation or delimitation, that it is quite easy to bring almost anything not to the executive's liking, under it. Is this Conference imperilling the security of the State by pleading for Civil liberty, if the executive be of opinion that what is required just now is not liberty but curbing of liberty? In the name of security of the State, the Act has made every citizen's security insecure.
>
> "But the Preventive Detention Act is only a symptom. What malady ails our rulers and legislators that they find or think necessary such a legislation, putting uncontrolled and arbitrary powers in the hands of the police, for that is what it comes into practice. It cannot be a pleasure to them remembering their past and remembering their over-touchiness of international opinion. The Act is a confession that free India cannot govern itself except by the barbarous methods of star-chamber and *letters-de-cachet*."

These questionings are expression of a widespread anxiety that the liberties of the people should not be made dependent on the whims and caprices of a bureaucracy that has not undergone any change for the better and a Police force equally feared and hated. The arguments in defence of the Detention Bill which Sardar Patel brought out had a ring made familiar to our ears by British bureaucrats, and it is an irony of fate as Sree Atul Gupta appears to suggest that civil liberties and the safety of the State should have become points of argument and heated controversy.

But the gulf that appears to separate the new rulers and the citizens of India must be bridged; the safety of the State reconciled with the liberties of the people. Perhaps, it will require time to build up traditions in this difficult matter of collective conduct. A wide awake public opinion prepared to take risks in defence of its rights is the only way out, as we survey the scene.

Congress Leadership on Trial

The Indian National Congress which has contributed greatly to the success of India's fight for

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freedom has been breaking up before our very eyes. Gandhiji during his last days had anticipated this phenomenon and advised the conversion of this organization into a social service agency freed from political entanglements. His advice was rejected by the prominent leaders who controlled the machinery of this organization.

The latest expression of this worry is the revolt of Congress members of the Madras and Uttar Pradesh Legislatures against what they call the connivance of Ministerial aberrations by the Congress High Command. Fourteen members of the former under the leadership of Sree T. Prakasam, one-time Premier of Madras and the unchallenged leader of the Andhras, have made their demonstration by taking their seats in a bloc separate from the main Congress Party defying the whip of the leader, Sree Kumaraswami Raja, the present Premier. We cannot say that we appreciate all the moves that have been going behind in which the Congress President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiyya, is involved in an indirect manner, however distant. All that we can see is the Prakasam revolt—an ominous sign for the Congress.

In the Uttar Pradesh, the area where the writ of the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, should have carried everything before it, 24 members have revolted with Sree Triloki Singh as titular leader. They have not quailed before the Congress ban on their leader. Wherefrom do they derive inspiration, and courage for this act of defiance?

Bose Institute

The report of the Bose Institute for the year 1948-49 is to hand. It gives in a nut-shell the history of its various activities in higher scientific researches and in the realm of practical agriculture that have gained a new importance in India free from alien control.

A perusal of the report leaves the impression in the mind that the Institute has been working under financial handicaps that neither the Government of India nor the State Government of West Bengal, have been able to remove. We know the financial stringency that is being brought out as a plea on every conceivable occasion. But as we view the matter and watch the Governments' spend-thrift activities on non-essentials, we own to a feeling of impatience with an over-ridden plea.

The general public cannot appreciate the valuable work done in and by the Institute. But if they can be educated to do so, they may through their informed opinion influence the Government.

Prof. Bernal's Advice

The Government of India has set up a Planning Commission with the present Prime Minister as Chairman and Sree Gulzarilal Nanda as Vice-Chairman and *de facto* executive of the organization. In view of the chaotic condition in which our various schemes have fallen, it will do us good to know how a leader of Western science sees all this. He is Prof. J. D. Bernal who had attended the Science Congress at Poona in December last; he is one of Britain's leading scientists. He appears to have lost caste with his own fellow workers for a statement made at a Peace Conference held at Moscow in course of which he had said that science was being misused for "war purposes."

While in India Prof. Bernal made an extensive tour of our country and addressed gatherings at Universities and other learned societies. From experiences gathered here, he has formed certain ideas which he broadcasted through a Press Conference held at London on the 23rd March last. Its summary, as it was wired by the *Press Trust of India*, is instructive.

Prof. Bernal said that in recent times India was making big efforts both at the Centre and in the Provinces to develop scientific and industrial research through a number of National Laboratories.

But lack of equipment, too much leaning on European methods without proper appreciation of local conditions and resources and lack of encouragement from private industries, who were either not rich enough or farsighted enough to embark on long-term research programmes, were handicapping progress in scientific advancement.

The biggest tragedy of British administration of India was that no effort was made to exploit the resources of the country to build up any large-scale national industries. An exception was the case of the Tata industries, a unique example in India of national industrial development and scientific advancement. But *of the many industrialists and capitalists* of India, Prof. Bernal said that they did not either care or did not have enough resources to think in terms of national development or long-range researches. They concentrated on getting rich immediately and were content to take over European patents and processes by paying heavy royalties.

Prof. Bernal said that for any large-scale development of India in the present economic and social conditions plans should be based on self-help and proper use of local man-power and full exploitation of indigenous resources, thereby cutting down to the minimum the dependence on foreign exchange. The methods adopted by Soviet Russia, for the development of their backward regions were worth studying by Indian planners and administrators.

Penal Settlements

It was as penal settlements that Australia and New Zealand started life in modern times. They have today become centres of Western civilization in the Pacific. In our own country's experience, the Andaman Islands appear to be developing towards the same destiny. The Central Government of India propagandized a scheme under which they had proposed to settle "displaced" persons from East Bengal in these islands. But they appear to have thought anew

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and have been flirting with the idea of starting "nationalized" industries exploiting the Islands' vast forest resources. This appears to have damped the enthusiasm of individuals who had been hoping to begin a new life there. Of the 400 Bengali agricultural families who have settled there not much is heard of now-a-days and as for East Bengal middle class young "hopefuls" they do not seem to have the stomach for such a hard life !

As a contrast to this story of failure we propose to summarize from the *World Over Press* the adventure of a number of French families who have been leaving their fatherland for the Devil's Island which has attained notoriety under pen of Emile Zola exposing the Dreyfus scandal. The French Government has abolished the penal settlement there and is now trying to lure its citizens to French Guiana and build up a productive outpost. Anyone of French nationality who has completed his military service and can prove he has received agricultural training may obtain a grant of land.

One of the most spectacular migrations is that of M. Raymond Vaude, who once tasted the benefits of life on Devil's Island as a convict but who escaped, got a new trial, and won acquittal, later he served in the wartime Resistance and was decorated by General Charles de Gaulle.

Ramana Maharishi

The passing away on the 14th April last of this South Indian *Sadhu* removes from the field of spiritual strivings a man of keen intuitions who was accepted by many seekers of Ultimate Truth as a guide and philosopher. 71 years ago he was born in a prosperous lawyer's family; he was chosen by his Maker for a life that rejected the transient; at the age of 17 he left home and family, and from Madura walked about 300 miles to Tiruvannamalai Hills in the Andhra Desa and staked his life to finding a reply to the great riddle. For 55 years he has been there, and men and women sought him, sat near him and from his silences found answers to their questionings.

Ramana Maharishi had no social message to deliver. But he did good by being good and purifying the atmosphere round about him. This was in accord with certain Indian traditions, and the distempers of the world passed him by without creating any change in his habits of thought and life. He was thus a mystery to the modern problem-infested humanity.

Sundari Mohun Das

On the 4th of April last departed a great physician in his 94th year. Born in 1857, the year of the "Sepoy Mutiny" of British historians, his life had been a witness to the revolutionary urge hailing from the farthest Bengali-speaking district of Sylhet, Sundari Mohun carved out a place for himself in the metropolitan city of Calcutta. And from 1872 with about a decade's absence, the people of this cosmopolitan city have known him as their own, helping to build up the medical institutions that have made this city a great centre of activities pioneering modern amenities.

True to the vows of his youth taken under the inspiration of Shiv Nath Sastri, a founder of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Sundari Mohun laboured mightily in extending the bounds of democratic freedom in India. A fellow-worker of Bipin Chandra Pal, Upadhyaya Brahmobandhav, of Syam Sundar Chakravarty, the "New" Party in Bengal had in him a great and generous supporter; the "terrorist" cause a silent benefactor.

But his life's mission was the spread of medical education amongst the widest commonalty of the land. Co-founder with Nil Ratan Sarkar and Radha Gobinda Kar of the institution now known as the R. G. Kar College; first Principal and organizer of the National Medical Institution in the Park Circus area made possible by the generous help of the Calcutta Corporation then under the dynamic leadership of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das—these two institutions will stand as mementoes to Sundari Mohun Das's service to his country and to his people extending over a period of 60 years.

Upendra Nath Banerji

The death on the 5th April last of this patriot-revolutionary at his 71st year removes another land-mark from the age of the "Swadeshi" Movement days when Bengal was making a new history for India. Upendra Nath was one of the few earliest recruits to the terrorist cult which Aurobindo Ghosh had introduced into Bengal. The spirit of "dare and do" that they demonstrated was the product of the age which Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Swami Vivekananda had created, of which Rabindranath Tagore had been the minstrel.

The insult implicit in foreign subjection had entered into the soul of many an Indian; that insult had to be removed. And to this challenge to India's manhood, men and women responded.

From 1905 onwards his life became a part of Upendra Nath's country's history. Member of the terrorist party whose exploits have been related in the Maniktolla Bomb Conspiracy case, transportation to the Andamans was the price exacted from him for daring to strive for his country's freedom. Returning from there in about 1920, he and his fellow-workers found themselves in a new country where a new leader had appeared with his programme of non-violence and non-co-operation with the evil that the British regime represented. Though he joined this campaign, Upendra Nath could not accept with sincerity this new technique of political fight.

He broke away from politics in a general way, became a journalist of uncommon power, an incisive critic of men and matters Indian, and to the last day of his life preferred to play this role. The times were out of joint, and Upendra Nath could not organise any constructive way out of this mess. But his memory will live as long as freedom's battles are honoured in the world. To the memory of that phase of his life we pay our homage.

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DEMOCRACY IN UNCLE SAM'S OWN HOME

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By Principal S. N. AGARWAL

In 'Occupied' Japan, General MacArthur was professing to teach 'Democracy' to the 'feudal and fascist' nationals. In Germany too, the Americans are planning to build up Hitler's land on the sound foundations of democratic living. But those who have been to the United States recently know very well the kind of democracy that is being practised in Uncle Sam's own home. Anything that appears to be progressive and not in line with the prevailing capitalistic order is at once dubbed as 'red' and 'un-American,' and the person or persons concerned are chased by the police relentlessly. The American Press and the radio both of which are entirely dominated by the financiers and industrialists, pour out from day to day and even from hour to hour the worst type of poison against the Soviet regime and give to the American public an impression that Russia is their enemy number one. The military officers, who have virtually usurped political power in America, are always eager to tighten their hold on the masses by circulating from time to time frightening stories regarding the preparations of the U.S.S.R. for the next war. Military programmes and training have been extended to schools and colleges, and even the girls' high schools have not been left out. Professors in State Colleges and Universities are being asked to sign pledges that they would dissociate from all 'subversive' and 'un-American' activities. The slightest suspicion in this regard inevitably means dismissal and even imprisonment. With the exception of Dr. Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, all other heads of Universities have succumbed to this constant pressure from the Military administration. Dr. Hutchins in the course of his memorable Note to the Federal Government made it abundantly clear that Communism in America could be checked not by the police and the military but by setting their own house in order. If the kind of soil that is most fertile for Communists is not allowed to develop in the country, all will be well with America. Otherwise, no amount of violent coercion would be ever successful in stemming the tide of Communism in the United States. This warning of Chancellor Hutchins will, I hope, not go unheeded by Uncle Sam; in fact, other countries including India, should ponder seriously over this sound advice. In a country like the United States of America where students and professors dare not discuss problems like Capitalism and Communism freely even in the class-rooms, there must, certainly, be something essentially wrong with the socio-economic organisation of the State.

In the social sphere, America's treatment towards the Negroes is, to say the least, barbaric. Although there is absolutely no scope for racial discrimination in the Constitution of the United States, the coloured people in Uncle Sam's land are 'lynched' to this day without any fear or shame. During our seven-week stay in America, we could read with profound indignation about several cases of such murders in the *New York Times*. The State laws appear to be helpless in the face of this mob fury specially in the Southern States. President Truman's efforts to get rid of this uncivilized racial inequality have evoked the anger of a number of Congressmen of the Southern States although they belong to the Democratic Party. Thus the President has been experiencing considerable difficulties in seeing his programme through the Congress because several of his own party-men have turned against him owing to his sympathy for the Negroes. The 'Jim-Crow' laws in America do not allow the coloured people to occupy front seats in the trams, buses or trains. Negroes cannot enter the general hotels, restaurants or shops; they cannot use the public halls for their meetings. Although officially the Universities and colleges are open to all citizens of the United States, Negro students are compelled to join only those educational institutions which are reserved for them. Coloured professors, however learned they may be, can teach only in the Negro Universities; the 'white' students have no use for their talents and knowledge. Dr. Mordecai Johnson, the distinguished President of the Howard University which is a Negro Institution, was in India recently in connection with the World Pacifist Conference. Even a highly cultured man like him cannot get entry into State Universities of America simply because he is born of Negro parents. Paul Robeson, one of the most celebrated composers in the world, was hooted out during a musical performance in America a few months ago. These disgraceful incidents in Uncle Sam's own home sadly belie the professions of democracy that America is never tired of making to the outside world. In all the big cities of the United States like Chicago and New York, there are Negro Colonies which are reserved for the coloured people. Negroes are not permitted to reside in houses in other parts of these cities. These Colonies are full of dirt and filth partly because of the habits of the Negroes and partly because the Municipal authorities do not pay much attention to the sanitation of these neglected parts. I had a chance of visiting some of these Colonies in America; they reminded me of the 'Harijan colonies' in India against which Gandhiji fought so hard throughout his life. Untouchability in India is surely a great curse; it is a dark blot on our culture and civilisation. Although it has been made illegal under the new Constitution, the work of the social reformers in India has not ended and cannot end unless the sense of untouchability is rooted out from the very hearts of the people. In America also, colour discrimination is illegal; nonetheless, it continues to remain a shameful commentary on the democratic living of the Americans.

In the economic field, the United States has yet to learn that there can be no real political democracy without reasonable economic equality. It is true that in America every third man has a car. But it is also true that the disparity in the incomes of the labour class and the rich is staggering. While an unskilled wage-earner gets about $250 per month, the income of a business

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magnate runs into billions of dollars. There are, consequently, "slums" even in New York. Moreover, we have also to bear in mind that despite all the wealth that Uncle Sam is proud to possess, there are about five million people unemployed in the United States. Of course, they do not starve because the State is legally and morally responsible for their maintenance. But the immoral and pathetic life that these 'dole-eaters' are compelled to lead by society is inconsistent with the basic principles of democracy.

Thus the state of democracy in Uncle Sam's own home is far from satisfactory. In fact, it is so unsatisfactory that a distinguished educationist like the late Prof. Harold Laski who was invited by an American University had to go back without delivering his address simply because the Government did not relish his socialist views. When I heard about this incident I did not believe it in the beginning. But on making the necessary enquiries I found it to be absolutely true. I know that President Truman is aware of the imperfections of American democracy. In the course of his message to one of the annual functions of the Liberal Party in New York, Truman made the following significant observation :

> "The world today is an arena in which the principles of democracy are being challenged, and the people of the world are measuring the performance of the democracies against the promises of totalitarianism. To meet this challenge requires the free peoples of the earth to perfect the working of their own democracies."

Speaking on the occasion, Louis Fischer, the well-known American author, remarked with special emphasis :

> "Sometimes the things that are happening in the U.S.A. frighten me as much as anything in the world. I travel a good deal in this country ; our people are not as attached to tolerance and free speech as they used to be. We have curtailed the freedom to dissent. The loyalty tests, which are being applied not only in Washington but to street-cleaners in some cities, mean that we suspect guilt before any guilt could exist. There is the beginning of a terror in this country, and though it is only a beginning, it is grave and sad. The most sacred heritage of America is freedom and it is a better weapon against communism than bombs."

These words of wisdom from one of the distinguished sons of Uncle Sam deserve the careful attention of all lovers of freedom and democracy.

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THE DECAYING MIDDLE CLASS

By MRITYUNJOY BANERJEE, M.A.

Prior to World War II, society in India could be divided into three classes—the rich, the middle and the poor. Among the first were businessmen, industrialists, big zemindars, high officials, top-ranking legal and medical practitioners—people whose income largely exceeded their expenditure. The second included the large number of clerical workers, school teachers and even college professors — people who could somehow balance their family budgets and sometimes had a small surplus to draw upon in emergencies. The third comprised mainly the manual labourers, both industrial and agricultural, who could not always make both ends meet and very often ran into debts. It is the middle-class who were educationally the most numerous group and were responsible for the cultural progress of society, for keeping up its intellectual tempo. Their sons and daughters responded in large numbers to the call of patriotism and participated in the national movements. Most of the forceful and well-known litterateurs, scientists and journalists sprang up from this class.

Impact of World War II

The last Great War, with its attendant ills of hyper-inflation, high cost of living and retrenchment, has brought the middle class to the verge of ruin. Though a small percentage among them has enriched themselves through windfall profits, the great majority have been reduced to poverty by the impact of the war. Their impoverishment started roughly from 1943. According to Government sources, the general index-number of wholesale prices stood at 171 in 1942-43 but rose to 236.5 in 1943-44 and became 275.4 in 1946-47 and 307 in 1947-48. The cost of living index in Bombay rose from an average of 118 in 1942 to 219 in 1944, 279 in 1947, and 303 in 1948; in Madras it rose from 114 in 1942 to 180 in 1944, 272 in 1947, and 309 in 1948; in Kanpur from 123 in 1942 to 306 in 1944, 378 in 1947, and 471 in 1948; in Calcutta from 115 in 1942 to 291 in 1944, 309 in 1947 and 339 in 1948.

The Eastern Economist, after research into the distribution of the National Income, has found that, while the share of agriculture and other primary occupations in it rose from 49.2 per cent in 1939-40 to 54 per cent in 1947-48 and of industry from 19.6 to 24.9 per cent, the share of services and similar tertiary sources fell from 31.2 per cent in 1939-40 to 21.1 per cent in 1947-48. This shows that those employed in offices and in the learned professions have been generally impoverished by the war.

Result of Inquiries

An inquiry into middle-class family budgets in 1944 under the auspices of Bombay University revealed that, for incomes ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 150 per month, the amount of deficit had increased much, for income-groups Rs. 150-200 the nominal surplus of pre-war days had been reduced to a regular deficit and for Rs. 200-300 the previous surplus had diminished into an insignificant amount. The situation has worsened much since then.

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An inquiry by the Central Government into the living conditions of their employees, drawing less than Rs. 500 per month and sub-divided according to residence in four major cities and seven regional groupings, revealed that average family incomes ranged from Rs. 159 in rural Madras to Rs. 286 in Delhi. Only one in five of Madras and two in five of Delhi residents had surplus budgets. The percentage of families in debt, the main causes of which were sickness and marriage, varied from 37 in the Punjab to over 75 in Calcutta. Income was nowhere in reasonable correspondence with necessary expenditure. About half the income went on food, milk and fats, 10 per cent to cost of residence, 12 to 15 per cent on fuel and clothing. The residue of 25 to 30 per cent was miserably insufficient for the remaining essential items, nearly a dozen in number, such as conveyance to office, children's education, toilet and soap, postage, medical bills, taxes, servants, sweepers, laundry, tobacco and *pansupari*.

This inquiry covers conditions up to August, 1946, and is, therefore backdated. For the impact of inflation is more severe now. Further, Central Government servants are undoubtedly better off than those of the provinces and of the mercantile firms. The real picture, therefore, would be much more depressing than what these figures suggest.

Aggravating Factors

The middle-class people suffer from certain special disabilities, two of which are very important. On the expenditure side, they have certain standards of respectability to maintain. They have to wear clean dress, keep servants, furnish their houses, educate their children, entertain guests and friends, and join clubs and associations. On the income side, in a middle-class family normally there is just one bread-earner, the male, his wife seldom works. But in the working class, almost invariably both husband and wife are employed, sometimes even the children earn. Further, there is less of organisation among the middle than the working class. The reason is that, while for a few clerical posts there will be some thousands of applications, for a factory labourer substitutes are rare.

Democracy in Danger

The economic deterioration of the middle class is widening the gap between the haves and the have-nots, and if the process continues, a time will soon come when there will only be two classes, the rich and the poor in India, with their modes of living widely divergent and their outlook antagonistic. This constitutes a great danger to the development of democracy in this nascent State. The basis of a democratic State is a large measure of agreement on fundamentals. Such agreement cannot come between the rich and the poor. The mainstay and backbone of a democracy is the middle class. It is they who bring about a sort of conciliation and compromise between the other two classes. In England and America democracy is so well established because of a large and contented middle-class population. Whenever class differences have been acute, democracy has met its end. Czarist Russia and post-war China are glaring examples. In the present world set-up a true democracy cannot be established by a mere democratic constitution or an elaborate Bill of Rights. It is now more clear than ever that the foundation of democracy is economic and that Communism has to be fought on the economic front. The middle class in India must be saved not only in their own interests, but in the interests of democracy and freedom. If Communism comes, no one will lose more than the capitalists themselves who have built so much and who own so much.

The Remedy

The real remedy for this state of affairs is the provision of *full employment*. This term also covers proper employment. In other words, not only those factors which are unemployed but those which are under-employed should be provided with suitable employment. This will increase production as a whole, cheapen goods, increase money incomes and provide economic relief generally. But this is not only a long-period affair but in the present state of the nation seems far from practicable. Those who have so long taken the initiative in schemes of production and of employment, *viz.*, the industrialist class, have now, for reasons more psychological than financial, decided to sit tight in the background. They are aware of the leftist trend in politics and of the steadily deteriorating situation in Asia. They can afford to remain idle because the war has brought them money enough. Our nascent State, on the other hand, is not in a position, primarily for want of funds, to execute any vast scheme of production or employment.

Palliatives

A number of palliatives may, however, be suggested :

(1) For the immediate present a drastic increase of salaries and a proper adjustment of dearness and other allowances will ease the situation. Many of the Provincial Governments are backward in this respect. In West Bengal, for instance, one class of civil servants still starts with a basic salary of Rs. 125, a dearness allowance of Rs. 50 and a biennial increment of Rs. 20 per month.

(2) The middle class should be organised into co-operative societies for distribution of controlled commodities. This will supplement their meagre incomes and prevent blackmarketing to a great extent. In provinces like Madras and Bombay such societies are doing successful business.

(3) In recent years the tax-system of the State is shifting from the direct to the indirect type, thus increasing the burden on the middle class. An increase in postal rate or sales-tax produces an adverse effect on their family budget. Tax policy must be revised to minimise its incidence on the lower-income groups.

(4) The income-tax exemption limit before the war was Rs. 1,600; now it has been raised to Rs. 3,000 that is doubled, while the value of money has fallen to one-fourth or one-fifth. The exemption limit should in all fairness be raised to Rs. 4,500 per annum.

(5) In the Western democracies elaborate schemes of social insurance are augmenting the incomes of the

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poor and middle classes. In England a comprehensive system of national and social insurance assists the citizen from the cradle to the grave. Under the Family Allowances Act, each family gets a weekly allowance of 5 s. for each child except the first or only child; the income of about three million families with more than seven million children is increased from this source by about £60 million a year, which comes to about £20 per family. Besides a host of sickness and unemployment benefits, maternity and widows' allowances, old age and infirmity pensions augment private incomes to the extent of about £550 million a year. In India the State insurance scheme inaugurated in 1948 is of very limited scope and application. It applies only to workers in the organised industries and even for them it does not cover all the risks to which they are ordinarily exposed. It should be made more comprehensive and should be extended without delay to other workers, including those in offices.

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VEGETABLE OILSEEDS AND OILS IN WEST BENGAL'S ECONOMY

By INDU BHUSAN GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

Preliminary Observations

West Bengal's contribution to India's total production of vegetable oilseeds is insignificant. During 1947-48 the province accounted for only .02 per cent of India's total output of linseed, .03 per cent of rape and mustard, and .01 per cent of sesamum (til). These three varieties of seeds constitute the principal vegetable oilseeds crop of West Bengal; production of groundnut and castor seed in the province is negligible. The area under oilseeds in West Bengal during 1947-48 was estimated at 232,600 acres, representing slightly less than 2 per cent of the net cropped area in the province. The following table shows the acreage and yield of different oilseeds in West Bengal, according to the 1947-48 crop forecasts :

	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
Linseed ..	41,600	7,000
Rape and mustard ..	146,700	26,000
Sesamum ..	21,900	4,010
Others ..	22,400	not available
Total ..	232,600	37,010

Source : *Crop Forecasts,* issued by the Director of Agriculture, West Bengal.

The importance of oilseeds in West Bengal's economy arises out of four primary factors : (i) There is a large concentration of the oil milling industry in Calcutta, which requires heavy quantities of seeds for crushing purposes; (ii) mustard oil is the chief cooking medium of the local people, and as such, it is an essential item of food; (iii) the port of Calcutta handles a substantial portion of India's foreign trade in oilseeds and oils, especially linseed, linseed oil and, to a minor extent, castor oil; (iv) there is a fair demand for all varieties of vegetable oils from the local manufacturers of paints and varnishes, soap, cosmetics and vanaspati (vegetable ghee).

There are at present about 170 oil mills in West Bengal, including the small factories employing less than 20 workers. Of these, only 15 or 20 mills are run on an organised scale. Besides, there are quite a number of oil presses (village ghunnies), which are operated on a cottage scale. It appears somewhat curious that there should have been such a large concentration of the industry in West Bengal without any domestic sources of supply of raw materials. Proximity of markets and the port facilities at Calcutta evidently influenced the location of the industry.

There is almost a complete lack of reliable statistics on production and consumption of vegetable oils in West Bengal. Proper estimates relating to the productive capacity of the local mills and their requirements of seeds are also unobtainable. Absence of these elementary data is a serious handicap to any scientific study of the subject. The writer has been able to compile the following estimates after a discussion with the Bengal Oil Mill Association, and with Mr. H. L. Goopta of the Indian Oilseeds Committee. It is difficult to vouchsafe for the accuracy of these figures, except as indicative only. Neither the Bengal Oil Mills Association nor the individual mills maintain any systematic statistics. Furthermore there is always an attempt on the part of manufacturers to manipulate figures according to his convenience. From certain quarters the writer even encountered extreme reluctance to disclose figures. However, in the absence of more dependable figures, the estimates shown in the table below will indicate in general, even with a safe margin of error, the province's economy of vegetable oilseeds and oils :

	Estimated productive capacity per annum.	Actual production in the year 1948.	Estimated normal consumption per annum
	(tons)	(tons)	(tons)
Linseed oil	18,000 to 20,000	9,000	6,000
Mustard oil	100,000 to 120,000	70,000	138,000
Groundnut oil	16,000 to 18,000	5,000	8,000
Castor oil	10,000 to 12,000	3,000	4,000
Sesamum oil	3,000	1,200	1,000
Cocoanut oil*	—	—	3,500

The estimated normal seed requirements of the West Bengal Oil Mills, as based on their annual productive capacity shown in the above table, and total arrivals of seeds by rail in Calcutta during the year 1948 are furnished below :

*There is practically no production of cocoanut oil in West Bengal, which depends entirely on supplies from South India and Ceylon.

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	Estimated normal* requirements per annum (tons)	Total arrivals by rail** in Calcutta during 1948 (tons)
Linseed	50,000	18,620
Rape and mustard	275,000	69,665
Groundnut	40,000	2,275
Castor	35,000	1,426
Sesamum (til)	8,000	680
Total	408,000	92,666

Because of the inferior qualities of seeds grown in West Bengal and their poor oil content, the local mills are almost entirely dependent on supplies from outside provinces for their requirements of oilseeds. Furthermore, the extent of domestic production in West Bengal has considerably declined since the partitioning of the province in 1947. According to the 1947-48 crop forecasts, East Bengal accounted for about 63 per cent of the undivided Bengal's total production of linseed, over 70 per cent of mustard seeds and nearly 80 per cent of sesamum (til). The yields per acre in West Bengal are also very low, as will be evident from the following table :

Quinquennial periods	Yield per acre (maunds of clean grain) Linseed	Mustard	Sesamum
1922-23 to 1926-27	5.75	6.0	6.0
1927-28 to 1931-32	7.38	7.60	7.40
1932-33 to 1936-37	6.75	7.0	7.05
1937-38 to 1941-42	6.50	6.60	7.0

Source : *Statistical Abstract of West Bengal (1947)* —Published in 1948 by the Government of West Bengal, page 40, table 4.7.

Shortage of raw materials has been a serious handicap to the oil milling industry in West Bengal, and the position has deteriorated to an alarming extent in recent years due to the prevailing transportation difficulties in the country. It is believed that crushing operations in West Bengal have generally declined to less than 50 per cent of normal capacity. At times, crushing fell below 30 per cent of capacity during 1948. Replacement of worn-out machinery has not been possible in many factories due to lack of capital goods.

In the pre-war years undivided Bengal exported vegetable oilseeds worth about two crores of rupees and oils worth about twenty-five lakhs of rupees. The chief items of export were linseed and linseed oil, castor seed and oil, and mustard oil. Exports have declined appreciably in recent years due to restrictions and high prices prevailing in the country. The following table shows West Bengal's foreign trade in oilseeds and oils by sea-route during the calendar year 1948. With the exception of linseed, linseed oil and castor oil, exports of other oilseeds and oils from Calcutta consist mostly of coastal shipments and supplies to Eastern Pakistan :

	Exports from West Bengal during 1948 Tons	Value in lakhs of rupees	All-India exports during the fiscal year 1948-49 Value in lakhs of rupees
Oilseeds			
Linseed	11,823	62.0	139.0
Groundnut	175	1.1	313.0
Rape and mustard	141	1.0	0.74
Sesamum	196	1.2	0.24
Castor	—	—	—
Cocoanut kernel	—	—	0.96
Total	12,335	65.3	453.94
Oils			
Linseed	6,477	102.0	147.0
Groundnut	1,514	25.2	645.0
Rape and mustard	1,268*	23.0	18.0
Sesamum	—	—	—
Cocoanut	553	9.3	10.0
Castor	1,838	32.2	217.0
Total	11,650	191.7	1,037.0

Source : *Accounts Relating to Sea-borne Trade of* India, monthly volume for March, 1949. *Daily List of Exports* — Published by the Calcutta Customs House.

Judging from the standpoint of production and consumption of vegetable oils in West Bengal, and Calcutta's foreign trade in this line, the oil milling industry can be considered as occupying an important place in the province's economy. Apart from providing an essential item of food to the local people, the industry supplies essential raw materials to a number of manufacturing lines in the province. I propose to discuss in this article the present supply position of oilseeds and oils in West Bengal and the various problems facing the local oil milling industry.

Oilseeds and oils figure prominently in India's foreign trade, but high prices, uncertain export policies of the Government of India, destinational export quotas, and speculative activities of the traders have all combined to cause severe damage to the country's export trade in recent years. This has resulted in depriving India of a considerable amount of foreign exchange needed most at this critical time. The volume of exports in oilseeds has declined due to the Government of India's policy of encouraging more exports of oils than oilseeds. Undivided India exported vegetable oilseeds worth Rs. 11.6 crores and oils worth Rs. 1.1 crores in 1939-40, while divided India's value of exports during 1948-49 amounted to Rs. 4.5 crores and Rs. 10 crores, respectively.

Linseed and Linseed Oil

The production of linseed in West Bengal has declined from 15,000 tons in 1939-40 to 7,000 tons in 1947-48. There has also been a corresponding decline in the area under linseed from 79,000 acres in 1939-40 to 41,600 acres in 1947-48. The total area under linseed in the Indian Union (including Hyderabad State) was estimated at 3,338,000 acres in 1947-48, as against 3,259,000 acres

*The average ratio of seed requirement is 2.5 tons for every ton of oil produced.

**These totals exclude arrivals direct at mill sidings, for which no figures are available; it is believed that almost similar quantities are imported direct at mill sidings.

*The figure excludes the quantity of 12,000 tons supplied to Eastern Pakistan on a quota basis.

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in 1946-47. The total yield was placed at 364,000 tons, as compared with 328,000 tons in 1946-47. The average annual production of linseed in Pakistan is about 10,000 to 15,000 tons, of which over 90 per cent is grown in East Bengal. Pakistan's total output during 1947-48 amounted to 13,000 tons.

The United Provinces produces the largest quantity of linseed, contributing about 38 to 40 per cent of India's total. The Central Provinces and Berar account for about 19 to 20 per cent, Bihar 18 to 19 per cent and the Hyderabad State about 12 per cent. There is practically no production of linseed in Madras.

The following table shows total estimated yield and acreage under linseed in West Bengal since 1944-45, as compared with 1939-40 :

	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
1939-40	79,000	15,000
1944-45	74,000	11,000
1945-46	64,000	10,000
1946-47	48,000	8,000
1947-48	41,600	7,000
1948-49	29,300	not available

Source : *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India* (1936-46), published by the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.
Crop Forecasts, issued by the Director of Agriculture, West Bengal.

It is understood that West Bengal accounts for the largest production of linseed oil in India; the United Provinces is the second most important. Fair quantities of this oil are also produced in the Central Provinces and Berar, and Bombay. The mills in West Bengal are almost entirely dependent on supplies of seeds from the United Provinces, Central Provinces and Bihar. This factor has proved a great handicap to the local mills during the last few years. Shortage of freight wagons and the lower priority* accorded to movements of oilseeds than that accorded to oils have resulted in extremely poor arrivals of linseed from up-country to Calcutta. Furthermore, the mills in other provinces are being encouraged to undertake more crushing of oils and to send less oilseeds to West Bengal. Arrivals in Calcutta by rail amounted to about 18,620 tons of linseed in 1948, as against 26,767 tons in 1947 and the normal requirements of about 50,000 tons. These figures do not, however, indicate the total arrivals, as the quantities that arrived direct at mill sidings and those that came by motor transport were not included. The mills in West Bengal were believed to be running at 40 to 45 per cent of their normal capacity during 1948, and production of linseed oil in the province did not exceed 9,000 tons. It may be mentioned that the average annual production of linseed oil in India during the pre-war period amounted to over 60,000 tons, which required crushing of about 200,000 tons of linseed.

Manufacturers of paints and varnishes are the principal consumers of linseed oil in India. There are at present about 31 factories in India, of which 16 are situated in and around Calcutta, 9 in Bombay, and the remaining 6 are distributed in other areas. The average consumption of linseed oil by the West Bengal's paint factories is estimated at 5,000 to 6,000 tons, but actual consumption during 1948 was believed to be much lower due to reduced production of paints and varnishes. Acute shortage of building materials in the country, and the consequent limited structural development led to reduced general demand for paints and varnishes; production declined in consequence.

Exports of linseed and linseed oil from India have recorded a sharp decline in 1948 due to the existence of destinational quotas, heavy export duties,† and abnormally high prices. It is reported that large supplies of linseed are available in Canada and Argentina for export at cheaper rates. Indian exporters faced strong competition in all foreign markets from these sources. Exports from India during 1948 totalled 43,200 tons of linseed and 11,300 tons of linseed oil, as against 49,600 tons and 10,400 tons, respectively, in 1947. Shipments from Calcutta during 1948 amounted to 11,823 tons of linseed (28 per cent of India's total) valued at Rs. 62 lakhs and 6,477 tons of linseed oil (57 per cent of India's total) valued at Rs. 1.02 crore. India supplied about 15,600 tons of linseed to Australia during 1948 in exchange for wheat. Under the recently concluded Indo-Pakistan Agreement, a quantity of about 6,000 tons of linseed oil will be supplied to Pakistan during the current year.

Rape and Mustard and Mustard Oil

The production of rape and mustard seed in West Bengal has remained more or less unchanged since the pre-war period; the average annual production is about 25,000 tons. In 1947-48 India produced about 782,000 tons of rape and mustard, as against 792,000 tons in 1946-47. Pakistan's average annual production is estimated at 240,000 tons to 245,000 tons, of which about 32 per cent comes from East Bengal, 30 per cent from West Punjab, and the balance from Sind and North-West Frontier Province. In 1947-48 Pakistan produced 247,000 tons, as against 245,000 tons in 1946-47.

As in the case of linseed, the United Provinces is the largest producer of rape and mustard, accounting for over 60 per cent of India's total. The other principal areas of production in order of importance are Bihar, East Punjab, Assam and West Bengal.

The following table shows estimated yield and acreage under rape and mustard in West Bengal since 1944-45, as compared with 1939-40 :

* Oilseeds were accorded class II priority, while oils moved under class I priority.

† The Government of India imposed an export duty of Rs. 60 per ton on all vegetable oilseeds and Rs. 200 per ton on vegetable oils, effective March, 1948. The duty on oils was subsequently reduced to Rs. 160 per ton. However, the duties on castor oil and castor seed were removed in October, 1948, but in the case of other oilseeds and oils the duties were not withdrawn until March, 1949.

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	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
1939-40	137,000	25,000
1944-45	138,000	23,000
1945-46	131,000	23,000
1946-47	153,000	28,000
1947-48	146,700	26,000
1948-49	133,700	not available

Source: *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India* (1936-46). *Crop Forecasts*, issued by the Director of Agriculture, West Bengal.

Production of mustard oil is mostly confined to West Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar. It is believed that West Bengal accounts for over 50 per cent of India's total production of this oil, while the United Provinces about 40 to 45 per cent. The oil mills in West Bengal are entirely dependent on supplies of mustard seed from outside, particularly from the United Provinces and Bihar. Locally grown seeds in West Bengal, which are poor in oil content, are mostly consumed as spices. Nearly 60 per cent of West Bengal's crop is used as spices and the remaining 40 per cent is crushed in the village ghunnies; some quantities are also mixed with imported seeds for crushing in the mills.

Arrivals of rape and mustard from up-country have been very unsatisfactory due to the transportation difficulties, and the mills are operating at much below normal capacity. The relative freights charged over the railways for oilseeds and oils have rendered it uneconomic for the West Bengal mills to import seeds from the United Provinces. A quantity of about 69,665 tons of rape and mustard arrived in Calcutta by rail during 1948, as against 73,282 tons in the previous year and the normal requirements of about 275,000 tons. These totals, however, exclude arrivals by motor transport and those that arrived direct at mill sidings. Total production of mustard oil in West Bengal during 1948 amounted to about 70,000 tons, against the estimated requirements of about 138,000 tons.

Mustard oil is the chief cooking medium in Bengal (East and West) and Assam where the largest quantities of this oil are consumed. It is estimated that 65 per cent of West Bengal's production is now retained in the province for domestic consumption, while the remaining 35 per cent is sent to Eastern Pakistan. Before the partition over 70 per cent of the oil crushed in West Bengal was consumed in the areas now falling under Eastern Pakistan. Much of the oils that come from the United Provinces and Bihar is consumed in West Bengal, and some quantities are sent to Assam and East Bengal.

Exports of rape and mustard seed and mustard oil are prohibited, and only token shipments are permitted under special licences. Shipments from Calcutta are confined to coastal areas and Eastern Pakistan. A quota of 12,500 tons of mustard oil was allowed to be exported to Eastern Pakistan during 1948, and the quantity fixed for the current year under the new Indo-Pakistan Agreement is 30,000 tons. From March, 1949, the Government of India temporarily withdrew all restrictions on the movement of mustard oil to Eastern Pakistan, and free exports were allowed up to May 31, 1949. Total exports of mustard oil from Calcutta by sea-route during 1948 amounted to 1,268 tons, of which Eastern Pakistan took 1,216 tons; exports of mustard seed totalled 141 tons, of which Madras took 97 tons, Cochin 16 tons and Eastern Pakistan 28 tons. India exported 222,479 gallons of mustard oil in 1948-49, as against 26,651 gallons in 1947-48; much of these shipments went to Pakistan. Exports of mustard seed from India amounted to 137 tons in 1948-49, as compared with 3 tons in 1946-47.

Castor Seed and Oil

Separate crop forecasts for castor seed and groundnut are not published by the West Bengal Government because of negligible local production. India's total output of castor seed during 1947-48 amounted to 128,000 tons, as against 117,000 tons in 1946-47. The principal producers are the Hyderabad State, Madras, Bihar, Bombay, (including the Bombay States), Orissa, Central Provinces and Berar, Baroda and Mysore. The Hyderabad State accounts for over 50 per cent of India's total production and Madras about 18 to 19 per cent. Pakistan's average annual production of castor seed is about 2,000 to 2,500 tons, of which nearly 1,000 tons are grown in Sind.

There are about five or six mills in Calcutta which have hydraulic presses and expellers to produce castor oil; most other mills produce by hand presses. The unsettled political conditions in the Hyderabad State restricted normal flow of castor seed from that area during 1948. Due to poor arrivals of seeds in Calcutta, the local mills were operating at 30 to 35 per cent of their normal capacity, and at times, crushing fell below 25 per cent of capacity last year. Total arrivals of castor seed in Calcutta by rail during 1948, excluding direct arrivals at mill sidings, amounted to 1,426 tons, as against 2,853 tons in 1947 and the normal requirements of about 35,000 tons. It is believed that average monthly production of castor oil in West Bengal during 1948 was only 200 to 250 tons, as against 500 to 600 tons in 1947.

It is estimated that nearly 50 per cent of the local production of castor oil in West Bengal is utilised for industrial lubricating purposes, while 35 to 40 per cent is exported abroad, and the balance is used for manufacture of hair oil, soap and medicine. Lower grade castor oil is consumed as an illuminant in the rural areas.

High prices of Indian castor oil and the probable use of substitutes have curtailed demand from importers abroad. The existence of destinational export quotas has also limited shipments to foreign countries, particularly to the hard currency areas. However, exports to dollar and hard currency areas have, of late, been liberalised to a considerable extent. A quantity of about 1,838 tons of castor oil was exported from Calcutta during the calendar year 1948, as compared with 2,093 tons exported during the last six months (July-December) of 1947. India's total exports of castor oil amounted to 3,009,106 gallons valued at Rs. 2.1 crores in 1948-49, as compared with 5,640,035 gallons valued at Rs. 3.9 crores in 1947-48.

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Exports of castor seed from India during 1947-48 amounted to 4,951 tons valued at Rs. 27.7 lakhs, as against 5,791 tons valued at Rs. 26.4 lakhs in 1946-47. There were practically no exports of castor seed during 1948-49 due to the Government of India's policy of encouraging more exports of oils than oilseeds; the prevailing high prices also contributed to the lack of exports.

Groundnut and Groundnut Oil

As already stated, domestic production of groundnut in West Bengal is almost negligible. The principal growers of groundnut are Madras, Bombay and the Bombay States. The province of Madras accounts for about 44 per cent of India's total production, while Bombay's share (including that of the States) is about 23 to 24 per cent, and that of Hyderabad about 20 to 22 per cent. India's total output of groundnut during 1948-49 amounted to 3,073,000 tons, as against 3,411,000 tons in 1947-48 and about 3,589,000 tons in 1946-47. It may be mentioned that India is probably the largest producer of groundnut in the world.

Production of groundnut oil in West Bengal has been seriously affected by poor arrivals of seed from up-country. Crushing operations have declined to about 30 to 35 per cent of normal. The policy of Madras to encourage more exports of groundnut oil instead of groundnut has further reduced supplies in the Calcutta market. Total arrivals of groundnut by rail in Calcutta, excluding direct imports at mill sidings, amounted to about 2,275 tons in 1948, as against 16,174 tons in 1947 and the normal requirements of about 35,000 tons. It is believed that average monthly production of groundnut oil in West Bengal during 1948 was only 350 to 400 tons, as compared with 1,400 tons in 1947.

Local consumption of groundnut oil is confined to manufacture of vanaspati (vegetable ghee), soap and hair oil. The oil is also used to a limited extent as cooking medium. There are at present three vanaspati factories in West Bengal with a total production capacity of about 1,500 tons per month or 18,000 tons per year. These mills were operating at 25 to 30 per cent of their capacity during 1948 because of shortage of groundnut oil. It is estimated that total production of vanaspati in West Bengal during 1948 did not exceed 6,000 tons, for which about 4,500 tons of groundnut oil were consumed.

Exports of groundnut and groundnut oil from Calcutta consist mostly of coastal shipments and supplies to Eastern Pakistan. Because of increased shipments from Madras to Chittagong direct, exports from Calcutta during 1948 were low. A quantity of about 1,514 tons of oil and 175 tons of groundnut was exported from Calcutta during the year. It should be borne in mind that large quantities of groundnut oil are imported into Calcutta from South India every year, average imports being estimated at 14,000 tons to 15,000 tons. India's total exports of groundnut oil during 1948-49 amounted to 8,900,804 gallons valued at Rs. 6.4 crores, as against 7,252,330 gallons valued at Rs. 4.6 crores in 1947-48. Exports of groundnut from India totalled 38,272 tons valued at Rs. 3.1 crores in 1948-49, as compared with 55,363 tons valued at Rs. 3.7 crores in 1947-48. Under the recently concluded Indo-Pakistan Agreement, the Government of India has agreed to supply 15,000 tons each of vanaspati and groundnut oil to Pakistan during the current year.

Sesamum (til) and Sesamum Oil

West Bengal produces about 4,000 to 5,000 tons of sesamum per annum. There are two varieties of sesamum grown in the province, namely, summer til and winter til. In 1948-49 the total sesamum crop of the province amounted to 4,770 tons, of which summer til accounted for about 3,035 tons and winter til about 1,735 tons. India's total output of sesamum during 1948-49 amounted to 278,000 tons, as against 338,000 tons in 1947-48 and 323,000 tons in 1946-47. Pakistan's average annual production of sesamum is about 34,000 tons; almost the entire quantity is grown in East Bengal.

The following table shows total estimated yield and acreage under sesamum in West Bengal since 1944-45, as compared with 1939-40 :

	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
1939-40	17,000	3,000
1944-45	21,000	4,000
1945-46	21,000	4,000
1946-47	24,000	4,900
1947-48	21,900	4,010
1948-49	25,200	4,770

Source : *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India* (1936-46).
Crop Forecasts, issued by the Director of Agriculture, West Bengal.

There is no continuous manufacture of sesamum oil in West Bengal, for occasional crushing is sufficient to meet the local demand which is mainly confined to preparation of hair oil. Crushing of sesamum oil in West Bengal during 1948 was very limited because of poor export demand and negligible local consumption. Total rail arrivals of sesamum in Calcutta, excluding direct imports at mill sidings, amounted to 680 tons in 1948, as against 2,761 tons in 1947 and the normal requirements of about 8,000 tons. It is estimated that average monthly production of sesamum oil in West Bengal during 1948 was 70 to 100 tons, as against 150 to 200 tons in 1947.

Exports from Calcutta consist mainly of coastal shipments. A quantity of about 196 tons of sesamum (til) was exported during the year 1948; only 4 cwts. of sesamum oil were exported from Calcutta during the year. India exported about 51,571 gallons of sesamum oil valued at Rs. 3.5 lakhs in 1946-47, as against 8[illegible] gallons valued at Rs. 6,125|- in 1947-48; only 3 gallons of oil valued at Rs. 25|- were shipped from India during 1948-49. Total exports of sesamum (til) during 1948-49 amounted to 33 tons valued at Rs. 24,749|-, as against 886 tons valued at Rs. 8.7 lakhs in 1947-48 and 2,[illegible] tons valued at Rs. 16.9 lakhs in 1946-47. High prices and heavy export duties have adversely affected India's foreign trade in this line.

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Cocoanut and Cocoanut Oil

No estimate relating to the total planted area under cocoanut in West Bengal is available. In 1938-39 the total area in undivided Bengal was estimated at 31,300 acres, of which nearly 60 per cent was believed to be in East Bengal. No appreciable increase in acreage is reported to have occurred since 1939. It may be mentioned that Madras (chiefly the Malabar Coast), Travancore, Cochin and Mysore account for bulk of the cocoanut areas in India.

Undivided Bengal accounted for only 1.4 per cent of India's total production of cocoanut. India's present output is estimated at 3,361,000,000 nuts, of which undivided Bengal's share should not exceed 47,000,000 nuts. Considering the fact that nearly 60 per cent of Bengal's production is confined to Eastern Pakistan, West Bengal probably does not produce more than 22,000,000 nuts per annum. Due to the absence of an organised market no serious attention has been directed to regular plantation of cocoanut trees in West Bengal.

There has been no attempt by the mills in West Bengal to press oil from copra on a large scale. None of the power-driven mills in Calcutta is reported producing any cocoanut oil at present, although there is some production by the village ghunnies operated on a cottage scale. This is probably due to the scarcity of copra or to the fact that the crushers have not sufficiently investigated the possibilities in this line of the industry. The limited use of cocoanut oil in West Bengal did not induce the local mills to undertake its manufacture on a commercial scale. West Bengal is entirely dependent on supplies from South India and Ceylon for her requirements of cocoanut oil. It may be mentioned that India's total annual production of this oil is about 105,000 tons, and the average annual consumption about 150,000 tons.

The two chief purposes for which cocoanut oil is used in West Bengal are : (*a*) soap manufacture, and (*b*) preparation of hair oil. Accurate consumption statistics is not available, but it is estimated that the average annual off-take by the soap manufacturers amounts to about 2,000 tons. The demand from hair oil manufacturers probably accounts for about 1,000 tons, making the total annual consumption 3,000 to 3,500 tons. There are at present about 72 organised soap-making factories in West Bengal, besides the number of small concerns carrying on manufacture on a cottage scale. The average production of soap in West Bengal is about 30,000 to 35,000 tons, of which nearly 80 per cent consists of washing soap and the rest toilet soap.

As already stated, West Bengal is mainly dependent on South India and Ceylon for supplies of cocoanut oil. Before the second world war large supplies came from Java, Sumatra and the Straits Settlements, but imports from these areas have practically ceased since 1942. A quantity of about 18 839 tons of cocoanut oil valued at Rs. 2.8 crores was imported into Calcutta during 1948, of which Cochin supplied 13,177 tons and Ceylon about 3,846 tons. Exports from Calcutta consist mostly of supplies to Eastern Pakistan; a quantity of about 546 tons of oil valued at Rs. 9.2 lakhs went to Chittagong during the year 1948 out of Calcutta's total exports of 553 tons valued at Rs. 9.3 lakhs.

India exported about 161,717 gallons of cocoanut oil in 1948-49, as against 1,340 gallons in 1947-48 and 110,363 gallons in 1946-47. Exports of cocoanut kernel from India totalled 101 tons in 1948-49, as compared with 85 tons in 1947-48. Under the recently concluded Indo-Pakistan Agreement, India will supply 6,000 tons of cocoanut oil to Pakistan during the current year.

Conclusion

The following deductions appear quite evident from the foregoing analysis :

(*a*) Complete dependence on outside supplies for requirements of oilseeds is a serious handicap to the West Bengal's oil milling industry. Production has often to be adjusted to the availability of seeds and not to demand for oils or productive capacity. This dependence has also reduced the industry's bargaining power in the matter of obtaining raw materials at reasonable prices. Finally, shortage of mustard seed has rendered the province highly deficient in respect of supply of mustard oil, an essential item of food to the local people;

(*b*) Absence of reliable statistics on production and consumption of vegetable oils in West Bengal is a barrier to scientific study of the industry's problems. It also prevents formulation of development projects. Both the Provincial Government and the Bengal Oil Mills Association have much to do in the field of compilation of necessary statistics;

(*c*) The prevailing transportation difficulties in the country and the consequent restricted movements of oilseeds have been most responsible for lowered production of oils in West Bengal. Crushing operations have declined much below normal, thereby affecting the industry's prosperity. The competitive policy of other provinces to supply lesser quantities of oilseeds to West Bengal has also adversely affected production in the local mills. The question of relative priorities of movements accorded to oils and oilseeds and the relative freights charged over the railways are of special significance in the matter of obtaining raw materials for the industry;

(*d*) Irregular and restricted movements of oilseeds have kept prices very high in all markets. This has reflected on the prices of oils throughout India. The speculative activities of the traders have also contributed to the rise in prices, which has resulted in reduced exports and lowered domestic consumption;

(*e*) High prices of oilseeds and oils, existence of destinational export quotas, uncertain export policies of the Government of India, existence of customs barriers between India and Pakistan — have all combined to cause grave injury to India's foreign trade in vegetable oilseeds and oils. It is probably true to say

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that high prices have done the worst injury to the country's export trade. The outlook largely depends on the extent to which prices can be brought in line with those prevailing in the world market;

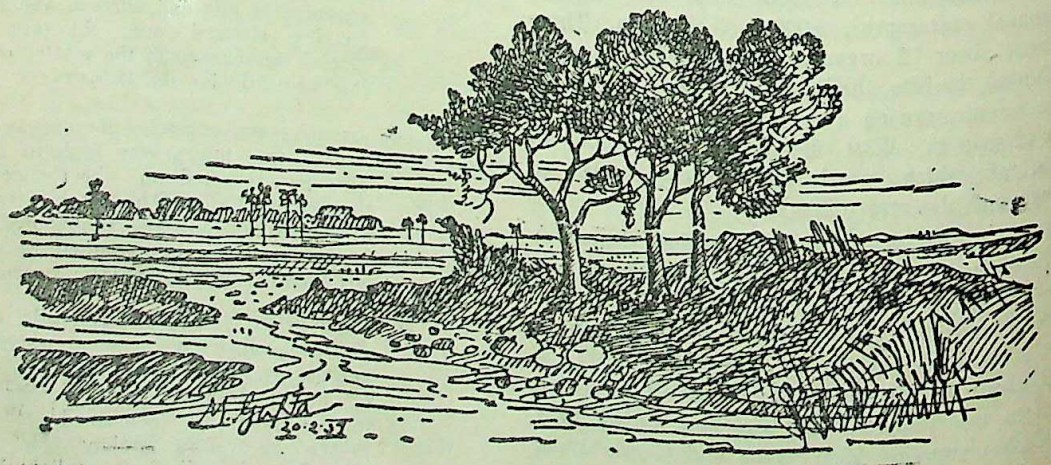
(f) Very little researches have been done in India, and for that matter in West Bengal, to improve the cultivation of oilseeds and to standardize the qualities of oils produced. Lack of proper standardization acts as a brake on increased export. The oil milling industry in West Bengal has not received the desired patronage from the Government, although it contributes substantially to the country's earnings of foreign exchange and provides an essential item of food to the local people and basic raw materials to certain manufacturing lines.

The above summary of deductions gives a general indication of the problems facing the oil milling industry in West Bengal, and suggests the lines along which action should be directed to bring about an improvement. Both the Provincial and Central Governments have a direct responsibility in the matter of extending necessary aids to the industry and in initiating measures of improvement in oilseeds cultivation. Better facilities of transport, commercial exploitation of new export markets, scientific researches into new uses of edible oils and oilseeds, and standardization of the qualities of oils produced—all these should engage the immediate attention of the Central Government. Although extension of oilseeds cultivation to new areas in West Bengal may not appear feasible under the existing food shortage, the Provincial Government can certainly introduce better methods of cultivation to raise the yields per acre and to improve the quality of seeds grown.

It is, however, assuring to find the Government of India fully conscious of the need to revive India's foreign and domestic trade in vegetable oilseeds and oils. The Central Government is sponsoring a number of research schemes in connection with improvement in the cultivation of oilseeds and in the quality of oils produced by Indian mills. The Indian Oilseeds Committee has recommended the establishment of an oilseeds research station in West Bengal to work on linseed, mustard, castor and sesamum. A scheme for production of improved strains of linseed and groundnut in East Punjab and for multiplication of improved strains of groundnut in Madras has been sanctioned by the Indian Oilseeds Committee. A decision to allow free movements of oilseeds, oils and oil-cakes between the various provinces of India was reached at a meeting of the Marketing Sub-committee of the Indian Oilseeds Committee held in New Delhi some time in October, 1948. The Marketing Sub-committee's recommendation to liberalise export of linseed oil has been accepted by the Government of India. The Sub-committee further recommended that the Government of India should request the oilseeds-producing provinces to offer increased supplies of seeds to West Bengal, Bombay and Bihar. India's Trade Commissioners in the United Kingdom, the United States and in other countries have been asked to report on the quality of shipments of vegetable oilseeds and oils from India in order to enable the Committee to control the quality of those exports. Let us hope that these proposals and schemes will not share the usual fate of numerous blue-prints shelved in the Government archives.

In order to develop and regulate trade in oilseeds in the Calcutta market, an association is proposed to be formed in the city along the lines of the Bombay Oilseeds and Grain Merchants' Association. It is understood that the proposed association will standardize the qualities of oilseeds allowed to be sold in the local market, and may act as the central purchasing authority for the members of the Bengal Oil Mills Association. This is undoubtedly a welcome move in the right direction. Apart from checking the speculative activities of the traders in oilseeds, this proposed association will ensure regular supplies of better quality seeds to the West Bengal mills. Every effort should, therefore, be made to expedite formation of the new association.*

*The views expressed in this article are those of the author, and do not reflect the opinion of the organisation with which he is connected.



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THE PROGRESS OF SOCIAL SECURITY IN GREAT BRITAIN

By Prof. HIMANSU ROY

The giant social evils of the day are want, disease, ignorance and squalor. Of late Britain has bid a determined attack on them. But prior to Beveridge Report the arrangement of social security represented only the legislative effort of 50 years to meet the need of the mass of the people in times of distress. In fact, no serious attempt was made to make this security complete, consistent or symmetric. Yet, it disclosed the existence of marked tendencies of social security which were the outcome of strong social forces.

Development in Past Years

A workman who met with accident might claim compensation either under Common Law, or under Employers' Liability Act, 1880, or under Workmen's Compensation Acts 1906-25. The workers were also secured against industrial diseases if attributable to work. But the achievement of the object was conspicuously arrested owing to the absence of satisfactory medical benefits and social rehabilitation. The National Health Insurance Scheme offered to insured persons cash, medical and maternity benefits. The unemployment insurance scheme was a contributory one. And, generally speaking, all except those who were in regular service were compulsorily insured against unemployment. The claimant for benefit was required to be genuinely unemployed, capable of and available for work and prepared for training. The scale of benefits varied according to sex, age, general scheme and agricultural scheme. Provisions were made also for benefits for dependents. The Unemployment Assistance Board was formed in 1934 to assist the long-term-unemployed. In subsequent years the scope of the Board was much widened. The duties of the Board towards the unemployed were cash assistance and welfare. The Old Age Pension system was featured by its triple system: Non-contributory Old Age Pensions for persons over 70, subject to various qualifications; Contributory Old Age Pension for women over 60 and men over 65 (together with their uninsured wives over 60); and Supplementary Pensions which could be paid to any old age pensioners after an investigation of means and needs by the Assistance Board. Widows' Pensions were normally payable from the date of the husband's death, provided he was insured at the time of death and had observed certain conditions. The Widows, Orphans, and Old Age Contributory Pensions (Voluntary Contribution) Act was applicable to persons not in insurable employment or had not the opportunity to enter insurance for higher salaries. The Supplementary Pensions Act attempted to equate pensions with needs. The Blind Persons Acts for the relief of the blind were both comprehensive and specific. The welfare works were designed to compensate the actual hardship of the blind in every walk of life. The Superannuation Scheme provided pensions determined by the recipients' length of service and rate of salary. The Scheme was both contributory and non-contributory. Industrial Assurance arranged policies for small amount to wage-earning classes. The premiums were to be paid weekly. Policies might also have been taken on the lives of one's children, parents, grand-parents, brothers and sisters. Wide provision had been made for persons affected by war.

Beveridge Plan

The World War II and the proper visualisation of its consequential vicissitudes called for massive reconstruction and unification of the social insurance services. Sir W. H. Beveridge was appointed by the Government to report on Social Insurance and Allied Services. He reported in November 1942. The Plan embodies six principles: comprehensiveness, unification of administrative responsibility, classification, adequate benefit, flat rate of contribution, flat rate of benefit. And for its success the Plan carries three assumptions: children's allowances, national health and rehabilitation services, and reasonably full employment. The plan assures national minimum to all covering all the main contingencies by means of definite provisions for the maintenance of income without any test of means, leaving the residue to be covered by a system of National Assistance subject to means test. To make the plan universal Sir Beveridge divides the population into six groups, *viz.*, (i) employees working under contracts of service; (ii) other gainfully occupied persons; (iii) housewives of working age; (iv) other persons not gainfully occupied of working age; (v) persons below working age; (vi) retired persons above working age. The table below shows the scheme of cash benefits for each of the classes:

Cash Benefits Under the Beveridge Plan*

Funeral Benefit (all classes).	£20 for adult; £15 between 10 and 21; £10 between 3 and 10, £6 under 3.
Disability Benefit per week (Classes I and II)	24/- for single adult, plus 16/- for wife or adult dependent; 40/- for married couple; 16/- for gainfully occupied woman; 20/- for single person between 18 and 21; 15/- for boys and girls between 15 and 18. Waiting period of five days, unless disability lasts for at least four weeks, in which case the benefit for the three provisionally considered waiting days is to be paid retrospectively.
Industrial Disability Pension (Class I).	Varying rates, subject to maximum of 60/- a week.

* G.D.H. Cole: *Beveridge Explained.*

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Unemployment Benefit (Class I).	Same as Disability Benefit.
Training Benefit (Classes II, III, & IV).	Same as Disability Benefit, but limited to 26 weeks.
Maternity Benefit (Classes I & II).	36|- a week for 13 weeks.
Maternity Grant (Classes I to IV).	£4.
Marriage Grant (Classes I & II).	£1 for each for contributions paid up to £10.
Widows' Benefit (for those under 60).	36|- a week for 13 weeks (subject to and safeguarding existing rights).
Guardian Benefit (for widows, etc., under 60 with dependent children.	24|-. subject to deduction for earnings.
Children's Allowance.	8|- after first dependent child. For first child also when parent is unable to earn.
Retirement Pensions (after 20 years).	(For men at 65 or women at 60). Single persons 24|-, married couple 40|- (irrespective of age of wife) but dependent on her, not being gainfully occupied. Rates to be increased by 1|- and 2|- respectively for every year for which retirement is postponed beyond the statutory age.
(transitional). Retired Pensions	(a) Persons already insured for pension. Rates rising from 14|- (single) and 25|- (joint) in first year to full rates over 20 years by 2-yearly increments of 1|- and 1|6d. (b) Persons not at present insured. No Pensions till 1954. Then at 14|- and 25|- as above, but rising to full rate only after payment of 20 years' contribution.
National Assistance.	As required to fill gaps, subject to test of needs.

Sir Beveridge held that Children's Allowance should be financed wholly out of general taxation. But he had to make definite proposal regarding the scale of children's allowance, for, it will necessarily affect the cash payment to be made to adults in unemployment. The medical treatment is segregated from cash benefits. The Plan proposes an all-round medical service for the entire nation including rehabilitation. In regard to blind persons Sir Beveridge recommends that the entire responsibility of their maintenance, subject to means test, should be transferred to the proposed Ministry of Social Security. But he has not made any definite scheme in the matter. The contributions that have to be paid may be stated as follows :

CONTRIBUTION UNDER THE BEVERIDGE PLAN

	Male						Female					
	Insured person.		Employer.		Joint.		Insured person.		Employer.		Joint.	
	S.	d.	S.	d.	S.	d.	S.	d.	S.	d.	S.	d.
Class I.												
Aged 21 and upwards	4	3	3	3	7	6	3	6	2	6	6	[illegible]
Between 18 and 20	3	6	2	9	6	3	3	0	2	0	5	[illegible]
Between 16 and 17	2	6	2	6	5	0	2	0	2	0	4	[illegible]
Class II.												
21 and upwards	4	3	..		4	3	3	9	..		3	[illegible]
18-20	3	6	..		3	6	3	0	..		3	[illegible]
16-17	2	0	..		2	0	2	0			2	[illegible]
Class IV.												
21 and upwards	3	9	..		3	9	3	0	..		3	[illegible]
18-20	3	0	..		3	0	2	6	..		2	[illegible]
16-17	1	6	..		1	6	1	6	..		1	[illegible]

Persons belong to classes III, V and VI are exempted from contribution for obvious reasons. The exemption is also allowed to other classes under certain conditions. The claimants of benefits, in most cases, must satisfy the provision of minimum contribution. The whole Scheme will be administered by a Ministry of Social Security.

WHITE PAPERS

In September 1944 the Coalition Government issued two White Papers on Social Insurance and Workmen's Compensation which were approved by the House of Commons in principle. The Government Plan is in agreement with the main outline of the Beveridge Plan but differs with it mainly in the rate of benefits and in the length of period when the benefits will take full effect. The Government Plan accepts the national minimum of income for all in want but disagrees with the Beveridge Plan in the meaning of "Subsistence." It proposes to cut 1|6 of the real value of the benefits. It is much more impressed by the immediate needs of pressure of old people than by the requirements of future citizens. The Children's Allowance has been reduced to 5|- and it is not to be varied with the age of the child, but it contemplates extension of provision in kind. Further, it provides that all people will receive the same rate of pension from the very start of the scheme and the rates will remain fixed to 20|- for a single person, and 35|- for a couple. In regard to sickness benefit the Government Plan proposes benefit at the full rate for as long as 3 years at a stretch and invalidity benefit at the lower retirement pension rate for those still ill after 3 years unless otherwise unqualified. The Government, again, is not happy with the non-industrially disabled, *e.g.*, the blind, for, there is no provision of special allowance on grant basis for the additional expenses which are sure to be incurred. The National Health Service does not go far for positive community's health. The Workmen's Compensation retains its feature of separation from other Security

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Services. The whole scheme will be financed by Government, employers and employees. The Government Plan has attached little importance to the unification and reorientation of social security administration.

SOCIAL SECURITY UNDER LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The Labour Government has adopted the Beveridge Plan in principle which is now represented by the Family Allowances Act, 1945, the National Insurance Act, 1946, the National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Act 1946, and National Health Service Act 1946. The Family Allowances Act, 1945, provides weekly allowance for every child, other than the first child. The National Insurance Act, 1946, provides benefits for unemployment, sickness, maternity, widows' and guardians' allowances, retirement pension and death grant. The Act creates National Insurance Fund based on contributions of employers, Government and insured persons. All insured persons, if not otherwise disqualified, are claimants of benefit under unemployment and sickness benefit provision. The normal rate over the age of 18 is 26s. a week with 7s. 6d. increase for first dependent child and 16s. for adult dependent. Under the age 18 the rate is 15s. a week and in the case of married women the rate varies according to circumstances. The maternity benefit allowed is £4 for each child and attendance allowance is 20s. a week for four weeks. But the claimant if gainfully occupied may receive maternity allowance of 36s. a week, instead of attendance allowance, for thirteen weeks commencing approximately six weeks before confinement provided she does no work during this period. The widows' allowance is 36s. per week for 13 weeks and 7s. 6d. for first child. The widowed mothers' allowance is 26s. plus 7s. 6d. The weekly rate of widows' pension is 26s. The rate of guardian's allowance is normally 12s. per week. A person who retires from regular employment and is over 65 in case of a man and 60 in case a woman, is entitled to the basic rate of 26s. a week with a possible 7s. 6d. for a child and 16s. for adult dependent. But if after retirement he has any earning then for every shilling that he earns over 20s., 1s. is to be deducted from his pension. A married woman is entitled to a retirement pension of 16s. by virtue of husband's insurance. The death grant for adult is £20 for child aged 6-18, £15, aged 3-6, £10 and under 3, £6.

The N.I.A. divides contributors into three classes. Employed : Self-employed : Non-employed. The rates of weekly contribution are as follows :

WEEKLY CONTRIBUTIONS UNDER N.I.A.

	Employed							
	Employer.		Employee.		Self-employed.		Non-employed.	
	S.	d.	S.	d.	S.	d.	S.	d.
Men	4	11	4	2	6	2	4	6
Women	3	10	3	3	5	1	3	8
Boys (under 18)	2	10½	2	5½	3	7	2	9
Girls (under 18)	2	4	1	11	3	1	2	3

In the case of employed, if the adult workers' wages are at the rate of 30s. a week or less employer must pay 1s. 11d. of the employee's contribution (may in addition to his own) making his (employer's) total contribution 6s-1d or for women 1s-5d, making the total 4s. 8d. It is, however, not applicable where employees get board and lodging in addition to wages. The above rates include contribution for Industrial Injuries Insurance. These are 4s. for man and 3d. for woman and equal amount from the employer in the case of Self-employed and Non-employed, the contributions include contribution for National Health Service. The amount of these contributions is 10d. for man, 8d. for woman and 6d. for boys or girls. Contributions for men are payable up to the age of 65 and for women 60; if he|she retires at that age, he|she is not required to contribute further. If he|she continues work, the contribution is payable in the case of men up to the age of 70 and in the case of women up to 65.

The National Insurance (Injuries) Act, 1946, is a substitute for Workmen's Compensation Act, 1925 to 1945. The Industrial Insurance Fund is composed of equal contributions of employer and insured. It provides three classes of benefits : injury benefit; disablement benefit; and, death benefit. The injury benefit is allowed at the rate of 45s. per week with increase of 16s. for adult dependent and 7s. 6d. for child; those who are between the age of 17 and 18 are entitled to 33s. 9d. per week and those under 17 to 22s. 6d. The benefit is allowed for 26 weeks. Disablement benefit arises where the injury is permanent or substantial. The assessment is made in percentages. Those who are less than 20 per cent disablement are entitled to lump sum gratuity not more than £150. Those who are more than 20 per cent disablement are entitled to pension ranging from 45s. to 9s. per week. Provisions have also been made for the increase of the benefit under certain conditions. Death benefit is granted ordinarily for deceased's widow and children. The normal pension is 20s. a week. In the case of a widower a person who being himself permanently incapacitated was dependent on his wife is entitled to a weekly pension of 30s. The children of the deceased have been separately provided. The parents and relatives of the deceased and the woman taking care of the children left behind, under specified circumstances, are paid for.

The National Health Service Act, 1946, provides comprehensive and ordinarily free-of-charge health service to all.

The Acts have been in operation since 5th July, 1948.

The National Assistance Act enacted in 1948 has instituted a National Assistance Board which is responsible for grant of financial assistance to all above 16 years and who are without resources or with resources but that require supplementation.

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EMBASSIES IN ANCIENT INDIA

By RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA

The history of India and the ancient world presents a brilliant record of free exchange of embassies. In the absence of sufficient means of communication and facilities of travelling abroad, ambassadors from India traversed untracked thorny highways and fully maintained a full-fledged tradition of intimate international relations. The discovery of Pre-historic Indus Valley sites at Harappa and Mohenjodaro in India, has brought to light numerous mysteries lying quite hidden so far. Even in the 3rd millennium B.C. Indian goods were seen being sold in the markets and cities of the valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates and the Tigris. Such was our penetration abroad. Our commercial contacts were vast indeed. A day may come when the excavations at old sites may bring into picture our associations with the foreign world in political plane too.

A close study of our old Sanskrit literature, specially of the Great Epics, *i.e.*, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, will clearly indicate that never did we suffer from inferiority complex as regards going out of our country to conduct political and cultural alliances. The word "duta" clearly connotes the sense of an ambassador. It may be that it was also termed for the "messenger" of a king. But Indian Dutas (ambassadors) were in charge of diplomatic affairs. There were some who were endowed with first class powers, *i.e.*, they would make treaties and alliances and did whatever was in the best interest of the country. Others were those who acted according to the instructions from the ruling chief. In short, their powers were limited. Lord Shri Krishna was an ambassador of the first quality. He was authorised by the Pandavas to act according to his free will, extraordinary sagacity and shrewdness of handling intricate problems. There was no check on him from the side of the Pandavas. On the other hand, Angada, the "duta" of Lord Rama Chandra to the court of Ravan of Ceylon, was invested with limited powers, while Hanuman, another "duta" of Rama was just a messenger deputed to bring certain information about Sita's welfare.

Indians and the Greeks

Our ancient Sanskrit writers have left a complete list of the qualities that are essentially to be there in an ambassador. As a guide and master of the destiny of the State he represents, he must be fully capable of coping with every sort of situation quite tactfully and carefully, he should never lose his balance of mind but always remain vigilant and well-informed of the intricacies of the affairs. A profound scholar he must be. Gross and very panicky situations could never puzzle him. Moreover, an envoy is not to be killed or disregarded at all. Any encroachment on his rights and privileges meant disaster or an ultimatum for war. No state could ever tolerate dishonour done to its ambassador. Such state of affairs exists in present times too.

The first example of India's political intercourse with the rest of the world goes back to the times of Chandra Gupta Maurya. The great emperor inflicted a crushing defeat on the Greeks with Seleucus Nikator as their head. Seleucus sent his envoy Megasthenes to the court of the Mauryan emperor. Bindusar, the son of Chandra Gupta Maurya, received Deimschos sent as an envoy by the Greek King Antiochus Soter. The Greek King, on the request from the Indian Emperor, sent some figs and raisin wine for which India had great liking.

The Besnagar Iron Pillar Inscription has brought to light how Heliodorus of Taxila was hailed as the ambassador of the Greek King Antialkidas at the court of King Bhagbhadra of Central India. The Greek envoy could not escape the mighty influence of Hindu religion and philosophy. He became an ardent worshipper of Vishnu and got the pillar erected in honour of Lord Vishnu. The Besnagar Pillar Inscription exists near a village two miles off from Bhilsa on G.I.P. Railway.

The name of Asoka the Great shines and shines above all in the galaxy of the emperors of his times. He not only maintained the glorious tradition of despatching embassies to foreign distant lands, but gave a strong impetus to it. His neighbours were pleased to accord hearty welcome to Indian envoys. Most important of the foreign emperors contacting their Indian contemporary were Antigonus of Mecedon, Magas of North Africa, Alexander of Epirus, Ptolemy Philandelapos of Egypt and Antiochus II of Syria. The inscriptions of the Buddist Emperor Asoka help a lot in gathering the above information which is really of great importance. He did not even spare his beloved son Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitra. Both of them were deputed to work as missionaries in spreading Buddhism in Ceylon and acquaint the people with the sacred love of the Master. The injunctions of the mighty missionaries shaped the lives of the Ceylonese for centuries.

India and China

China and India, the two great countries of Asia, had very cordial relations with each other. Indian missionaries and embassies went to China in large numbers and vice *versa*. A stream of "exchange of embassies" flowed unchecked from ancient times down to the 11th century A.D. when the invasion of the Muslims in India gave a rude shock to this old tradition and system of cordial relations. Chinese literature is replete with examples of a magnanimous character. The first Indian agent who landed in China illuminated the court of the Chinese Emperor Ho-Ti (89-105 A.D.). On the request of King "Wei" of China, the Magadhan emperor deputed the famous scholar Paramartha to accompany the Chinese political mission back to his country. Such intercourse was at its pitch of greatness in the palmy days of the Guptas. An Emperor of Wei Dynasty sent Sung Yun in 518 A.D. He carried

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with him 170 Buddhist books from India. King Harsha of Kanouj received at his court a goodwill mission from China in the 7th century A.D. and sent one to China in return. Wang-Hieun had the chance of visiting India thrice in the same connection. Besides this, a team of travellers from China came to India to pay homage to the Master and visit the sacred places associated with Buddha's life. Prominent among them were Fahien, Itsing, and Hiuen Tsang. In 795 A.D., King Shubhakar Dev of Orissa despatched a special mission to the court of the Chinese Emperor, just to carry with him an illustrated manuscript of the book *Gandavyuha* from his royal library.

India and Rome

In the 3rd decade of the 1st century B.C. Roman Emperor Augustus Caesar received more than one Indian embassy. According to some historians, the number of such envoys ranges to four even. One of then was accompanied by an Indian philosopher who committed suicide by burning himself in the flames at Athens. According to Nicolas of Damascus, the eye-witness, Indian embassies took four years to be at the Roman court. Since then it became a regular feature to go either way, both for commercial and political purposes. The Romans had a great liking for Indian articles of luxury. The Roman Empire had to drain into India 50 million sesterces (£1,000,000) for the purchase of Indian goods. Trajan (98-117 A.D.), Heliogabbes (218-22 A.D.), Hadrian (117-138), Antoninus Pius (138-61 A.D.), Aurelion (270-3 A.D.), Constantine (323-25 A.D.), Julian (361-3 A.D.) were the most prominent emperors to maintain political relations with India. Roman coins have been found in the country in quite a large number. The recent excavations at Arkemedu (near Pondicherry) have also helped a lot to present before us a picture of close relationship of India and the Roman empire.

The marvellous paintings at Ajanta in the Hyderabad State have preserved a vivid picture of the Persian King Khusru's envoy being received in the court of Pulakesin—the great Chalukya Emperor of India. According to Tabari, the Arabic historian, the Persian Emperor too did not fail to invite and welcome an Indian embassy at his court.

In the above manner, Eastern Hindu colonies in the Pacific Ocean, *i.e.*, Sumatra, Java, etc., could not escape the mighty influence of Indian contacts. King Devapal-Dev of Bengal hailed the ambassador from Balputra Dev, King of Sumatra. The foreign agent in India made a gift of 5 villages to the Nalanda University.

It was with the beginning of Muslim rule in India that India stopped the vast system of sending envoys abroad. India is a free country now. It must develop the time-honoured old traditions of exchanging political embassies with other countries of the world. The world is fast progressing and Free India too must make her way out, only to reach the pinnacle of glory. A glance at her past must give her a stimulus and strong determination to come forth as one of the leading countries of the world. The ancient intricate system of embassies will go a long way to win international name and honour for our motherland.

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DOLLS AND IDOLS

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

In all ages and countries the major forms of sculpture have grown from the earlier, the primitive and the minor forms of the Plastic Art. The colossal statues and the elaborate forms of monumental stones have their first beginnings in the insignificant forms of toys, dolls and miniature figurines of early times. The primitive potter was the teacher of the sculptor and the image-maker. The seed of the Venus de Milo can be traced in the clay figurines of Tanagra. The mediaeval masterpieces of Indian sculpture, such as the Trimurti of Elephanta or the ten colossal reliefs of the Dasavatara Caves at Elura, have developed from the Sunga, Mayurian, and Pre-Mayurian tiny terracottas and clay figurines, the old popular vernacular folk-art of non-Aryan and aboriginal cultures.

Just as the Greek masterpieces of later times developed from the practice of dedicating terracotta figures in temples and shrines, the Indian master sculptures likewise developed from the dolls and cult-figurines worshipped by the primitive and aboriginal tribes of India, going back to pre-historic times. Our boys and babies like to play with and pay their devotions to little toys and figurines, shaped into the forms of all kinds of animals and human beings. In the baby-days of primitive civilization, the favourite pastime of the grown-up men and women was to play with terracotta figures of gods and spirits, the symbols of super-human forces which answered to the prayers of the primitive man and bestowed boons in the forms of rains to feed the crop or sons to barren women, or charms to chide away illness. Before the Vedic gods filled the temples and shrines of Pauranik times, the primitive non-Vedic gods, the Yakshas and Yakshinis, in the forms of pretty clay-toys and figurines bestowed boons in answer to the prayers of the simple primitive aboriginals of India. And in course of time these clay figurines, still surviving as *grama-devatas* or village deities at the foot of the banyan tree, developed into guardian spirits of every city in Northern India. This is proved by the prophecy of the Buddha when he left Pataliputra after giving the advice that so long as the shrines of the Yakshas will be honoured, the citizens of Pataliputra will prosper and progress.

In an ancient text, we have the names and localities of the Guardian-spirit or Yaksha-protector for each big

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city. Thus we are told that Krakucchanda was the protector of Pataliputra and Vajrapani that of Rajgriha or Rajgir (*Krakucchanda Pataliputre . . . Vajrapani Rajagrihe*). And most of these protective divinities grew from earlier and primitive figurines of clay, worshipped by the villagers from remote antiquity. Thus the great colossal stone-image of a Yaksha from Mathura about nine feet in height, the oldest surviving specimen of Indian sculpture, developed from small figurines of the primitive village gods, the tiny toys with which the adult men and women played in the baby days of their early beliefs. And many of these tiny statuettes of early times crept into our orthodox temples of later times, sharing the worship and devotion offered to the major gods of the Pauranic pantheon. Similar things happened in Greece and Italy. Thus a Roman poet sings :

"This little toy was mighty Brutus' pet,
Great its renown, though small the statuette."

Similar is the story of the development of the major forms of Indian sculpture from small statuettes, primitive cult-figurines, dolls and toys. The stories are very well-known of the Thirty-two Dolls decorating the divine throne of Vikramaditya, immortalized in the *Dvatringshat Puttalika* of Kalidasa. The early Jaina and Buddhist temples at Mathura were decorated with large figures carved on pillars, which are descendants of the figures of Yakshinis on the gateways of Sanchi, dating from the first century B.C. They are referred to in our Sanskrit and vernacular literature as *Stambha-puttalikas* or pillar-dolls, still carrying the memory of their origin from primitive dolls and figurines of folk-art of prehistoric antiquity.

Clay was the cheap and easily manipulated material for folk-art, but in India, bronze, ivory and stone have also furnished materials for folk-art. Thus we have references in our early literature to *danta-puttalika* (ivory doll), *loha-puttalika* (metal doll) and *sila-puttalika* (stone doll).

Thus one of the earliest ivory Indian statuettes, a beautiful doll, datable in the first century A.D. has come from the ancient Italian city of Pompeii, having been carried from India by Roman traders. Likewise the very earliest representation of a Vedic goddess, an Earth-Spirit (*Prithwi-Devi*), is a miniature figurine, a tiny toy carved on a gold leaf, only one inch long, dug up from a Vedic funeral mound at Lauriya Nandangad in Bihar.

But the story of the terracotta toys or figurines of early primitive Indian sculpture has a continuous history which can be followed from the time of the Indus Valley civilization at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, dating from 2500 years before Christ, right up to modern times, in the clay figurines of Krishnanagar and of Kalighat.

Roughly speaking, the dolls and figurines fall into two broad divisions—religious and secular. The playthings for the grown-up man are his figurines and fetishes for cult-worship, while the playthings for the children, the real dolls, are for secular uses, for the entertainment and education of the junior man. So that Art in life has functioned in two distinct uses and divergent channels—dolls for worship and dolls for play. In early times both types have been fashioned in tiny sizes and in the same identical material of baked or unbaked clay. In course of time, the dolls for prayers grew up in sizes and have been placed inside big temples while the dolls for play kept to their original tiny sizes until modern times when dolls have also been fashioned in life-sizes to imitate the forms of the living child in a spirit of imitative realism, the earliest life-size dolls having been first made in China. In India, *puttalikas* or *pututiyas* have sometimes been designed in large sizes, nor for uses as playthings for the children, but for the decoration of furniture or the ornamentation of architecture. The best example of the latter are the large dolls of Yakshini figures on the gateways of Sanchi, and the typical example of the former is the divine throne of Vikramaditya with 32 dolls, described by Kalidasa.

Between the two comes another class of dolls, the dolls for dramatic uses, the dolls for puppet-plays. The *putula-natch*—the marionette-show—has flourished in the North as well as in the South from very early times, for the entertainment and education of the grown-up man in the forms of living presentations of the stories of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, still practised in a degenerate form in our village fairs and festivals. But the history of dolls as playthings for children goes back to five thousand years. The earliest surviving doll is a pottery toy of an animal with a movable head and a 'monkey nursing a baby' dug up at Mohenjo-Daro. The history of Indian toys can be traced continuously in the references in our old literature. In Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*, we have a picturesque reference to a painted clay-doll of a peacock, and in the drama of the *Clay-Cart* of Sudraka, we have references to a clay-cart toy, which gives the name to the drama. Indeed, Indians have throughout the centuries carried on a brisk trade in making and selling toys and dolls of great beauty of design and execution, still surviving in our village *melas*. Different regions and areas have produced different types of toys of distinctive local charm and character. Benares has been long famous for its painted wooden and shining brass toys. Lucknow, from Moghul times, has been the centre of producing popular clay figurines, sometimes rivalled by the dolls of Kishnanagar. In the South Orissa has been famous for modern soap-stone toys. Bellary still produces painted toys of great beauty while the wooden toys of Madura and the ivory toys of Travancore and Mysore are attractive in their quaint types and primitive charm. There has been a tendency in modern times to take away dolls and toys from their legitimate uses in the nurseries and to store and exhibit them as curious in our glass cabinets, exciting the jealousy of greedy eyes of our children anxious to handle them, but cruelly kept away from their doll-smashing, iconoclastic grasps.*

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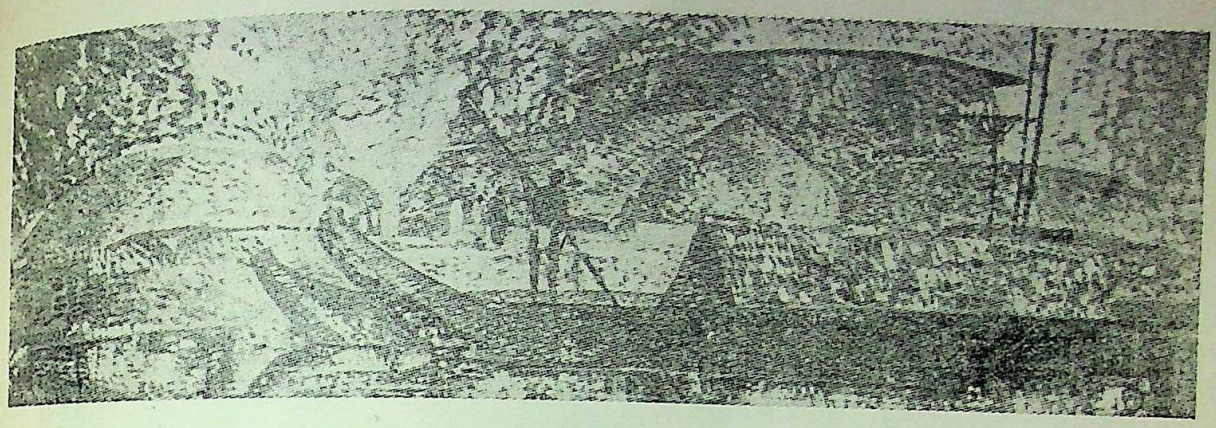

Along the Canal

SUSHIL MUKHERJEE

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

SUSHIL MUKHERJEE has just completed thirty ; you do not need to refer to any record to prove it ; it is written clearly in his face which burns with youth ; in his eyes there is a young twinkle which happens every few seconds, the glint of which is derived from the glow-source of a newly-stirring vision, a freshly-awakening dream of life which, in spite of the world's obvious wretchedness and depravity, yet holds out for him a grace and beauty destined at some future date to triumph over it all, a date which he believes he is young enough to grow up to see.

You cannot call Sushil just a Bengali artist, he does not, somehow, seem to fit into such a narrow description ; although he has had contact with purists of the Bengal School and has great admiration for some of them, especially for his Gurus Deviprasad and Nandalal Bose, he has yet escaped their influence and forged for himself a style which flows into many styles and gives one the impression that, despite some remarkable achievements on paper and canvas, he is still straining every nerve to arrive at a point where he may himself become a new and authentic school, a sort of strong tree spreading many-hued flowers of derived spiritual values from the entire world against a single ample luminous heaven of immortality which has served as background for the world's finest artists . . . yet, the tree is deeply rooted in Bengal, in India, one can see that, one knows it instinctively when one sees Sushil's work. I suspect that, in his deepest heart, Sushil must be lapsing in moments into a vision of himself as he might have been in some past birth, the echoes of which personality still resound about his ears and wing his imagination into realms with which he used to be familiar once, long ago beyond the boundary-line of this birth. Sushil

Mother

definitely believes in past births ; and I am sure if you ask him whether he remembers anything about

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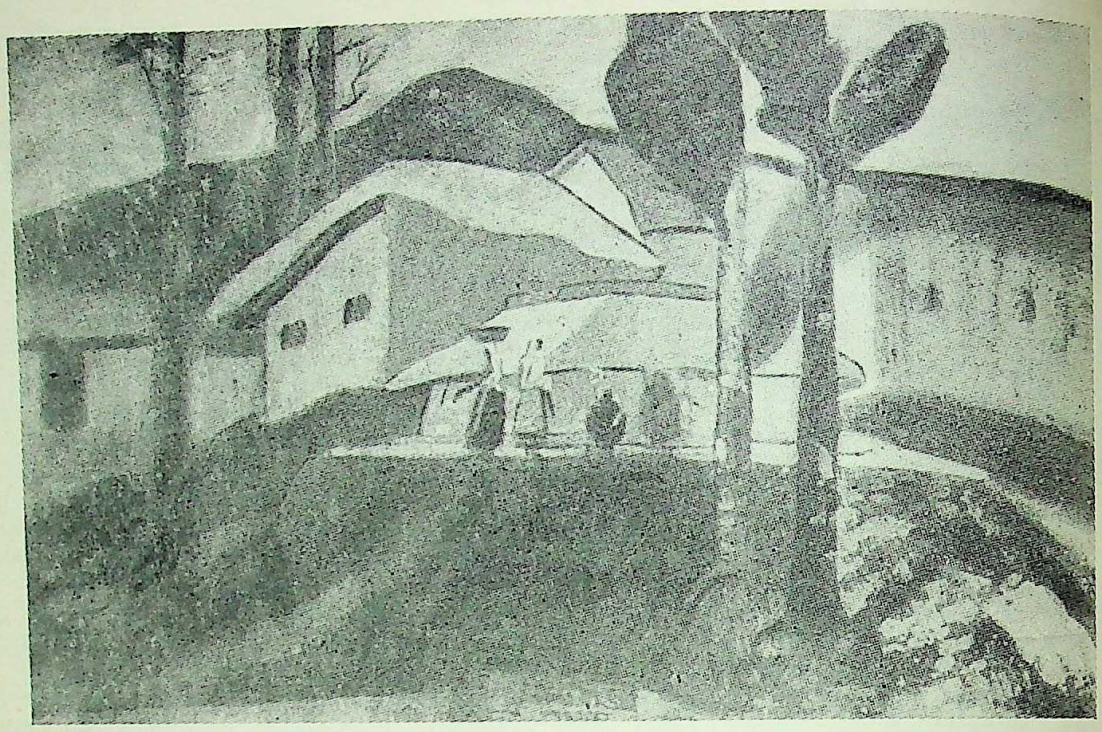

A village in Gwalior

the birth previous to this one, he will tell you that he feels at times that he might have been a French artist : at any rate a continental painter. More than anybody's work he loves that of Van Gogh ; no, it is not the right word : perhaps, for the first time the word love sounds too poor and unworthy : for Van Gogh he feels a soul-rending madness amounting to pure worship as at the altars of a god among gods. You ought to watch him while he talks about Van Gogh ! How his voice cracks like a fruit into juices wildly drunk with their own sweetness ! You should notice how his eyes take on a far-away light which seems to bear you yourself for a moment into the dark backward of time—possibly Sushil had known Van Gogh personally—judging from the intimate way in which he mentions that great artist's name and rattles off details relating to his masterpieces.

Sushil's one desire, and more than just mere desire, is to collect a little money won out of his own work and then go out of this country and live for a couple of years in the "Latin Quarter." France calls him ; the Continent invites him teasingly, especially whenever he turns the pages over of any volume of paintings reproduced from the mighty European masters. Indeed, on closer scrutiny, Sushil seems to be somewhat of a misfit in our own country ; you can see that from the way he moves, talks, walks, dresses ; a true Continental. Even the crease of his trousers and the exquisite, perfectly European cut of his coat (which has absolutely nothing to do with British style) obviously betray the Continental in Sushil. He cannot help it ; nor can many of us who are als misfits here. It is nobody's fault if we are not narrowly national : friends, you, who are in love with your own country to the exclusion of other countries, you who believe in driving out "foreign" culture, etc., etc. forgive us for our crime of being international !

Sushil is not at the stage now where he may be said to be finding himself: he has found himse already, yes, at a raw age he has become ripe ; this is because he has from a very early age striven wi earnestness and devotion to find a meaning of his true self through colour and form and composition he has suffered and paid for the quest and the di covery of beauty with anguish of heart and eve physical suffering. He has not trod the path of rose from the starting of the journey ; nor does he tread it now. Indeed, he is not bothered, I believe, eve should the path be of thorns all the way through to the end. It makes little difference to him. If his fe bleed Sushil is, I am sure, artist enough to breath with joy : "Lord, how beautiful is the colour of blood red—red, something like the red used by Van Gogh Besides, to a true artist a thorn is welcome, if he wer to choose between a bare road drab and uninteresting and a road of thorns : after all, a thorn is at leas proof of some secret Rose somewhere.

I want you to see the red tints in Sushil's paint ings : they are not just colour, they tremble on the verge of warm inward experience. In "The Haunted House", the arch is red under which broods a strange owl which seems to stain that arch with its ow

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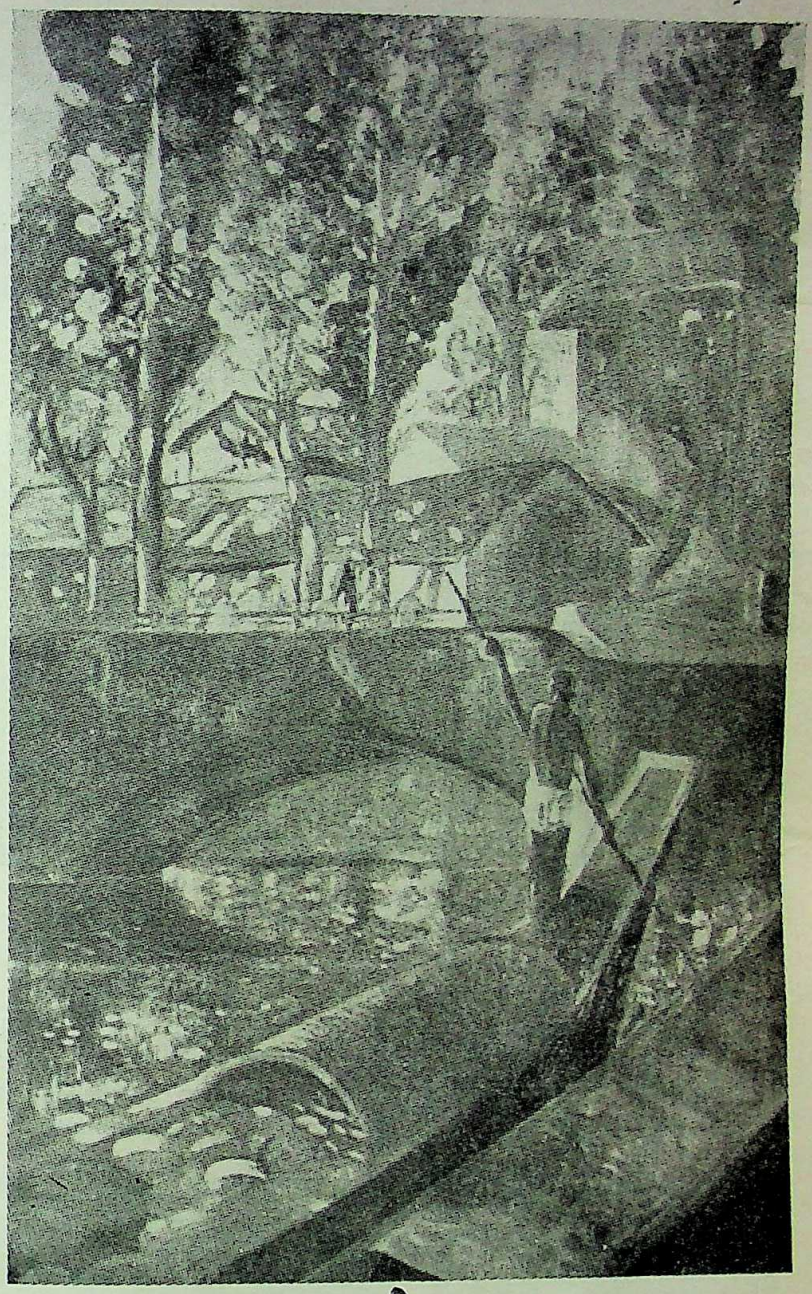
ominous thinkings veiled behind its staring eyes: it is a picture of the marriage of warm pigments. Indeed, it is not merely a haunted house but a haunted picture. Uncanny silence everywhere; silence deepening into a listening stillness with ears pricked and waiting to hear perhaps a whisper, a footfall, a wail, a sigh, a moan—nay, itself. You are taken back to Poe's "Raven," only while the poet's description is in sombre greys and funeral gloom-blacks, Sushil's is more daring: for he has depicted the heavy and oppressive shades of death and given us a chapter from the underworld in bold tints and harmonies which do not apologise weakly for intellectual understanding; they rush into you with strong appeal before you know it. Then again we have the "Thief," the study of a cat-centring foliage: a fine composition revealing a sure hand and a surer vision of its psychic life; for a cat is supposed to be the most psychical creature in the world, you see that plainly in its eyes which flow from shade to shade of emerald curdling into a mysterious haze. There are hundreds of studies which convince us that Sushil is one of our most significant men, one of the immortals: at any rate, it is my opinion and I stand by it in spite of the contradiction of adverse critics who might delight in tearing him into bits.

Sushil is not only a master in colour schemes but in black and white drawing: a firm hand which knows intuitively how much to draw, for true intuition claims an economy which does not burden itself with useless ornamentation and exuberance which becomes top-heavy: it has a reserve of judgment, a careful selection. In this Sushil has certainly done significant work in style and content to India. If an album of his sketches were to be published, it would, I say without hesitation, take its place among the rarest albums of the world's sketches: modernistic, daring, untrembling; you derive encouragement from them and grow strong yourself. Topolski, the young Polish artist, has enriched his imagination and opened out a new vista before him: a vista of style and manner which Sushil is now busy pursuing. But he will not be satisfied with mere imitation. It is sure to lead him to a new self-discovery.



Sunshine Bridge

Sushil has other lovable sides to his personality and nature and genius than merely his painting and drawing: he plays the flute, and plays it with feeling. While listening to its sounds you listen to the heart of Bengal, bleeding, hurt, weary. He does not like to play on brass flutes; no Bengali flutist does: he plays on a bamboo-flute which in Bengal is known as *bansher banshi*. It wails, it tears the heart with notes that seem drawn from the romance of Radha and Krishna, it brings Brindaban before your eyes, it takes the mind back across centuries out of a world of mechanical living, motor cars, aeroplanes and radios. A bamboo flute is a magician's wand, for it

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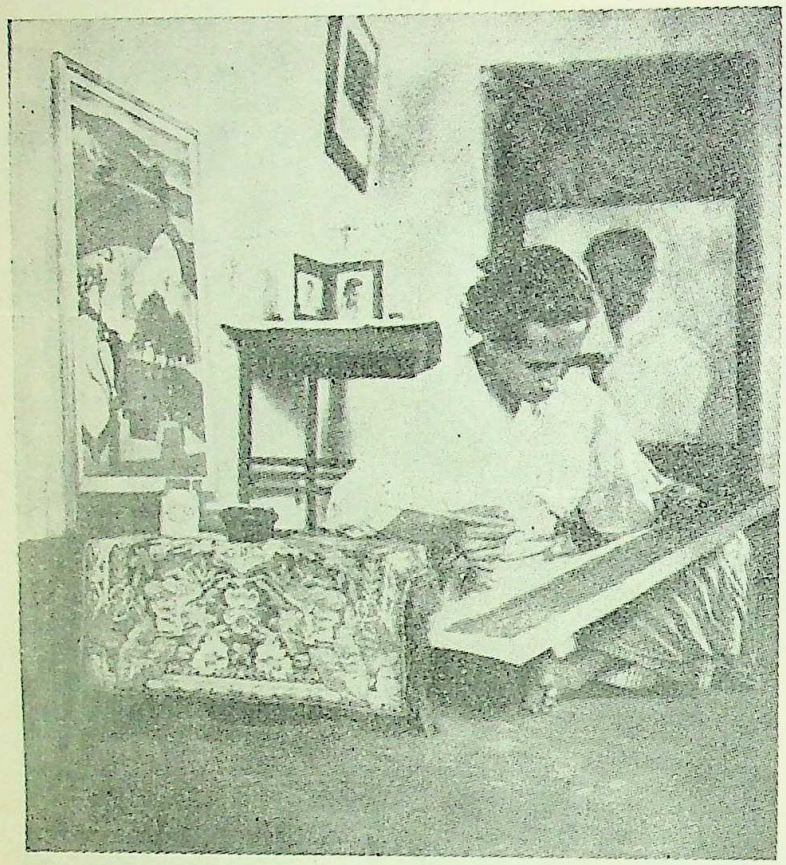
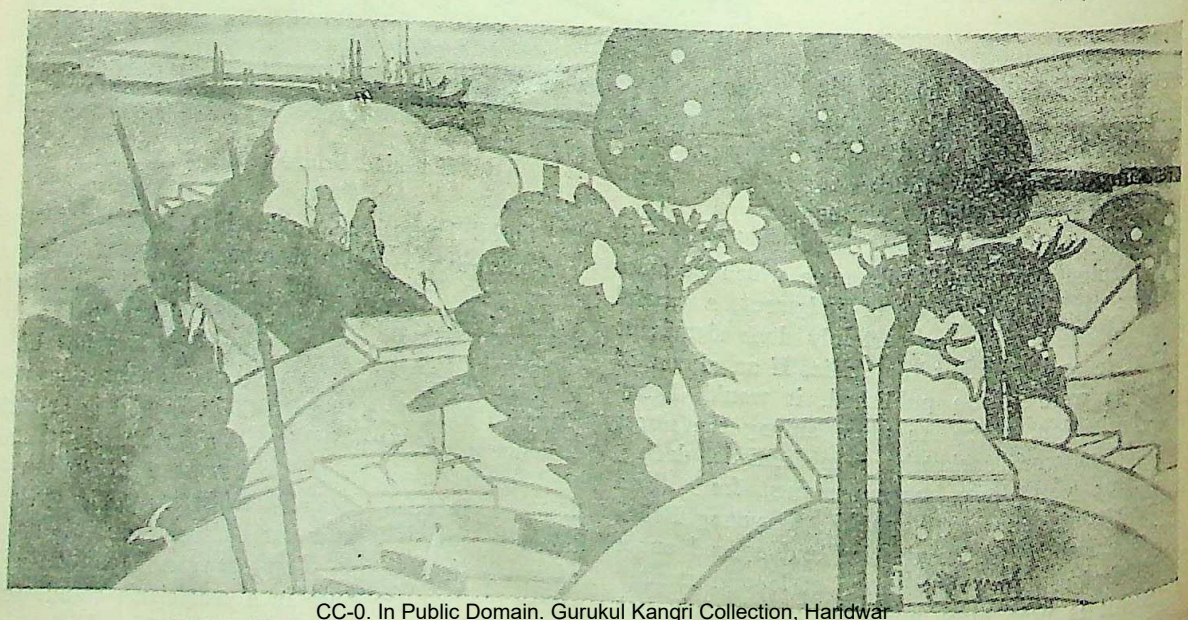
touches and transforms the listener's soul into the deeply rich simplicity of the Spirit which widens



The Artist at work

about one while listening into a horizon of great depth and peace. Sushil's music, when he is in form, stirs one like his painting. It is almost the same effect, for being the painter he is, he cannot help drawing pictures in sound which lends a peculiar content to what he plays.

India is unfortunate for she seems not to be able to see her great souls; there are hundreds perishing for want of appreciation, literally hundreds in every corner of her various provinces. The Government of the country hardly takes any notice of the artists and writers who, as far as they are concerned, seem to come under the category of mere entertainers who do not mean much to the actual political and moral structure of tne country. This state of affairs must not be allowed to continue; nay, it cannot continue. The world today is in a melting pot. Crisis upon crisis from every side is threatening every country. Reaction is fighting tooth and nail to oust the progressive elements wherever they wake up wherever they raise their heads. And the weapons Reaction has are of steel and poisonous gas: the forces of Progress only have a new vision, a large hunger for world liberation, an undaunted truthfulness as their. The fight is going on: all over the world artists and writers are inevitably aligning themselves to the forces of progress: naturally, for Reaction is another name for death. Sushil is not lagging behind. He is already busy on pictures depicting the problems of human existence, the tragedies of his people, the groans of men and the sobs of women and children. Such an artist is indeed a propagandist, not in the cheap sense of a class propagandist, but a propagandist for Beauty which he burns to share alike with all, joyously, unselfishly.



The Ferry

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OUR NATIONAL LIBRARY

By S. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., T.D., Dip. Lib.

This summer I travelled from Bombay to Calcutta and utilised the Research Room of our National Library at Esplanade for nearly a month. For the facilities obtained there my thanks are due to the Chief Librarian, the Special Officer and the Superintendent of the National Library.

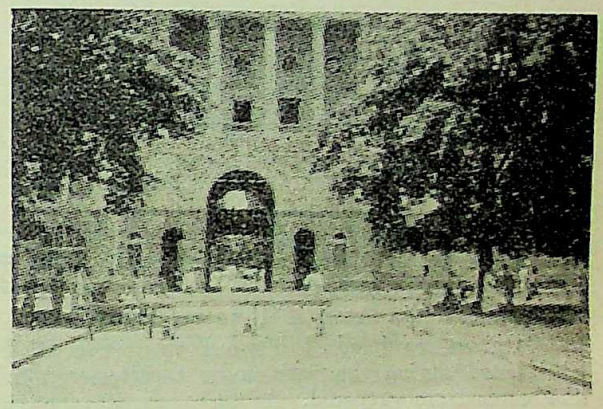
Our National Library is in the making though it is nearly half a century old and contains, at present, round-about six lakhs of books or so. Credit goes to free India that she lost no time in getting the change-over of the biggest library of Indiia from its old name of 'The Imperial Library' to that of 'The National Library'. "What's in a name?" was the audacious remark of the greatest English writer. But we Indians, perhaps, believe more in name than others. Who does not know that name (नाम) and person (नामी) are inseparable in Indian Scriptures? Again do we not find much of our national energy being spent over the controversy of the change of names from Benares to Banaras, from Cawnpore to Kanpur, Kathiawad to Saurashtra and so on. Yet, a little delay in the transformation of this name, till the attainment of the new shape that it aspires to achieve, would have been a wise policy for the simple fact that the present condition of our National Library can hardly add any glory to the name of our nation. When we look to the national libraries of the Western countries which we try to emulate in all our worth-speaking efforts, our head hangs in shame observing that in the sub-continent of India there is not a single up-to-date *open-access* free Public Library from where any Indian can quench the thirst for knowledge. I gathered that even the future arrangement in our National Library will be a closed one and not open-access.

Its History

From the small pamphlet printed at the Government Printing, Calcutta, in 1905 under the title *Imperial Library,: Hints to Readers,* I gathered the following information :

"The present Imperial Library was founded by the amalgamation in 1902 of the Calcutta Public Library with the then Imperial, which itself had been formed in 1891 by combining a number of Departmental Libraries. Of the latter the most important and interesting was that of the Home Department, which contained many books formerly kept in the Library of the East India College, Fort William, and in the Library of the East India Board in London. The Calcutta Public Library contained a large quantity of books and pamphlets on Indian subjects, many of which, especially those printed in India, are extremely rare. The Library now contains most of the important books in English dealing with India including a few of the rare early editions together with the more recent books in French and German and other European languages....The Library also possesses a collection of works on general subjects especially Economics, History and Travel. It is particularly weak in Science and Law except in so far as these are connected with India."

According to the *List of the More Important Libraries in India,* printed under G.I.C.P.O. — No. 218 H.D. in 1907, the Imperial Library was then situated in the Metcalfe Hall, 12, Strand Road and contained 90,000 volumes—the expenditure on the books only being Rs. 10,000. The *Bengal Library Directory* published by the Bengal Library Association, Calcutta in 1942 shows that the total stock of volumes in the Imperial Library had then reached the figure 3,40,000 of which 950 were MSS. and 3,39,050 printed books. The amount spent annually for books and periodicals was Rs. 9,500. Total issue numbered 52,856. In the *Directory of Indian Libraries* published by the Indian Library Association,



Entrance to the old premises of the National Library

Calcutta in 1944 (and that is the latest issue that one can find in 1949 !) one could note that the year under review showed 3,90,449 volumes in the Imperial Library. Of these 1449 were MSS. and 3,89,000 printed books. Total expenditure on books and periodicals was Rs. 10,000. The number of periodicals taken was 349 and that of newspapers 20. Total issue was 56,548 and the number of borrowers 1400. The latest figures available, as against the above, are : Stock total 4,11,906 of which 1449 are MSS and 4,10,457 printed books, total expenditure on books and periodicals Rs. 7,000, number of periodicals and newspapers 411, borrowers 3,232, total issue 34,542, loan 14,291.

This is the story, in short, of the birth and growth of our National Library during a period of 47 years. It will be very easily noticed that with the advancement of years money spent on books has not been increased proportionately though the prices of the books have become double or treble. The inevitable consequences are the paucity of useful and costly modern publications.

Its Reports

Whereas, during the World War II, Libraries of the West continued to expand and planned for future deve-

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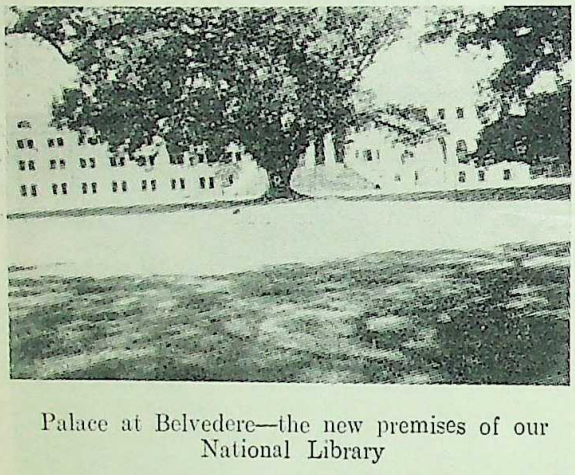
lopment, the Imperial Library in Calcutta went into hibernation from which it has started waking at a snail's pace under our National Government. This can be very clearly proved from the Annual Reports of the Imperial Library. When I asked for the latest copy of the Annual Report, I could get only of 1939-40 *i.e.*, nearly a decade old. I had very good reasons to doubt about any substantial addition and improvement being done to the biggest Library of India for the whole period of the Second World War.



Palace at Belvedere—the new premises of our National Library

In the *Report on the Working of the Imperial Library, Calcutta for the Year 1939-40*, published at the Government of India Press, 1941 we read :

> "Only seven hundred fifty-one volumes could be shelf-listed during the year under report, for which 224 cards were prepared. As the work of compiling the list is taken up only when time permits or a member of the staff can be spared for it, the progress during this year has been rather slow. The total to-date of the volumes shelf-listed comes to 168,835 volumes and the total cards written to 80,671."

From the above quotation it will be clear that hardly a month's work of any big and important library was done in the whole year of 1939-40. Also remember that the total number of books in 1939-40 was nearly 4 lakhs out of which only 80,671 books were checked and cards written. Can we not ask why were not special hands employed to bring the work up-to-date ? Has our National Govvernment noted this sorry state of affairs of our National Library? Have sufficient hands been engaged to complete the checking-up work and writing down of cards up-to-date? I did not happen to see anything like that, for, the printed catalogues of the library are, at present, available only up to 1943 *i.e.*, six years behind and the card catalogues are also incomplete. Such a step-motherly attention will never be able to enhance the name and fame of our National Library.

How it Serves

The old rules of the Imperial Library and the new ones of the National Library tell us of the following services rendered by this library : (1) There are three Reading Rooms attached to the Imperial Library : (*a*) the General Reading Room, (*b*) the Private Reading Room, and (*c*) the Ladies' Reading Room. The Private Reading Room is intended for the use of those engaged in systematic Research work, and seats are allotted therein on application to the Librarian, subject to rules made for the purpose. The Ladies' Reading Room is meant for the exclusive use of ladies not desiring to sit in either of the two other Reading Rooms. (2) The Lending Section will be opened on all working days from 10 a.m. to 4-30 p.m. and from 9-30 a.m. to 1-30 p.m. on all gazetted holidays, excepting Sundays, etc. (3) Books will be lent free of any fee or subscription to members of the public residing in any part of India on their depositing as security a sum of money enough to cover the value of books lent or even a higher amount, if the nature of the book lent so demands..... (4) Recognised institutions may at the discretion of the Librarian borrow books on executing a security bond, instead of making a cash deposit. (5) Admission to the Reading Rooms is free to all persons not less than 18 years of age, and holding Reading Room Tickets. (6) Tickets are issued on applying to the Librarian on the prescribed form and on producing suitable references. In the case of students recommendations of the Principals or Professors of their Colleges will be required. (7) Books lent may be kept for a period of one month, which period may be extended at the Librarian's discretion; ... (8) The cost of the carriage of books from and to Calcutta shall be borne by the borrower.

What it Neglects

By one, acquainted with the Library Science and the conditions of other big libraries inside and outside India, the following defects will be observed in our National Library as it exists to-day. (1) The present site of the National Library is a building which besides the Library also contains the offices of the Ordnance Department, Civil Supplies Department, etc. This minimises the dignity of the largest library of India. Let it not happen in the new site selected. (2) The library working hours are very short and school-like. It should be kept open up to 7 p.m. instead of 4-30 p.m. (3) Printed and Card Catalogues are not up-to-date lagging hopelessly behind. (4) Title Catalogues do not exist at all. (5) Light arrangement is insufficient and ante-dated. (6) Collection of English Literature is poor—particularly the recent publications being absent. (7) Our National Library is not a copyright library which it should try to be without any more delay. (8) Space provided to the Research workers is very small and not properly secluded. (9) The General Reading Room is also overcrowded. (10) Our National Library is not an open-access library. Only the Reference Section is open. (11) The Urinal and the Lavatory are kept in a very deplorable condition. (12) Indian National Library lacks arrangement for drinking water (specially during the hot season) and a Canteen, the needs of which are very keenly felt by the readers of long hours. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Library has, probably, made history in the annals of Indian Libraries by opening a neat and clean Canteen for the use of its members. Let this point be borne in mind by the administrators of our

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National Library in its new site which is situated in an out-of-the-way part of the city of Calcutta—I mean the Belvedere.

What it Aspires

On 29th January, 1949 I read the following report of the U.P.I. in *The Times of India*, Bombay:

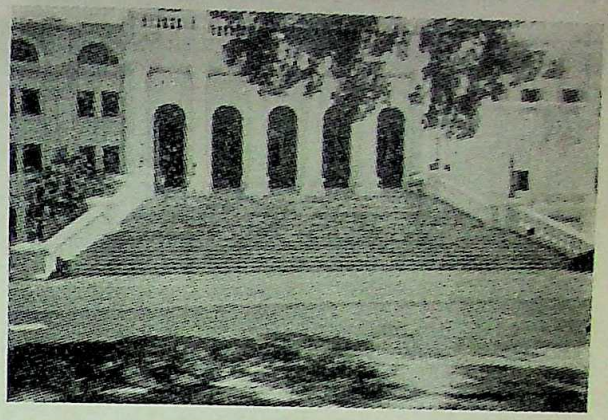
"The magnificent palace at Belvedere, hitherto set apart for the use of the Viceroys during their annual visits to Calcutta will from May next be utilised for accommodating the National Library, which is the new name for the Imperial Library. Efforts are now being made to make the institution a copyright library. It is stated that legislation will be enacted entitling the library to receive a copy of every work published in India. Facilities will be assured by the library to post-graduate students from all over India."

This led me to pay a visit to the Belvedere palace in May 1949 where I was shown round by its Superintendent-in-charge, who deserves my heartiest thanks for the troubles taken by him for me who had been to him without any sort of introduction letter. Here I saw thousands of volumes already transferred from the old premises of Chowringhee waiting to be shelved in the most modern type of Rolling Stacks of steel. The interesting part of the collection heaped in the different rooms is the Personal Library of late Sir Ashutosh Mukherji of nearly 80,000 volumes presented to our National Repository of books. Here I also found the Automatic Vacuum Cleaner being used to dust the books transferred. The long Dancing Hall will be used as the General Reading room and the balcony above it for Research Scholars—each having a Carrel. The interior of the palace is being remodelled and re-fitted to suit the requirements of a modern library. But I doubt the capacity of this building for a growth equal to that of the State Libraries of U.S.S.R., France, or America. I was also told that our National Library aspires to provide boarding and lodging (certainly not free?) facilities to the Research Scholars coming from out-station. The Reading Room will be sound-proof and the whole building is situated in a big compound-*cum*-garden of a solitary part of South Calcutta. The only defect of the new site is that it is not centrally located and one should not be surprised if the number of daily visitors falls down considerably.

While slowly and patiently, in the characteristic Indian fashion, our National Library finds full strength in its new abode we should not forget what C. Nagappa wrote in his *Library Arrangements and Organizations in India* in 1918 about our Public Libraries :

"These in India, except Baroda, are only in the second stage of their evolution. That is, they are to a large extent subscription libraries which lend out books for home reading only to persons who pay varying rates of fees or who deposit a heavy sum of money against the loan of books while readers on the spot are allowed free."

Even after 31 years there is no reason to change the above statement. Neither should we allow to go unheeded what the doyen of Indian Librarians, Dr. Ranganathan, says in his *Suggestions for the Organization of Libraries in India* :



Steps leading to the Neorient National Library

"At the top of the hierarchy of the National Library system there must be a National Central Library with its headquarters at the seat of the Federal Government. It will do liaison work between the provincial central libraries and arrange for loans between them. It will buy and supply books too costly and too rarely used for any of the provincial central libraries to own. In exceptional cases it will borrow from foreign countries through their National Central Libraries materials unobtainable at home. It will reciprocally lend to foreign countries. In this way it will incidentally serve the development of an 'international mind'."

Nor should we turn a deaf ear to the following lines that one reads in the *British Sources of Reference and Information*, published for the British Council by Aslib, 1947 :

"One of the most important sources of bibliographical information in the British Isles is the National Central Library founded in 1916.....The National Central Library is the national centre for the loan of books to readers in all parts of the British Isles, through their public, University, or other library. It has also an international lending service, through which books are lent to and borrowed from foreign libraries. In addition to the books on its shelves, the library is able to draw on those in nearly all British Libraries."

Lastly, whatever height our National Library may attain in future we should always remember that that will be no new achievement as ancient India had at Nalanda three grand buildings for great libraries one of which was a nine-storied building and that Huen Tsang carried home 650 manuscripts from there. Also, in 1934, Russia had 67,286 libraries with altogether 270,869,660 volumes. When does our country hope to reach even half of these figures?

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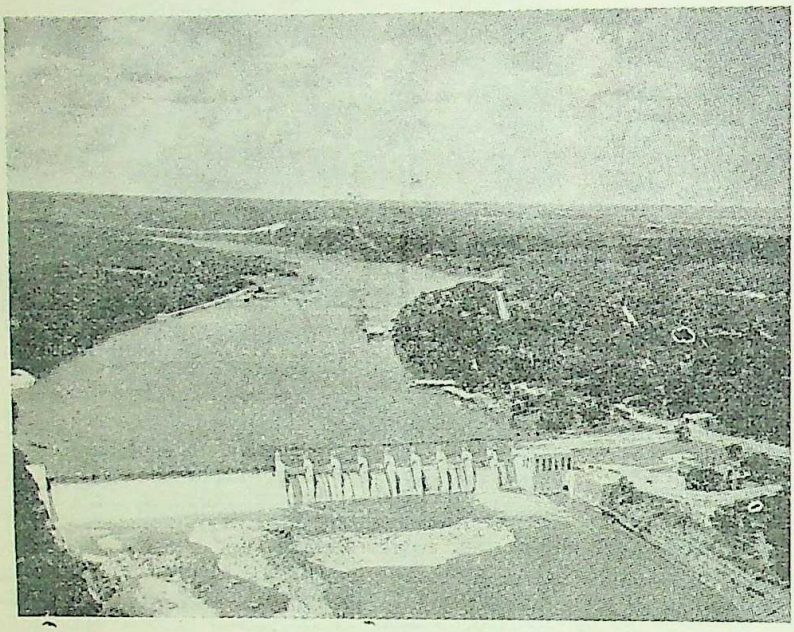
AN AMERICAN CONSERVATION PROJECT

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By JOHN McCULLY

THE new soil conservation program of the Lower Colorado River Authority is bringing immediate benefits to hundreds of American farmers in that part of the Valley of the Colorado River which is located in the south-western State of Texas. In the ten countries of the LCRA district along the Colorado River, heavy power equipment is going from farm to farm, doing the tasks that need to be done to make soil conservation a reality.

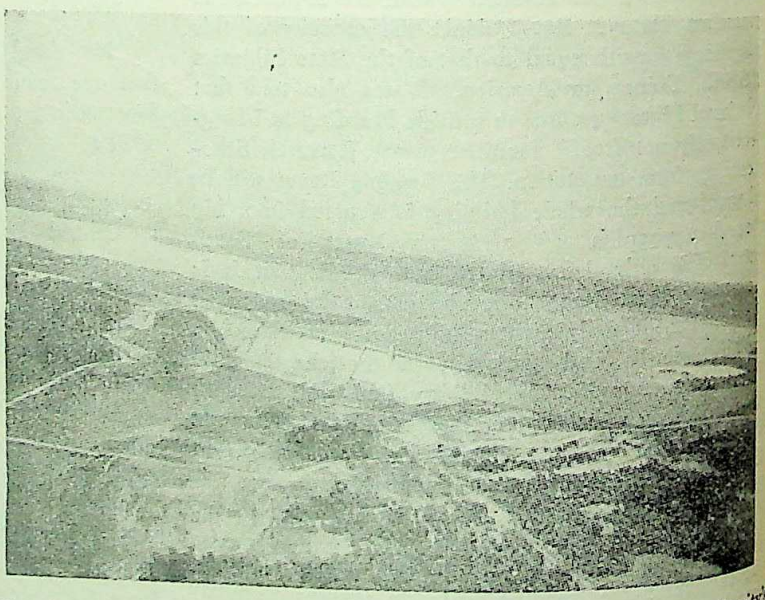


Austin Dam, one of the four dams of the Lower Colorado River Authority, is primarily a power-producing facility

The LCRA was created in 1935 by the Texas State Legislature. It was empowered to build dams, sell electric power, and spend its money on soil conservation and flood control. Four big dams have impounded the Colorado River. Power from those dams, distributed through co-operatives financed by the U. S. Rural Electrification Administration, make the surrounding area one of the best electrified sections in the country.

The water below the dams is almost clear now. The silt is caught in the four lakes created by the dams. The LCRA board of directors, nine men from the district appointed by the Governor of the State of Texas, was beginning to realize that its soil conservation powers were not put into the law by accident. Silting would, in not too many years, fill those lakes. So, in 1948, the LCRA launched a program for getting a conservation job done in the Lower Colorado River Valley. Behind their ability to do so, there still is a background of funds from the Federal Government which helped build the dams, just as there is still the assistance of Federal agencies. But the active agent now is a State agency instead of a Federal one.

In each country it is up to a local council of farmers and ranchers to plan the operations and supervise the work. In one county in the hill country, the council is concerned with the task of routing the motor grader and terracing machinery for building the terraces which will prevent the silt from being carried into the lakes. In a county to the south a dragline dredge is at work cleaning out tanks which have filled with silt through the years. Many farmers cannot own all the equipment they need for conservation, such as a fertilizer distributor. So they use the LCRA's distributor. Each county in the district has three distributors, but that is not nearly enough to go around. And that is the point. The LCRA does not intend to supply all the equipment the 17,639 farmers in the district need for perfect conservation. Officials



Mansfield Dam, the key structure of Lower Colorado River Authority's chain, is located 18 miles from Austin in the State of Texas

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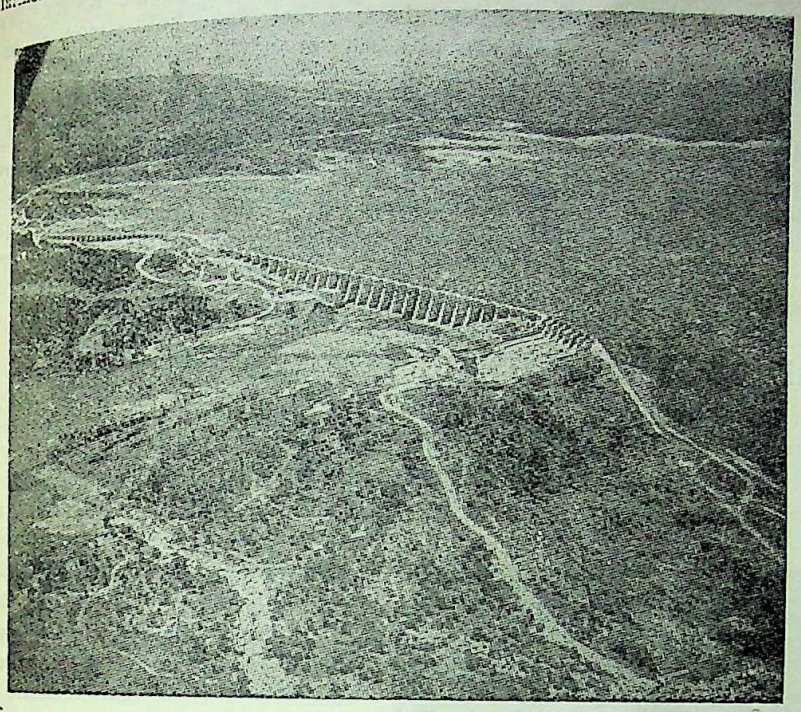
hope that demand for such items as the fertilizer distributor, cattle sprayer, cultipacker, and small terracing equipment will become so heavy that the farmers will get together and buy some of their own.



Buchanan Dam, in the State of Texas, 62 miles from the city of Austin, is slightly more than 2 miles long and nearly 150 feet high

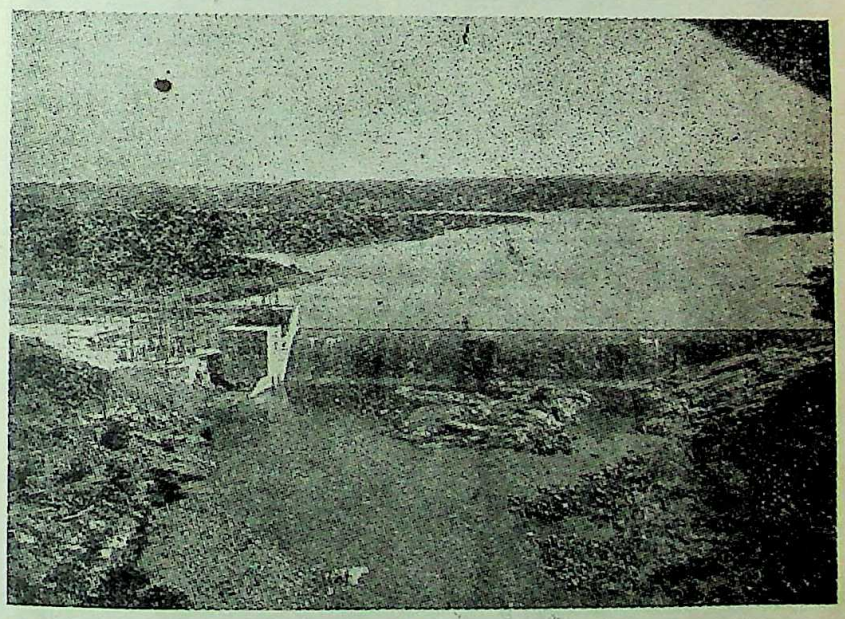
Some will make individual purchases; others will make purchases on a co-operative basis. The LCRA does not care, just so long as the work is done.

The other primary aim of the LCRA is to get farmers and ranchers to use the various Government agricultural programs to the fullest.

The U. S. Soil Conservation Service, the Production and Marketing Administration, county agricultural agents, vocational agriculture teachers, Farmers' Home Administration workers, and any other group interested in agricultural improvement are all part of the plan. The LCRA calls on them; they, in turn, work with that organization and seek its help.

Lower Colorado River Authority officials knew they were getting into a crowded field of Government agencies engaged in soil conservation work. But they knew, too, that their organization had one thing which no other agency had—money for buying equipment. That money comes from the profits which the LCRA makes on the sale of power, its only source of revenue. It receives no State or Federal appropriations, nor any taxes, either direct or in remissions. Its profits come from electric power, its power from four dams on the Colorado River. The first of those dams, Buchanan, was completed in 1937. Then came Roy Inks, Mansfield (the world's fourth largest), and Austin Dams. Altogether they impound 3,000,000 acre-feet of water and generate 116,000 kilowatts of electric power. Four more dams are being planned.

Lower Colorado River Authority power is distributed through private utilities, REA (Rural Electrification Administration) co-operatives and municipalities, all of which buy wholesale from the LCRA. As a result of the huge supply of cheap hydro-electric power, the area served by the Authority today is one of the best lighted in the world. The LCRA's profits are plowed back into a district-wide soil-building program. In each county farmers have organized a County Farm and Ranch Improvement Council, to which the LCRA issued its newly acquired equipment to do with as they saw fit. The councils work closely with the various Government agencies. As council members see it, they are not supplanting any existing agency, but are doing something no other agency can do—furnishing equipment.



Roy Inks Dam, smallest of Lower Colorado River Authority's chain, is 3 miles below Buchanan Dam in the State of Texas

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"We are in this conservation business to get the job done and not to help any single agency," the director of LCRA has declared. "We want to supplement the work of all agricultural agencies and supplant none of them. And we want our services to be available to all farmers and ranchers who want them."

So far the LCRA has purchased five motor graders, one manure spreader with tractor, 10 engine power sprayers, 30 commercial fertilizer spreaders, 24 rotary scrapers, 4 whirlwind terracers, 4 husky terracers, 24 grain drills with grass seeder and fertilizer attachments, and 5 cultipackers. One earth-moving machine is being tried out experimentally on brush-clearing. But its main use is for building spreader dams.

Most of the State of Texas is covered with one or another of the river districts set up by the State Legislature. The Colorado River alone has three authorities: Lower, Middle, and Upper. Across the State there are others: the San Jacinto, the Brazos, the Neches, the Trinity, the Sabine Rivers. Some already have part of their dams built; most still have dams under consideration. In the years to come, as more dams are built, those other authorities and districts will be able to broaden their programs. When they do, the Lower Colorado River Authority believes it will have established a pattern, a pattern of helping farmers and ranchers to take advantage of the opportunities and assistance offered by Government agencies to individuals of industry and initiative.—From *The Progressive Farmer.*

——:O:——

A RARE PICTURE OF THE UNIVERSAL FORM OF GOD

According to the Gita

By SUDHA BOSE, M.A.

THE Gita is today the gospel of the Indian Revival, for its eighteen chapters are the expression of an overwhelming national vitality. The nature of all faiths, the relation of all worshippers to worship and worshipper, the dependence of knowledge on non-attachment under all its forms: it is with problems like these, and not with any particular *credo* that the Gita concerns itself. It is at once therefore the smallest and the most comprehensive of the scriptures of the world.

Visva-rupa or The Universal Form of God

As thought and perception, life and motion, the sun and the planets are all but different manifestations of something that we call solar energy, so God itself, and the universe are now known to be only distinctions made by sense in that one Transcendental Being (Brahman), "the immortal and immutable, the eternal substance, and the unfailing Bliss."

An account of such a vision gives us the culminating chapter of the Gita. Krishna suddenly bursts forth on the sight of his astonisned worshipper as the Universal Form, in Whom all that exists is one. Characteristically Indian in expression, full of the blaze and terror of the cosmos, this great scene can only pernaps be thoroughly appreciated by a Western mind if it has first understood something of the craving it fulfils, caught some flash maybe of the radiance it describes. Yet if the rest of the Gita had perished, this one chapter might take its place, for it makes all its logic actual. Arjuna's single sight

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becomes the sacrament of a whole world's hope. Kurukshetra was the place of the great Vision, the field of Divine Illumination of Arjuna.

This Beatific Vision has been skilfully delineated by the brush of an Indian artist—a rare picture of a rare subject, hardly attempted by any artist.

There can be no better annotations on the miniature (12 inches by 8 inches) but the three verses of Chapter XI, very accurately rendered by Sir S. Radhakrishnan :

"Arjuna said : In Thy body, O God, I see all the gods and the varied hosts of beings as well, Brahma, the lord seated on the lotus throne and all the sages and heavenly nagas. (15)

"I behold Thee, infinite in form on all sides, with numberless arms, bellies, faces and eyes, but I see not Thy end or Thy middle, or Thy beginning, O Lord of the Universe, O Form Universal ! (16)

"I behold Thee with Thy crown, mace and discus, glowing everywhere as a mass of light, hard to discern (dazzling) on all sides with the radiance of the flaming fire and sun, incomparable." (17)

——:O:——

JOHN KEATS

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever"

This is probably the most famous line John Keats ever wrote, and it might be taken as the key-note of his work. We do not go to Keats for a philosophy of life or a new vision of nature. In his work we do not expect to be swept along by the swift rhythms of narrative verse, or to be enthralled by the poetry of dramatic action. We go to Keats for pure beauty. He has been described as the master goldsmith of the English language among poets since the time of Milton; and his work had a strong influence upon many poets of the later nineteenth century. What we must never forget, in a consideration of his life and poetry, is that John Keats died at the age of 26; and for most of his short working-life his body was torn with sickness.

Like almost all important poets who have died young, his work has been the subject of much controversy. There is always one fascinating but not very profitable topic—the problem of how great Keats might have been if he had lived. Moreover, the most profound experience of his life was his absorbing love for a girl five years younger than himself, and scholars hold very differing views about the influence of this love affair upon his work. Some say that his engulfing passion for Fanny Brawne was the source of so much mental distress that it impeded the flow of his poetry. Others declare that his love for her was his chief fountain of inspiration and added richness to his work. That Miss Brawne had beauty and elegance we know; but Keats himself was aware that she was, in his own words, a "silly fashionable minx," quite unworthy of him—and certainly incapable of appreciating the poetry he was writing. His passionate and jealous nature did not tend to make the path of his love very smooth, and his letters to her (which have been published) reveal the swift alterations in his moods, from the deepest travail of spirit to high exultation. That his fiery love did influence his work during the final and most important period of his life is undeniable; it was his first and only love affair, and it quickened him to the very core of his being.

John Keats

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Keats published his first volume of verse, called quite simply *Poems*, soon after he was 21. He had been studying medicine, but he gave up all thought of medical practice to write poetry, although his means were scanty. When *Endymion*, his first long poem, was issued, it was ruthlessly criticised; but although this depressed him, it did not deflect him from the path he was determined to follow. He was conscious of his latent gifts. His statement, uttered in no vaunting tone, "I think I shall be among the English poets after my death", was a plain statement of what he believed; and it did indeed turn out to be the truth. During that fateful year of his life, when he fell in love with Miss Brawne, his health was poor; and his constitution was further weakened when he nursed his brother in a long and fatal illness. But he continued to write with a fervid industry, and the next year he published another volume of poems which contains some of his very best work. His *Ode on a Grecian Urn* is remarkable not only for the sheer beauty of its poetry but for the amazing way in which the young author had absorbed the spirit of ancient Greece. Although Keats knew nothing of the Greek language, some of the most profound scholars have described this ode as "probably the most Greek thing in English poetry." But he had also absorbed the romantic spirit of the early English legends and this finds expression in poems like *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* and *The Eve of St. Agnes*. In his *Ode to a Nightingale*, the sensuous quality of his verse is revealed:

"O for a draught of vintage that hath been
Cool'd a long age in the deep-delved earth,
Tasting of Flora and the country green,
Dance, and Provencal song, and sun-burnt mirth".

The late Robert Bridges, sensitive critic and Poet Laureate of England said that he "could not name any English poem of the same length which contains so much beauty as this Ode". Keats approached the world that is seen and heard and touched—the world of the senses—as a lover of life who is eager to enjoy everything, from the taste of a nectarine to the rapture of love itself.

In *Hyperion*, which is unfinished, there are definite signs of a maturing of his talent and a growth of his mental powers. But as the months passed, it was plain that his health was failing. He had never spared himself, living ardently, torn by conflicting moods and passions, giving himself wholeheartedly to his work, afire with the intoxication of love; and it was decided that he should go abroad in the hope of arresting the course of his lung trouble. His intimate friend Severn, the artist, threw up his career at home and went with him to Italy. To part from Fanny Brawne caused him unspeakable agony, and when his health rapidly grew worse he realised that the end was near. He asked that the epitaph on his tomb might be "Here lies one whose name was writ in water," and in his mood of cold desolation he was dreaming of the great poetry that he would not live to write. Today we return again and again to the pages of John Keats for an enrichment of our vision of life and for glimpses of evanescent loveliness set forth in lines of mellow beauty that linger in the memory like the echoes of distant music.

——:O:——

THE SCIENTIFIC ASPECT OF HINDU REINCARNATION THEORY

By AMULYAPRASAD CHANDA

Biology tells us that life first appeared on our mother Earth in the form of unicellular amoeba, and all other forms have developed by a process of evolution over millions of years. Zoologists tell us that some forms of life have even disappeared in the course of this long evolution. The growing human embryo in the mother's womb exhibits most forms of life, from the amoeba to the fully developed human.

In one sense, therefore, although the *form* has been undergoing continuous change, *life* as such may be said to be continuous, leaving out of consideration for the moment the time when life was non-existent in the hoary past, and will cease to be again in the very distant future, according to the scientists' view of a dying Sun and a consequent disintegrating Earth. But the Hindu re-incarnation theory does not confine itself to the continuous (?) evolution of forms only. It claims, according to the belief, more or less, universally held by Hindus, to establish *identity* of individuals having their life and being *now* with individuals having their life and being at an earlier period in the sequence of time.

In a popular Bengali song current in the countryside, Shri Krishna is stated to have told his mother that he who is Krishna today was none other than Shri Ramachandra of a former existence. A friend of the present writer was told by a Bhrigu astrologer to have been Emperor Jehangir on another occasion.

The Hindu re-incarnation theory does not only embrace humanity but other forms of life also. He who is a man today might even be a dog or a horse, say. But the crux of the matter is the stress on the question of identity of an individual here and now with another individual on a former occasion, human or sub-human.

This theory requires for its validity *invariability* in the number of births, deaths, and the population at any given moment, of all forms of life to make it possible for an *individual* today to have existed *before*, whatever the form. Taking only one species of life into consideration, for the moment, *viz.*, humanity, for purposes of examination, the absurdity of the theory becomes patent in the background of constantly increasing population. The same chain of reasoning may be extended to cover other species also without in any way helping the protagonists of the theory. The re-incarnation theory presupposes continuity of life in one form or another, in perpetuity. This is absurd in view of inevitable destruction of life on Earth due to increasing heat of the Sun long before the disintegration of the former, if science is to be

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BABA NANAK AS I SEE HIM

By SARDAR U. SHERGIL

A poet of rare originality, destined to sing of God in a medium which, like his motherland, was subject to the vicissitudes of war and who struggled to express things in a novel way of protest against the religious superstitions of his day, Baba Nanak, from his early youth, was given the task of shocking and displeasing and thus awakening the orthodoxies of his time, among the Hindus as well as the Muslims.

Being too original-minded to subscribe to the religious and social formalities of his day, he was well-fitted to discover the Truth which is a name for God, both in Islam and Hinduism. His God-absorption is apparent from the way he carried on his worldly duties and trade speculations, which tended to run into the divine channels of charity and self-forgetfulness. While his father and his employers tried to scold him they could not help catching a glimpse of the Gleam which led his youthful footsteps.

Nanak an Individualist

When no longer a boy he is called forth to wander in the world, not by a mere restless adventure, but to see the world and to show it what he had seen himself. We find him not only in the South and West India and beyond, but in Central Asia and probably in the far western Asia, where the greater miracle of simple Truth that God dwells not only in temples and mosques convinced a Muslim priest that this seeming *kafir* knew better what the Quran had also taught. So he goes about teaching and converting evil men and criminals and turning them into saints.

One can see that he did not want a large following but was fishing souls for God, and not swaying crowds as other Prophets like Buddha and Muhammad did. Like Jesus he influenced the few who in their turn were to influence a larger number in time to come. Wherever he passed, religious centres, or rather rest-houses sprang up where men and women gathered and engaged in charitable activities in sympathy for others, and thus represented the real religious spirit. No insistence was made on dogmas and creeds, but on devotion to the Creator and love and justice to his creatures. And gradually the followers of other faiths—both Hindus and Muslims—saw that there was nothing in the impassioned hymns of this unlearned unsectarian to oppose their religion, but those who understood the essence of their own creed could see that he was teaching and living that very essence. Seldom has this appreciation of the essence of religions and those who grasp this essence and live according to it, been expressed better than by the poet Akbar of Allahabad, when he said :

Hain Rarik mazhab men kuchh kafir bhi kuchh dindar bhi;
Yad rakh yih bat tu ik mahrame israr ki.
Every religion has some heretics and some believers;
Remember this saying of one who knows the secrets.

But Nanak was too ahead of his times. And so were many Sufis and mystics who have tried to teach humanity that all religions are one in their fundamental impulse, and are intended to bind man to the source of his life and to each other in justice and love. This is what Tennyson has hinted at in his "Dream of Akbar", in the heading of which he quotes the Persian Sufi Attar as to the essence of faith, and argues that the mystic statesman Emperor Akbar groped after the essence of universal religion, which the Western people were destined to find some day through the study of comparative religion and which can be found by men of science as well as by the man of intuition to which class the religious genius belongs.

Saint of Harmony

Thus while the few saw what Nanak meant, the crowd took Nanak to be at once a Hindu or Muslim as shown by the claim of both creeds to claim him as one of them, who wanted to burn or bury his body according to their customs. That is all that the ignorant can do, in revering the great of soul. It can bury the great and bury them effectively along with the spirit of that Truth which they came to teach, and at best can divide the winding sheet of the dead.

Those who possess spiritual and religious intuition and thus understand their own religion, can truly claim the great prophets and teachers to belong to their own faith, but the esoteric dogmas and creeds are too narrow to confine these great ones. If Islam means a recognition and assent to the Will of the One Infinite Spirit of the Universe, then Nanak was a true Muslim. If Hinduism and Buddhism mean what the Upanishads and the Gita teach of the same Universal Spirit and Supreme Soul, or the unknowable Life of the world which withal is in each of us, then Nanak was a Hindu or a Buddhist. If Christianity means the realisation of the same Spirit in all, and living so as to radiate that life unity, thus doing unto others as we wish others should do to us, then the Christians can claim him as their own. But if the external formalities of any of these religions are to be mistaken

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for these religions, then Nanak is neither a Hindu nor a Muslim nor a Buddhist nor a Christian. Nay, it can be emphatically said that if Sikhism means, not spiritual life, but forms and formalities, then Guru Nanak has nothing to do with Sikhism either.

Nanak—an Iconoclast

For he is essentially an iconoclast also, an idol-breaker, and it matters little if the idols are made of clay or stone or wood, or of forms of thought, or narrow ideas which divide man from man and brother from brother.

It may be asked what have these attitudes to do with the practical matter-of-fact world of today, when religions are found to be a hindrance and, not a help on the path of human progress. The above would furnish the answer. Religious formalism and ignorance of religion on which it is based is indeed a veritable hindrance to human progress, and that is why these prophets have appeared from time to time to clean up the Augean stables of degenerate creeds which have lost their original impulse. And now this function is, and will be, performed by science or organised human knowledge. Much of that sort of lumber is destined to be disposed of by Physics, Biology, Psychology, and Astronomy, after which man will once more turn to the undying essence of Religion. Even the arch-enemies of religion and God are destined to go down before it. But false dogmatism and formalism is also to vanish, which generates hate among men as much as the selfishness of nations which does the same. The prophets and seers of old have not lived in vain, though their followers have done more to kill their spirit than their enemies. And the great harbinger, Science, is destined to do the same and to establish religion on the foundations of research as the teachers of religions in the past have tried to establish it on faith or intuition. And it may be pointed out for those who are familiar with the secret as Akbar said, that intuition is as much positive in its vision as science, and faith is only a feeling of Truth, and all three are really one in their essence.

Nanak is one of those great pioneers with a necessarily small following. This is not so, it may be contended; for there are some millions of Sikhs in the Punjab and other parts of India. Yes, indeed millions profess to follow Baba Nanak as many more millions profess to follow Buddha, Jesus, Muhammad and other prophets. But how many among the followers of all these religions really follow the teaching of their prophets? These necessarily are few and far between, in spite of all the bitter fanaticism that curses this planet.

It is unquestionable that Nanak and his successors urged Muslims to understand and truly follow the teachings of Islam as they urged the Hindus to follow theirs. Had Guru Nanak come across Christians in his times, he would have said the same thing to the Christians, but the spirit of his teaching says this to them even today.

For he knew that if people follow their religions truly, they would be treading one and the same path to salvation and human welfare through being just, loving and helpful to one another, instead of injuring one another through being selfish, which really means to be irreligious in the higher sense of the word.

Nanak not a Cultist

This has not happened yet, nor is likely to happen soon, but man is still in the making, and the divine workshop has not ceased to hum. But when on the wings of higher understanding man rises to his full stature, and understands his destiny, then that will have happened which Nanak wanted and taught and prayed for. Then he will have not a few followers as he had now, for then good Muslims, good Hindus, good Buddhists, good Christians, and good Zoroastrians in fact all good people of the earth could be called good Sikhs, if there will be any need of calling Religion by any name whatsoever. It will be difficult to give religion any particular name then, for obvious reasons; but the real significance of all names will be understood, and all religions will be known as Divine Religion.

At present, however, there are very few Sikhs—disciples—in this world, and that is how I see Nanak who wanted to make good men and not a cult.

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HYMNS OF GURU NANAK

By Prof. KAMAL KRISHNA GHOSH, M.A.

The history of the world witnessed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (and even earlier) the birth and career of a long chain of saints and seers, comprising Martin Luther (1483-1546) in Germany, Thomas Cranmer (1489-1546) in England, John Knox (1505-1572) in Scotland, Ulrich Zwingli (1483-1551) in Switzerland; and in India Ramanuja (12th century), the first of the great exponents of the Bhakti cult, Ramananda (14th century), fifth in apostolic succession from Ramanuja, Vallabhacharya (b. 1479), Lord Chaitanya of Navadwipa (1485-1533), Kabir (1380-1420), Tulsidas (1532-1623) and Nanak (1469-1538).

Guru Nanak is one of this blessed and glorious band of saints, seers and prophets. Today when the aftermath of the Second World War finds us moral and spiritual derelicts, buffeted by adverse winds and waves, when the menace of newer destructive weapons everyday looms above us, darkening our lives, it will be worth our while to pause for a moment and consider in brief the life and message of a saint like Guru Nanak, the founder of the great religion of the Sikhs.

It was in 1469 in a small village called Talbandi in the district of Lahore that Nanak saw the light of day in a Kshatriya family, in the early portion of the full-moon night of the month of Vaisakh (May), or according to another version, Kartika (November). It should be noted that he was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth and so was nursed on the lap of poverty. But chill penury did not freeze the genial current of his soul. Thus the child Nanak grew up amidst poverty, but he was poles asunder from ordinary children. In the case of the child Nanak it can be asserted categorically that heaven did lie about him in his infancy. For from his very boyhood his fancy lay towards *sadhus* and *fakirs* and nothing was sweeter to him than their society. As a boy therefore he neglected his studies. At the very early age of five years he began to talk of scriptures, and when at seven years of age he was sent to a teacher for his first initiation into three R's, the teacher found to his surprise that he had already enough spiritual lore and that he did not stand in need of any further schooling. And later history proved that in the case of Nanak, the child was verily father of the man and that the morning of his life had already sufficiently proclaimed what the day of his life was going to be.

This is not the place, however, to dilate at length on the biography of Nanak, neither is this the place to touch upon the evolution that took place later amongst his followers. We are here concerned only with some of the salient features of Nanak's teachings. The religion that he gave to his followers "aimed", in the words of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "at spiritual liberation by means of humility, prayer, self-respect, searching of the heart and fixed gaze on the one God—the True, the Immortal, the Self-existent, the Invisible, the Pure" (*alakh-niranjana*) (Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 244). It should never be forgotten that the mediaeval saints and seers of India were born at a time when India was fast becoming the cock-pit of conflicting religious ideals, and so the main mission of these saints and seers of mediaeval India was to bring about a synthesis of different cultures and religions, to build as it were a spiritual bridge between different sects and creeds—humanity to them was one family, it was not simply classless, but emphatically casteless also—there was no dividing barrier between man and man. Nanak along with others therefore rejected the externals of religion—idolatry, set prayers and dead rituals. God was one and God transcended all castes and creeds, there was one religion, the religion of the one God, though worshipped under various names. The path of salvation lay, according to Nanak, through devotion to this God and through good deeds. Love and purity of life were more important than the mere observance of the externals of religion. And so the message of Guru Nanak and other saints and seers of mediaeval India will pour oil on the troubled waters of modern India.

I

The following hymn was sung at Puri by Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism. The story goes that during a ritual ceremony at the temple of Jagannath at Puri, Nanak, who was present there, was found standing aloof, and when accosted broke into the following hymn

Lo, on the plate of the firmament shine the sun and the moon like beaming candles.
Stars in their myriads shimmer like pearls in adoration of Thee.
The sweet-scented vernal breeze breathes incense, and the wind blows gently fanning.
The woodlands of the world with their bright-hued flowers worship Thee, O Being Supreme.
Ah, what a grand ritual is in progress !
O Thou that snaps asunder all earthly bonds, all this is thy ritual !
O what a clarion-note rings from out this silence !
With a thousand eyes thou shinest, albeit not a single one thou dost really possess !
In a thousand forms thou dost appear, albeit utterly formless thou art !
I fancy thee with a thousand holy feet, albeit not a single one really exists !
Odourless thou art, albeit thy odour maddens all the universe !
The light that shines in every object is *thy* light, it is *thy* beauty that permeates every object.

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It is only the contact with a true preceptor that can reveal all this lustre. His favourite alone can worship Thee.

My heart is athirst day in, day out for the honey of thy lotus feet, O Hari.

My Lord, my Lord! pour down thy mercy in gentle showers on this thirsty *chataka*, Nanaka, and do thou allow him to dwell in thee forever and aye.

2

ON THE EVE OF HIS DEATH

(i)

O lift up his song of praise!

Let the house ring with his song of praise, the house which has been resonant with his praise.

O sing thou his praise who knows no fear. My heart melts away with ineffable joy with his song of praise.

Lo, he is ever tending his creation.

Ah, who can appraise his benevolence? Ah, who can measure the greatness of that benefactor?

(ii)

Listen, fixed already has been the year and the day for marriage, the appointed hour has now arrived, O hasten with thy preparations.

Offer blessings, O well-wishers, so that the bride may be united with the groom.

From house to house spread the gladsome tidings.

Hark! the call rises eternally.

I bethink of Him who sends forth this call. Nanak says, the time is now ripe.

3

O Thou Lord of creation, Thou alone dost exist.

He, that Absolute, says Nanak, pervades all, where can a second be found? Before the dawn of creation He the Supreme Truth was present, at creation He was present, and now He is present, and forever and aye He shall remain present.

A myriad worlds He has created—both high up in the sky and low down under the earth. Sages and seers are tired out in search of Him. The *Vedas*, the *Puranas* and a thousand, thousand scriptures tell the same tale: He alone is the Supreme Essence in this boundless universe.

Before the birth of anybody He was, spotless He is, eternal and of fadeless bloom, and changeless from age to age.

In the heart of man and outside reigns that eternal Lord. He the Supreme Lord has every vessel for his tabernacle. He is here, He is high up in the sky and He is low down in the nether world. He the sustainer permeates every object—forests, vegetation and rocks he pervades. Whole creation moves to his order. In the winds, in waters and in fire He is and overspreads the fourfold universe and ten quarters. Where is that spot which has anything but Him? By the grace of his holy preceptor, Nanak has got the Supreme Bliss.

4

Lord, a boundless ocean Thou art, and a tiny fish I am but in it, how can I measure thy immensity? Wherever I cast my eyes I behold Thee. Whenever I am outside Thee I feel like a fish out of water. With Thee I forget the Fisherman with his net—the god of Death with his doom. When evil days come I call upon Thee, Lord, to save me.

The Supreme God is the all-powerful and merciful creator, worlds come and worlds go, but He the merciful Lord is changeless and abideth forever.

Thou Thyself art the cowherd-girl, Thou Thyself the river *Jamuna* and Thou Thyself the cattleherds.

The *Vedas* sing Thy praise and the *Puranas* tell Thy story and the sages worship Thee by their studies and interpretations of the *Vedas* and the *Puranas*. All the gods chant Thy praise, the cowherd boys and the cowherd girls sing Thy song. Siva sings Thy hymn, the seers lift up Thy song, and a thousand, thousand Buddhas for ages and ages go on uttering Thy praise.

5

O my Mind, with Hari make thou love, such love as the fish doth make with water, — the deeper down the fish plunge into the water, the greater is his joy, the greater his bliss, not a moment can he take breath without water, O like unto this is the attachment between the Lord and His votary.

O my Mind, with Hari make thou love, such love as the water doth make with milk. Boil the milk and lo, the water vanishes in vapour, but the water won't let the milk vanish—the milk remains.

O my Mind, with Hari make thou love, such love as the *chakhi* bird makes with the Sun. Alack, the bird does not enjoy an wink of sleep at night, sundered from her beloved.

6

My Lord, he who has drunk his fill of the nectar of Thy name is lost in love of Thee.

Day and night, in that love is he immersed and listens to unheard melodies.

He alone drinks of that nectar, who is blessed by Thy grace, my Lord.

He who thus trades in nectar divine has no hankering for earthly wine.

He who has once got a taste of the ecstasy of the Beatific Vision yearns neither after salvation nor after heaven.

He alone is the true Recluse who ever gets intoxicated in singing His glory — to him the worldly game of gambles has no attraction.

Obeisances to the Primal Spirit, to Him obeisances, obeisances to Him, the Spotless, the Eternal, the Immutable from age to age.

7

Numberless are the sects, numberless the preceptors and numberless the schools of philosophy, legion their name. But the Preceptor of preceptors is only one, though numberless be his manifestations.

Hours, minutes, seconds, make up together one month.

Many are the seasons, though there is only one Sun.

Nanak says, how varied are the dresses put on by my Lord.

8

Wash thou thy body by a thousand ablutions, but canst thou wash thy mind clean?

Wrap thyself up in mere silence, but canst thou still thy ever restless mind?

Let seven worlds feed fat thy lust, but will they appease thy hungry soul?

Ah, what avails all thy subterfuges? Will a single one accompany thee unto thy grave?

Then how can I reach the Truth? How can I break through the barriers of the untrue?

Nanak says that since our birth God has thus decreed: "Forget thou thy body, follow only the words of God, love Him, and then only can you attain God!"

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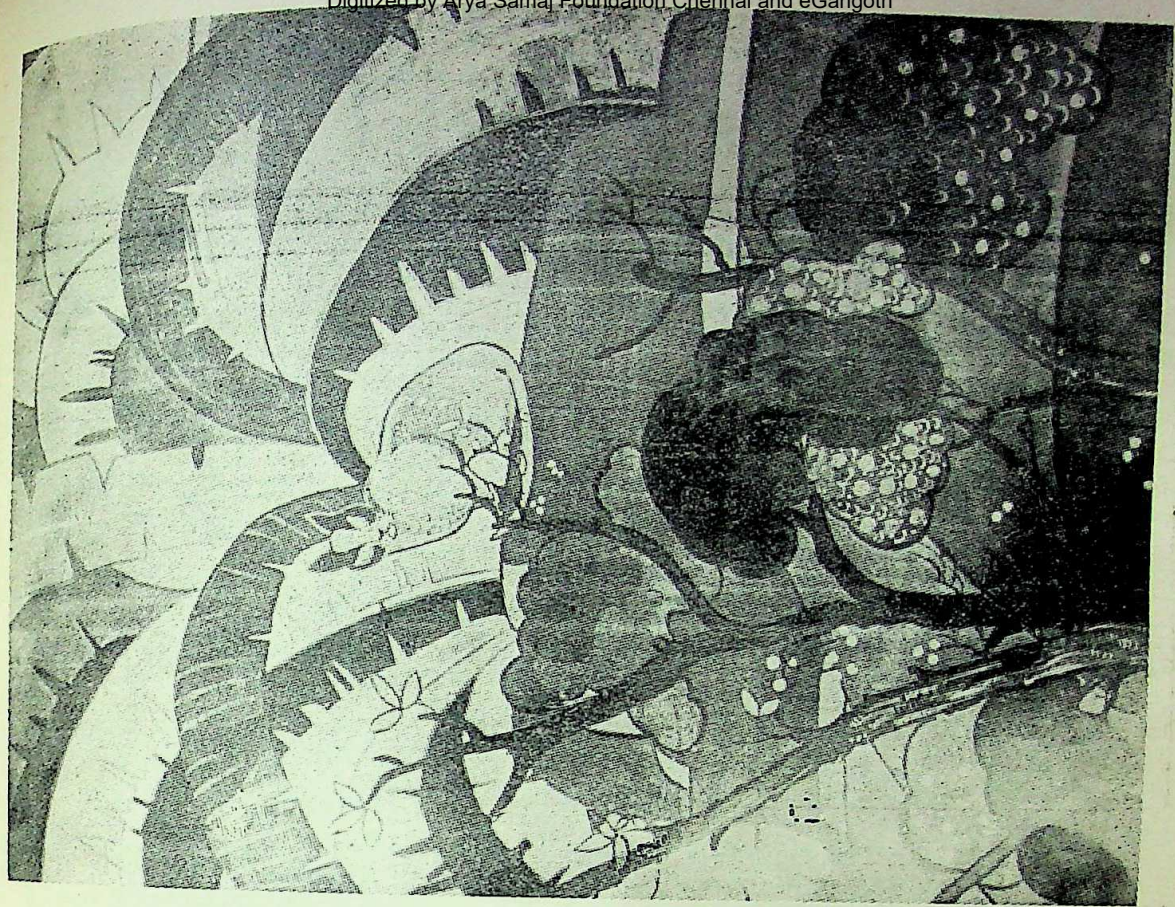
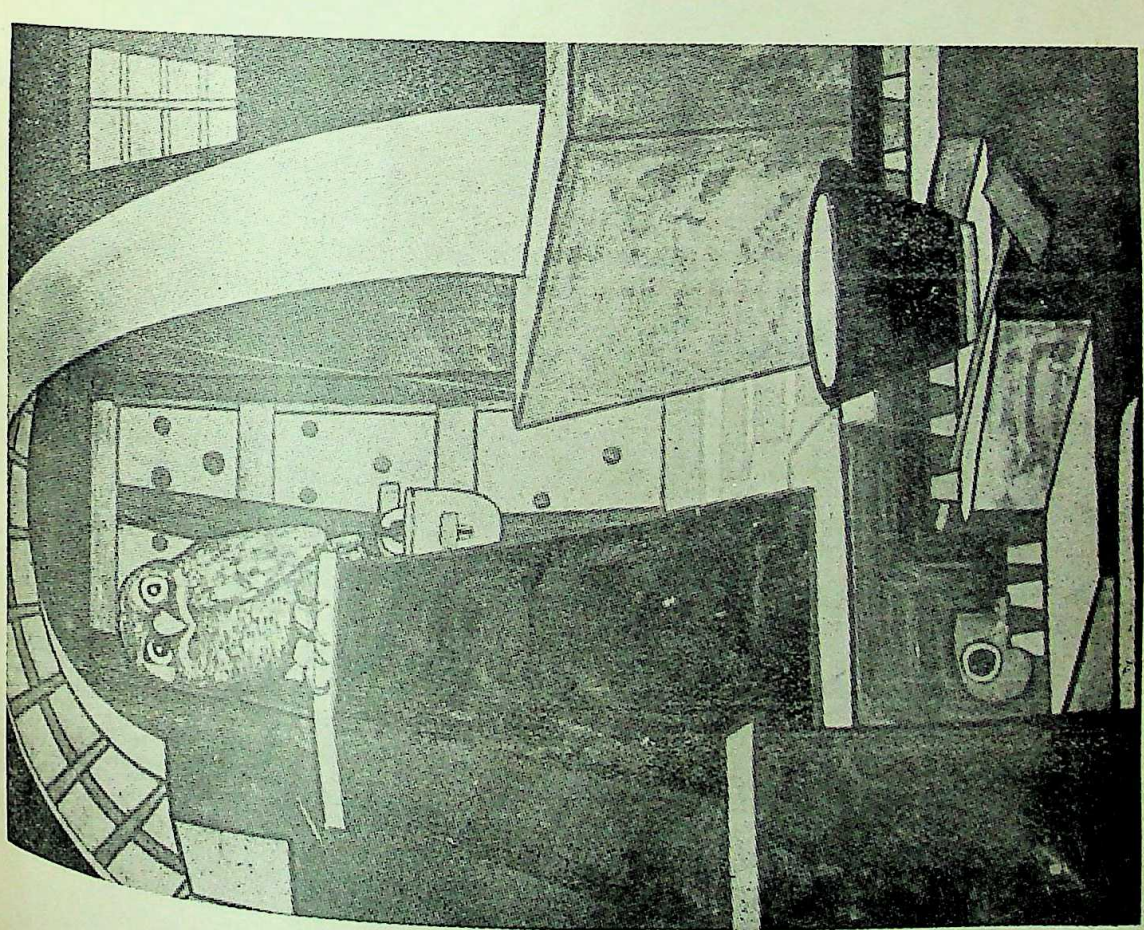


The Thief
By Sushil Mukherjee (Exhibited at the International Exhibition, Paris)



Haunted House
(Collection of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy)

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Nitai Paul teaching a clay-modelling class of women students

The women students of Shilpa-Bhawan drawing *Alpona* on a festive occasion

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ANTI-FASCIST ELEMENTS IN RABINDRANATH TAGORE

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By Prof. RAJENDRA VERMA, M.A.

V

So determined was Tagore's opposition to cults of power that he did not even spare Mahatma Gandhi when he sensed some unwitting use of power-psychology. Tagore and Gandhi continued to disagree over non-co-operation, Charkha and Hindu-Muslim unity. While Gandhiji represented the rising tide of Indian nationalism Tagore stood as the symbol of healthy patriotism which has its roots in the cultural inheritance of the country. This was no limpid inter-nationalism of an 'intellectual vagabond'. It was a conviction born of a disinterested study of Indian history, and the diagnosis of the disease of the twentieth century.

In his many addresses delivered abroad before and during the first World War, the poet steadily denounced the "Nation" and the cults thereof. An organisation of power towards some mechanical end, the Nation, according to Tagore, menaced the future of humanity. He felt ill at ease in the dust and storm of the nationalist movements in his own country. He felt embarrassed preaching his gospel of the unity of the East and the West while in his own country a mass upsurge, which shuffled off everything foreign, arose.

At this distance of time his protest against some of the features of the movement can be dispassionately examined. His criticism was directed against the aim and method of the non-co-operation movement. In regard to the aim he fondly believed that India's problem was social and not political. India had solved in the past in an admirable way the race-problem and she was eminently suited to be the agency of synthesis between the various cultures of the world. It was given to her to stand for the co-operation of all peoples of the world, the spirit of rejection inherent in the non-co-operation movement went contrary to the mission. In a letter written to his friend and reproduced in *The Modern Review* of May, 1921, he says:

> "However we may delude ourselves with phrases learnt from the West, Swaraj is not our objective. Our fight is a spiritual fight, it is for Man. We are to emancipate Man from the meshes that he himself has woven round him—these organisations of National Egoism."

And further,

> "I feel that true India is an idea and not a mere geographical fact. . . . The infinite personality of man is not to be achieved in single individuals, but in one grand harmony of races. The darkness of egoism that will have to be destroyed is the egoism of the people."

In respect of the methods of the non-co-operation movement the poet was hitting nearer the mark. In a brilliant essay entitled "The Call of Truth" he dwells at length on the main points of his opposition. They are:

(*a*) Blind obedience to an unreasoned creed.
(*b*) Exploiting crowd psychology.
(*c*) Propaganda methods like fixing a date for Swaraj.
(*d*) Shortcuts to communal unity.

The first point concerns the Charkha cult. Tagore disapproved of the 'spin and weave' cult as a magical formula because, according to him, it was apt to benumb reason and in the long run end as an empty ritual.

Exploiting crowd psychology always touched the poet to the quick. He saw the burning of foreign cloth and the hysterical joy accompanying it. He sensed danger in these destructive operations as instruments of political intolerance.

> "We have enough of magic in this country—magical revelation, magical healing and all kinds of divine intervention in mundane affairs. That is why I am so anxious to reinstate reason in its throne."

he wrote in the same article "The Call of Truth."

He repeated his earlier belief in an inner awakening which may make us realise our country in our daily life. To the poet who had returned from a tour of the continent and Asia and had aligned himself with the great intellectual ferment for human solidarity and world unity, Gandhiji's tirades against Western education seemed regrettable. Besides, he feared the igniting of mass sentiments in whose virulent sway all reason and good sense, so essential to wise national planning, will be submerged.

> "The mind of the country," he wrote, "must exert itself in all directions. Above all, the spirit of enquiry throughout the whole country must be kept intact and untrammelled, its mind not made timid or inactive by compulsion, open or secret."

These are not just liberal platitudes. These represent the man of vision's insight into the hazy future. From the immediate present the politician derives his impelling force, the visionary relates it to the complete pattern as must emerge from the mist of time. Tagore aimed at making the freedom struggle a two-pronged drive: against an alien administration as well as against the blinding prejudices and superstitions. Of the second aspect of the battle he took command.

Not a prince of the clouds in dealing with affairs of men Tagore advocated a correct psychological correlative of politics. He had misgivings about releasing the dark unconscious of man in the mass. In an article entitled the "Cult of the Charkha" published in *The Modern Review* for September, 1925, he says among other things:

> "I am strongly of the opinion that all intense pressure of persuasion brought upon the crowd psychology is unhealthy for it. Some strong and

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widespread intoxication of power and belief among a vast number of people can suddenly produce a convenient uniformity of purpose immense and powerful. It seems for the moment a miracle of conversion; and a catastrophic phenomenon of this nature stuns our rational mind, raising high some hope of easy realisation which is very much like a boom in the business market. The amazingly immediate success is no criterion of its reality—the very dimension of its triumph having a dangerous effect of producing a sudden and universal eclipse of our judgment. Human nature has its elasticity and in the name of urgency it can be forced towards a particular direction far beyond its normal and wholesome limits. But the rebound is sure to follow, and the consequent disillusionment will leave behind it a desert track of demoralisation. We have had our experience of it in the tremendous exultation lately produced by the imaginary prospects of Hindu-Muslim unity. And therefore I am afraid of a blind faith on a very large scale in the Charkha, in a country which is so liable to succumb to the lure of shortcuts when pointed out by a personality about whose moral earnestness they can have no doubt."

Mahatma Gandhi had written in 1921 in *Young India*:

"Swaraj is easy of attainment before October next, if certain simple conditions can be fulfilled."

Musing over this Rabindranath wrote in 1925:

"True, the announcement of a definite date for the start has an intoxicating effect. But I cannot admit that an intoxicating state can make the journey any easier."

On the Bihar earthquake of 1934 Mahatma Gandhi's statement remains a puzzle. He astounded the intelligentsia by suggesting that Bihar's untouchability had brought God's curse upon it in the shape of the earthquake. The poet felt called upon to join the issue with the Mahatma, and he sent a rejoinder to the press:

"It has caused me painful surprise to find Mahatma Gandhi accusing those who blindly follow their own social custom of having brought down God's vengeance upon certain parts of Bihar, evidently specially selected for His desolating displeasure. . . . What is truly tragic about it is the fact that the kind of argument that Mahatmaji uses by exploiting an event of cosmic disturbance, far better suits the psychology of his opponents than his own, and it would not have surprised me at all if they had taken this opportunity of holding him and his followers responsible for the visitation of the Divine anger. . . . We who are immensely grateful to Mahatmaji for inducing, by his wonderful working inspiration, freedom from fear and feebleness in the minds of his countrymen, feel profoundly hurt when any words from his mouth may emphasise the elements of unreason in those very minds—unreason which is a fundamental source of all the blind powers that drive us against freedom and self-respect."

Mahatmaji explained that visitations like drought, floods, earthquakes were for him somehow connected with man's morals. This fits in with the mystical framework of his mind. Yet, to the average product of this age of science it smacked of superstition. Tagore earnestly sought to curb the growth of superstitions.

It is not intended to suggest here that Mahatmaji's methods were fascist. He was the pilot of the nation and knew when and how to steer it clear of the rocks. But it was a nascent nation, raw to the core. The millions who composed it lived in the twilight of faith. The line separating the twilight from the dark-night is narrow. Tagore feared the people lapsing into the primal gloom which had given birth to many kinds of myths and magic-cults in the dawn of history. In modern times fascism employed the outmoded concepts of culture. It aims at keeping the primitive layer of the mind dangerously near the conscious to exploit it at ease and at will. According to Tagore, the main problem of India was social, the political was subordinate to it; psychological shocks or ingenious contrivance, he feared, might put the history out of gear—the cherished goal of evolving a synthesis of the variegated cultures of the world would have been lost sight of.

Gandhiji succeeded in keeping the movement under the stress of a pure impetus which had nothing in common with fascism. Nevertheless, the warnings of Tagore retain the ring of sincerity and high purpose. They served to keep patriotic emotions within bounds, and inspired reasoned and intelligent public opinion.

VI

Fascism represented the neurotic manifestation of nationalism. Before its advent nationalism had become an appendage of economic imperialism. After the first World War there was a tightening of the stranglehold by the State and nationalism became its official creed. Mussolini, the apostle of fascism, wrote in definition of his philosophy in *Encyclopeadia Italiana*:

"It is not the nation which creates the State, on the other hand, the nation is created by the State, which gives the people, conscious of their moral unity, a will and therefore a real existence."

And to give the barbarism inherent in fascism a moral garb he said:

"Fascism is a religious conception in which man appears in his inherent relationship to a superior law, to an objective will which transcends the particular individual and elevates him as a conscious member of a spiritual society."

Nationalism, which became a handmaid of politics in the middle-half of the nineteenth and the twentieth century, was essentially a cultural concept in its origin. Europe in the eighteenth century was largely cosmopolitan; the 'good sense' inhering in that age rendered exclusive nationalism dormant. Yet the soul responded to a particular regional scene more quickly and naturally. The rural set-up enclosing the 'In-group' engendered love of the traditional ritualism. This communal affinity, a natural ingredient of the psyche, which used its own appraisals of the beautiful and the ugly, was what one noticed before the advent of the machine and its resultant civilisation.

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The psychological impact of the machine is too well-known to need elaboration. Disintegration and dispersal of the 'group' by it repressed its personality. The traditional values were wrenched from the soil. The 'personal life' reacted strongly against the suppression. There was an unprecedented rebirth of national languages and literatures. Romanticism and self-coinsciousness became the cultural hall-mark of an industrial age.

Nationalism, before it was prostituted by the nation-State, or before it became the paean of expanding capitalism, connoted the organic sense of the community. It was the defensive mechanism of 'personality' against the forces of repression. But as the ruling classes became the high-priest of nationalism, it lost the personal core and hardened into a mechanical organisation of power.

In his many addresses on 'Nationalism' Tagore returns to denunciation of the latest phase of nationalism—its morbid, exclusive and barbarous aspects. His lecture on 'Nationalism in India' delivered before his American audience makes an interesting reading to-day. He had the insight, then, to denounce the Nation as "the aspect of a whole people as an organised power." The accent on the organised power (reflected in the State) is unmistakable. In the West, "the National machinery of commerce and politics turns out neatly compressed bales of humanity."

When he preached international co-operation he did not want the toxins of this Western nationalism to infect India. He was definitely of the view that

"The Western nation acts like a dam to check the free flow of Western civilisation into the country of 'No-nation'."

The country of 'No-nation' is India which has been a great receptacle of races and whose destiny has been to harmonise them. This racial reconciliation was never a problem in European history, with the result that to-day, drunk with the heady wine of nationalism Europe is bent on exterminating all the alien races.

"Either she shuts her doors against the aliens or reduces them to slavery. And this is her solution of the problem of race-conflict."

The plague-spots according to Tagore are :

(1) The aggressive creed of the nation-State.
(2) The ideology of competitive commercialism.
(3) Racialism.

How correctly he diagnosed the disease which was soon to appear as the pathological dissolution of the European mind under the Nazi-fascist impact to which the later phase of Picasso holds the mirror.

True to his instinctive abhorrence of all forms of barbarism Tagore voiced his indignation at the rape of China and Abyssinia and throttling of the Republican Spain. His letters to Yone Noguchi are a classic of lofty contempt.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to confine Tagore to the class of colourful internationalists. He stood in organic relationship to his country's culture. Though he denounced the fascist phase of nationtalism he represented the finest flower of cultural nationalism. In his early work entitled *Swadeshi Samaj* he envisaged a self-sufficient society independent of the British rule. He advocated that the foreign goods and dresses should be abandoned, the European forms, dresses and dinners should be discouraged, the letters should not be written in English, and that all quarrels should be settled not in British courts but by representatives of our own people.

His silent endeavour to cultivate the rural side of India in its personalist manifestation is best concretised in Shri Niketan. His unpretentious efforts to resuscitate the folk-culture of India, and through it, to bring to the sophisticated but uprooted Indian the vital-touch of his cultural heritage, are to-day operative even when he is no more.

He had begun with an indomitable faith in Man and a fond hope that out of Europe's heart will issue forth the true springs of civilisation. His faith remained unshaken to the last, though his hope deserted him in the closing phase of his life. He was disillusioned but did not grow cynical.

To the age of disintegration he sought to bring spiritual calm. To a civilisation which had so complicated a pattern as to unbalance itself and to maladjust human personality, he endeavoured to restore the balance. To that end, he continued to sing the saga of Man, the transcendental. He warned against massive organisations of power and greed which had sullied man's dignity. He painted the image of the personal man as fully integrated, balanced and poised, as refulgent with the ray of the eternal, as a harmonious adjunct of environment and as sovereign over Time. About his transcendental man he wrote in his "Religion of Man" :

> "As our consciousness more and more comprehends it, new valuations are developed in us, new depths and delicacies of delight, a sober dignity of expression through elimination of tawdriness, of frenzied emotions, of all violence in shape, colour, words or behaviour, of the dark mentality of Kuklux-klanism."

The forces which the dark mentality of the 'Kuklux-klanism' unleashed, preyed upon the mind of his age, now as a haunting nightmare, and now as the sadistic manifestation of the primal energies of man. The rigorous, external aspect of fascism, with its arid and empty inside, was the institutional image of the competitive mechanical civilisation in wedlock with nationalism. The 'cast-iron' and the 'slot-machine' characterised the response of the receptive man under a decaying culture. At this dark hour in human history, Tagore kept on awakening the spirit of man, conscious of the world's destiny and his country's part in it.

(Concluded)

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THE BACTERIAL BOMB FACTORY OF PARADISO

By P. K. BANERJEE, N.K.I. (Sweden)

UNEXPECTEDLY enough I bumped against Roland Knight in an unpretentious-looking little cafe at Montmartre, which was the rendezvous of the ex-veterans of the Spanish civil war. Here we used to infuse new vigour into our dull and monotonous existence by hearty talks on the past thrills of fighting as adventurous volunteers in the Republican army. It was in Spain that I saw Roland for the last time, when hit by a bullet in the shoulder, tottering he fell down on the ground with blood gushing forth in a red stream from his wound. In great agony his face turned and twisted into a hideous grimace and he was left groaning in the battle-zone without getting any help from me, as I was obliged to flee for saving my own dear life. It was therefore quite natural that I gave up all hope of seeing him alive again, but for some reason or other I never dared to speak out my mind to anybody regarding what I thought to be a case of certain death.

By Jove! wonder of wonders, I saw him there sitting at the little table of the cafe just opposite to me and my pal Ralph and enjoying a glass of red wine. He looked very much pulled down with his shoulder a little twisted and his dress a bit worn-out and torn. But the former fire of his eyes was still glowing there. After an exchange of greetings and other formalities he told me with wondering eyes that he had heard many wild rumours about the present State of affairs in Spain, one of which was particularly taking possession of his mind — the rumour about Paradiso. I listened to him with wrapt attention and was involuntarily drawn closer to him under the influence of his magnetic personality. We now made up our minds to pay a visit to Paradiso, in order to be convinced if there was any truth in some of those fantastic rumours, circulating here and there about its existence. Roland had connections with many a secret influential agent, through whose help and guidance we succeeded in slipping away to San Sebastian in a boat, where a republican friend extended his kind help and co-operation to us in arranging and rigging out a boat with sails for our secret mission. Continually for three nights we sailed in that boat before we arrived at a place just west of Llanes.

Our destination was Paradiso, a name which had a thrilling mysterious ring and which had been so long on the lips of the ex-veterans of the Spanish civil war. This place was located at about eight miles from Santander. From Llanes we began our hazardous journey on foot up a hill, and when we had reached an altitude of 1,000 metres we could for the first time get indications that Paradiso was a heavily guarded place. Here we pitched our tent and carefully thought out plans how to reach there safely. From our long experience of men and matters in Spain we knew that the most suitable time for avoiding the watchful eyes of the black, hideous-looking Moroccan sentries was the early hours of the morning, and we acted accordingly. We found two of them sitting half-asleep near an opening of a rusty barbed-wire fencing. It was then about four in the morning when we stealthily crept behind them. Half an hour later we again successfully avoided the notice of another two Moroccan sentries and at half-past five we hid us in an undergrowth to escape detection and remained there till dusk. Looking down from here we saw at a distance a regular camp-city, which with its numerous tents and camps reminded us of any big European or American scouting centre. It was, however, quite obvious to us that these were the barracks of Paradiso, the outer perimeter of which was surrounded by a wall of fortifications. They fitted in with the *milieu* in such a remarkable way that they looked more like a natural wall carved out of the hills. At daybreak when we reached there we found that the wall was covered with barbed wire entanglements. Knight threw up a key, which he was carrying with him, against the wires which being hit at once gave out sparks.

High tension wires, he exclaimed in a whisper. A little farther away we discovered two German 'Teller' mines which seemed to have been carelessly placed under the ground, and we saw at the same time big notices in Spanish hung up here and there obviously with the purpose of warning the sentries rather than any would-be trespassers against the danger of closely examining the mines, strewn here and there. The danger of trespassers getting near this strongly guarded area could scarcely have been overlooked either by the authorities, as a whole army was detailed for the purpose of guarding it under an order from General Franco. With breathless awe we noticed quite a good number of soldiers standing between the tents and the low buildings. We dared not stir out of our hiding, as the risk of being detected was now very great. After a while it began raining and we hailed it as a welcome relief. I was told by Knight that the rains were very frequent in that area. When we felt sure that the danger of being detected had somewhat receded into the background, we crept out of our hiding and made for the wall to find out if there was any point along the whole line, where the high tension wires did not function. Luckily we did find such a point and forthwith we took out a pair of nippers and made a few hasty clips with it and then straightaway made for our hiding. The next day we again successfully adopted the same procedure, but due to obvious reasons we did not dare to go down to Paradiso proper, as we thought it would be tempting the fates too far. We remained content with keeping ourselves hidden in a mountain-plateau which rose to a height of 80 metres above the mountain-fortress of Paradiso. Security reasons and cold commonsense dictated to us the urgent necessity of maintaining a safe distance from this heavily guarded secret factory-town. Beneath us down in the valley lay unfolded the full view of the

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fantastic city with its numerous streamlined buildings and cupolas made of glass and aluminium. The still atmosphere of the place vibrated with the dull buzzing sound of generators and transformers. Like a mysterious fairyland, removed far away from the bournes of reality, the town with its spherical shaped reservoirs and ultra-modern streamlined buildings and structures lay hidden, half active and half dormant, among these silent hills.

Soon after the rains the atmosphere again became oppressively hot. Now grown tired with our secret strenuous work of spying upon the activities of the men working in this secret town, we at last could hardly help dozing a little in an undergrowth, from where in tense excitement we had expected every moment to see something more of it. At half past ten we saw scores of people coming out into the open from those buildings. For a little while some of them leisurely kept pacing up and down the bright pavements of cement lining the narrow streets. From their dignified bearing and thick-set features we could easily recognise them to be Germans. They were in white aprons, which are usually worn by German scientists. A group of men could be unmistakably identified as Italians by their dark beards and moustaches and their vivaciousness. We had, similarly, very little difficulty in identifying the Spaniards, as we thoroughly knew their characteristics.

On the outskirts of this fantastic city we saw two aircrafts lying on the ground. They looked like German Condors. Farther away in the valley we saw two lifts working up and down inside a group of buildings.

Am I to remain an idle spectator only? I wish I could get some definite information regarding the secret activities going on in this town, said Roland.

Without caring to wait for my advice and consent and setting aside all considerations of personal safety, he dashed off on what I guessed to be his secret tour of investigation and disappeared in the valley below.

Ralph and I were now left behind in our hiding and he kept away from us the whole day. In the evening I saw him coming towards our common hiding in the company of a gentleman in white apron and wearing a pair of glasses.

Here is Dr. Kurt Kuehner, said Roland and introduced him to us. Ralph and I were dumb-founded with fear and astonishment at this unexpected sight of a perfect stranger.

Don't you worry in the least. I have known Dr. Kuehner for a pretty long time and I feel sure that he would never betray us, observed Roland. Dr. Kuehner sat beside us on the ground and began narrating his personal experiences at Paradiso. At first he was a bit hesitant but gradually, however, after winning our confidence he opened his heart to us without any *arriere pensee*.

Paradiso is, as you may have already heard, the secret laboratory-town of Spain, where we are now busy working on microbes that cause pestilence and other virulent types of diseases under orders from the "Caudillo" himself. We are preserving these microbes in small glass-tubes for the fulfilment of our secret mission. But none of us working there can say with any amount of accuracy whether such tubes are being preserved in their thousands or millions, as the production of our secret weapon is dependent not on the individual work of any particular scientist but on the total work put forth by many scientists, each working separately and secretly in the different branches of science without the other's knowledge. But this much, however, I can tell you that the bacilli of elephantiasis and scarlet fever are being developed most. Pointing his finger to the glass cupolas, he said, "The reputed Italian scientist Gizetti has already made headway in the development of the Death Rays, which are tested through those cupolas over there. He has already succeeded in effectively using these rays over a distance of 1,500 metres. These rays which are now called after him as the Gizetti-Rays do not injure the skin or the epidermis, but they attack directly the red corpuscles of the blood-stream and thereby they totally destroy the whole human organism. HC (Quicksilver) is said to be one of the chief ingredients used in the secret formula for producing these deadly rays. Molecular disintegration of this mineral is said to bring about radio-activity." Here he ended his account abruptly.

We were then suddenly seized with a paralysing fear to realise what grave risks we might have to run in making good our escape from here with this piece of very valuable information about Paradiso, which we had been so long looking for.

Like a cancerous growth in the body politic of Europe this hidden city of Paradiso might one day cause the ruin of the European civilisation with its terribly destructive weapons of war, which, who knows in a future war might be mercilessly employed not only in the shape of atomic bombs and other hideously lethal weapons so far known to Science, but even also in the shape of an entirely new type of weapon, the bacterial bomb, which may even prove to be much more terrible than the former.

We still frequent the little cafe at Montmartre and we find that one of the seats at the little table, which Roland used to occupy, remains vacant most of the time. On his way back to Spain he is said to have been arrested at Burgos by the orders of the Nationalist Government of Spain. His local friends have however sent information to the British Legation in Madrid to mediate in the matter and it may therefore be hoped that he would at least escape the death penalty. But so long as the Franco regime remains in power he will have very little chance of escaping the hard life behind prison bars.

We are now only two people at the little table of the cafe with a bottle of red wine before us. The third seat remains vacant as usual, but we feel sure that one fine morning a clever chap that he has always been Roland will again pop up here and occupy his own seat at the table, when we will perhaps discuss together our future plan of returning to Spain once again.

Translated into English from the Swedish Weekly "Se"

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AMERICA'S RECEPTION TO INDIA THEN AND NOW

By Dr. N. S. HARDIKER

"I do not propose to do anything with the draft resolution that you have submitted to me. I am going to stop all foreign propaganda. I do not propose to spend even a farthing for that purpose. We must shine by our merit. We must be known to the world by our actions. Let us stand on our own feet and show our worth to the world." —Thus said Mahatma Gandhi in 1921 at the time of the Ahmedabad Congress when I handed him over a copy of the draft resolution on foreign propaganda which I wanted to move in the Congress Session.

I had just then returned from my 8 years' sojourn in America. I was introduced to Mahatma Gandhi by my political teacher—Lala Lajpat Rai. It was on the advice of Lalaji and Mr. N. C. Kelkar that I had prepared the draft and given to Mahatma Gandhi. He dissuaded me and asked me not to think of foreign propaganda but to work in the country strenuously and create enough fire in the minds of the Indian people so that the heat emitted by its flames may be felt by all those foreign countries where we intended to carry on our work.

As I was reading reports of the reception given to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in America and Canada I was reminded of the above advice given by Mahatma Gandhi in 1921. How true it was that until we stood upon our own feet none would pay us any respect that was due to us. Mahatma Gandhi's utterances were indeed prophetic and the one quoted above has proved beyond doubt that until one was capable of showing his own metal, it was not possible for him to shine in this world.

Foreign Propaganda Stopped

Mahatma Gandhi did really stop the weekly *India* which was being published in London by a Committee and which was financed by the Indian National Congress. After that he did not pay a single pie for propaganda outside India's own boundaries nor encouraged anyone to do that work.

In 1918, during his stay in London Lokamanya Tilak had given Rs. 50,000 for carrying propaganda on India in the Daily published by the British Labour Party and had assured them further help in this direction. Once in a while a news here and there about India was being published by that British paper. Articles of worth were never written nor was much space for India allotted by that paper. It may be true that India might have secured a few British friends by this action of Lokamanya Tilak. But nothing tangible had been achieved by his contribution to them. Britishers did not change their opinion about India and the Indian people. They continued to treat both as before.

Old Memories

I worked with Lala Lajpat Rai for four years in the United States of America. Lalaji was the President and I was the General Secretary of the India Home Rule League of America. He treated me as his own s and trained me in the political field. I know how Lala a great thinker, a popular leader and a true patriot o high calibre, was treated by the Americans. He had earn his living by contributing articles, reviewing boo publishing his own works and by delivering lectures. W the Americans interested in his mission? They were They were neither interested in India nor in the Indi They had to plod their own way. Yes! Lalaji w asked by the Irish people to speak to their audiences, the Theosophical Society to address their members by the Tagore Clubs to speak to them about India. B the isolated Americans had absolutely no regard for In and they had nothing to do with the movement that w going on in India for freedom from British bondage.

The same experience came to me in 1916 when I w working as President of the Hindustan Association America, an organisation of Indian students in the Uni States. They did receive Rabindranath Tagore. T did greet him. It was because of his poetry, his writi and his superb personality and not because of Ind "Oh! He looks like Jesus. Look at the snow-wh shining beard of his. How grand he looks. I love hi So said the Americans who saw and heard him in 19 They used to throng to his meetings in order to have glimpse of him. That is all. As early as the ninety's the last century Swami Vivekananda had also recei ovations at the time of the Chicago World Relig Parliament. But that was due to the spiritual personal of the Swami and his expositions of the Indian philoso Americans even refused to listen to India's political st They had not a word to say against the British burea cratic rule in India.

Treatment given to Indians then

Those of us who lived in America for a number years know the way in which the Indian people w received and treated by the Americans. We had absolu no hope of receiving attention from either the Americ or the Canadians. Lala Lajpat Rai, when he was inv by the Indians living in Canada, refused to enter t country as did Rabindranath Tagore. This he because of the treatment meted out by the Canadians to Indians living in their country. The *Koma-Gata-M* incident of 1912 was yet fresh in the minds of the In people. So, both, Lala Lajpat Rai and Rabindra Tagore, refused to enter Canada until the Can Government mended its method of treating the In settlers in Canada. However, Lala Lajpat Rai asked to go to Canada and study the living conditions of Indian people in that country first-hand and repor did go and get some bad experience. The report p Lalaji.

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All this was thirty years ago. During his stay in U.S.A., from 1916 to 1920 Lala Lajpat Rai suffered immensely. He was not recognised as even a fighter for Indian Freedom. But Eamon De-Velera, a kith and kin of the Americans, received recognition at their hands. Just as Lalaji, he too was a fighter. One received honour, the other got nothing.

Today, in 1949, we see a vast change. Within 30 years, the world has changed immensely metamorphosically. All that the Americans did then has been forgotten by them. The change that has overtaken them is exhibited in greeting Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

What is the reason ? The reason is clear. Mahatma Gandhi has made us stand on our own feet and has taught us to shine by our own deeds. It is the Freedom that we have won without shedding a drop of blood of the enemy that has made the Americans greet us and meet us half-way. Besides, the world circumstances have changed and the strongest of the enemies of America — Russia — is knocking at their door. The Americans have to find friends in the world and create goodwill in order to save themselves. Their friend, Chiang Kai-shek, upon whom they depended in the East is now out of the political arena. India and India alone can save face of the West in the East and therefore they are now pampering the Indian people. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Premier of India, heir of Mahatma Gandhi, the loveable idol of the Indian people and a master-writer, has attracted the Americans. It is through him that they intend to secure the Asian goodwill and help in the probable defence of their interests in the Pacific Zone. Hence, the unprecedented reception to India in 1949.

It is not without reason, Mahatma Gandhi's prophetic advice that has been quoted at the beginning of this article stands good for all ages and at all times.

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EAST-WEST PHILOSOPHERS' CONFERENCE

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

I

The second conference of philosophers from East and West, held in Honolulu under the auspices of the University of Hawaii, was a memorable event in the history of philosophy in modern times. It lasted six weeks, from June 20 to July 29, 1949. The first conference was held ten years ago at the same place and under the same auspices. One of its important results was the publication of two notable books, *The Meeting of East and West*, by F. S. C. Northrop, and *East and West in Philosophy*, edited by Charles A. Moore.

Sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation, the McInery Foundation, and the Watumull Foundation, the present conference was attended by twenty-two members, representing India, Ceylon, Japan, China, the Territory of Hawaii, and the mainland of America. Twenty-four associate members came from the different universities of the U.S.A. The members and associate members may be said to have fairly represented a cross-section of American philosophical thought. Several members of the Hawaii University faculty, and some of the general public of Honolulu interested in philosophy, attended the conference by special invitation.

Among the distinguished American philosophers who participated at the conference may be mentioned R. A. Burtt (Cornell), G. P. Conger (Minnesota), W. R. Dennis (California), Charles A. Moore (Hawaii), Y. P. Mei (Yenching, China), Filmore S. C. Northrop (Yale), D. T. Suzuki (Otani, Japan), John Wild (Harvard); and W. H. Sheldon (Yale).

Ceylon was represented by G. P. Malalasekhara (Colombo), and India by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, D. M. Datta (Patna), P. T. Raju (Andhra), T. M. P. Mahadevan (Madras), and Swami Nikhilananda (Ramakrishna Mission). There was no delegate representing the Islamic culture or any Roman Catholic university. The first conference did not have any delegate from India ; American philosophers represented Indian thought.

Most of the members and associate members were lodged on the university campus. They generally had all their meals in the cafeteria of the university. Thus they had ample opportunity to carry on their discussions of philosophical problems at the dining table and on the porches of their living quarters. Various strands of Eastern and Western philosophy were debated, and the possibilities of a synthesis, which was the general aim of the conference, was explored.

Dr. Gregg M. Sinclair, President of Hawaii University, and Dr. Charles Moore spared no pains to ensure the comforts and conveniences of the guest philosophers. Honolulu fully vindicated its reputation of warm hospitality to foreign visitors. The philosophers were entertained by prominent citizens with teas, luncheons, dinners, and sight-seeing trips. The Admiral of Pearl Harbor invited the philosophers to take a boat trip around the harbour. Honolulu, a gem in the Pacific, abounds in fine natural scenery. Flowers were in full bloom. The trees were laden with mangoes, papayas, and other tropical fruits. Bathing was arranged at Wakiki beach. All these

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things added to the enjoyment of the delegates and relieved the tension of their discussions on abstruse philosophical matters.

The East-West Philosophers' Conference opened on June 20 at 7-30 p.m. at Farrington Hall. Dr. Sinclair introduced the members of the conference to the public. Suitable replies were given to the felicitous words of welcome. The regular meetings started the following day.

Ten public lectures were given by several members of the conference. Dr. Northrop delivered five lectures on "Scientific and Philosophical Foundations of Western Culture." His dynamic personality created a deep impression. Well versed in law, mathematics, philosophy, and the physical sciences, Dr. Northrop showed an almost intuitive insight in grasping the viewpoints of the East. Repeatedly he pointed out that the concept by intuition, pursued by Eastern philosophers, was necessary to understand the supramental reality which he called the "undifferentiated aesthetic continuum." He is convinced that his theory is able to harmonize the different viewpoints of science, religion, and philosophy.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer spoke on "Modern Development of Hinduism" and Dr. D. M. Datta on "Philosophical Basis of Indian Democracy." Farrington Hall was packed to hear the distinguished speakers from East and West.

Twenty-four formal papers on technical philosophical subjects were read and discussed at the meetings of the conference. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer read his paper on "The Philosophical Foundations of the Legal and Political Structure of Indian Culture"; Dr. D. M. Datta, on "Epistomological Methods in Indian Philosophy"; Dr. P. T. Raju, on "Metaphysical Theories in Indian Philosophy"; and Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, on the "Basis of Social, Ethical, and Spiritual Values in Indian Philosophy." Swami Nikhilananda read two papers, one on "Concentration and Meditation as Methods in Indian Philosophy," and the other on "Discussion of Brahman in the Upanishads." The Swami also addressed meetings of the local Rotary Club, the Lions Club, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and the Representative Club. The conference distributed to the members and associate members free copies of *Introduction to Indian Philosophy* by D. M. Datta and of *The Upanishads* Vol. I by Swami Nikhilananda.

Visiting philosophers conducted seven special courses in Oriental and comparative philosophy in the summer session of the University of Hawaii. Dr. Datta, Dr. Mahadevan, and Dr. Raju gave courses in Indian philosophy and also participated in the seminars in comparative methodology, comparative ethics, social philosophy and comparative metaphysics. For six weeks the members and associate members in the survey courses and in the seminars discussed in great detail the problems of ethics, methodology, and metaphysics. The discussions took place on a high intellectual level; opinions were freely expressed, and a spirit of keen sportsmanship was shown to understand and appreciate the viewpoints of others. It appears that the philosophers from different countries realized the need of correcting, supplementing, and enriching their respective philosophical traditions by the knowledge of what others had to offer.

The reports of the deliberations of the seminars and survey courses were submitted to the open conference of the members and the associate members for further discussion. The following is a brief report of the findings and also of the problems raised.

Ethics

Religious beliefs were left out of the deliberations. Western naturalism in its mature, non-reductionist development, Theravada Buddhism, and Hindu philosophy, among others, were primarily discussed. No basic cleavage was discovered in moral doctrine or ethical theory, though differences in emphasis and in the ranking of values were often evident. There was a common agreement about the ethics of love and compassion, and about the Golden Rule both in its affirmative and its negative formulation. Generally speaking Western naturalism finds the highest good and supreme moral value in social life and action and not in individual salvation or self-perfection. The Confucian ethics, through the concepts of 'Yen' and 'Yi' stresses obligations rather than rights, and emphasizes mutuality in family and social relations. In Buddhistic ethics the exercise of compassion in action and the individual's obligation to the community are stressed. The ethics of Vedanta is based on the non-duality of Atman and on the unity of existence. All that exists is Brahman. It is the inmost self of all beings. No selfishness or greed is possible for him who realized the meaning of "Tattavamasi," "That thou art." Furthermore, ethics and morality, in all their aspects, are included in the four-fold disciplines of Vedanta, without which the contemplation of the oneness of Brahman and the self is not possible. Ministering to man's spiritual needs, teaching him how to control his passions, greed, sensuality, and ego, is more important than supplying him with mere physical necessaries.

The Western and the Confucian ethics maintain fulfil themselves through action. Taoism, in its "wu wei" doctrine exalts the ideal of acting with spontaneity and naturalness; and Buddhism speaks of equanimity in action. Vedanta emphasizes contemplation more than action as the manifestation of the higher life. Vedantic non-action does not mean passivity. It is the renunciation of the illusory nature of the ego and also of attachment to the fruit of action. Passivity is a trait of *tamas* (inertia) and several

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condemned. Work in the ordinary sense is not possible for the man whose self has realized its identity with Brahman or the cosmic self. He performs true selfless action, in which Atman remains conscious of its non-active nature while the senses and the mind are busy with work. According to the Gandhian doctrine, while confronting evil, if a choice is to be made between cowardice and violence, the latter is to be preferred; but non-violence (*ahimsa*), which is not meek submission but putting one's whole spiritual strength against the evil-door, is infinitely superior. One finds in the Bhagavad Gita that when good is challenged by evil and all peaceful efforts to subdue evil fail, then the righteous man should use physical power for the preservation of the social order.

Western naturalism and Confucian humanism are concerned with man's life here and now; while the Taoist shows relative indifference to the values of this world, although in practice he leads a life of contentment and detachment which possesses a simple charm of its own. Buddhism asks man to release himself from the wheel of rebirth and thus denies the supreme value of this world; but it is opposed to asceticism and self-mortification. Vedanta prizes four achievements for every human being. These are the cultivation of moral perfection (*dharma*), of economic security (*artha*), of sense pleasure (*kama*), and of liberation from bondage to the world (*moksha*). The first three possess only instrumental, not intrinsic, value. Phenomenal life is transitory. The highest aim of a man lies in his realization of freedom. Through discrimination and experience he realizes the impermanent nature of the first three attainments. Thus he becomes detached from the unreal ego and the world and strives for liberation. A knower of Brahman transcends moral values but he cannot, by his words, his thoughts, or his actions, do anything evil. All his evil propensities were of necessity destroyed while he was preparing for liberation. A knower of Brahman always exerts a good influence upon society. In his presence evil remains subdued. Moral virtues remain with him as ornaments, though he no longer cultivates them assiduously. Western naturalism finds the highest good in moral, aesthetic, and intellectual, rather than in spiritual, values. But a new trend in naturalism, as stressed by W. R. Dennis, wishes not to exclude any humanly experienced value. Confucianism "keeps its feet in two boats," in accepting and transforming this life, especially in its human relations, and also in making room for spiritual values.

Naturalism emphasizes the individual, conceived pluralistically but analysed in social terms. Confucianism, while accepting this concept, provides for the development of the individual to the last stage, which culminates with his identification with the universe. It denies, however, the Absolute or a transcendental reality. Taoism stresses self-transcendence and merging with nature. Vedanta distinguishes between the individualized, empirical self, *jiva*, and the supreme self, Paramatman. The reality of the former is admitted during the state of *avidya* or nescience. The empirical self is realized, however, to be the supreme self when the ultimate truth is known. Vedanta has elaborate systems of cosmology, psychology, ethics, and spiritual discipline, which are all based on the empirical reality of the individual soul and the manifold universe.

As regards the ground of morality, all systems were found to contain large elements of empirical reference. They all invite men to "come and see" what is good. Influenced to a large extent by physical science, the West tends to regard ethical judgments of facts, without committing the culturalistic fallacy. Vedanta, in laying down ethical laws, pays respect to the teachings of seers, as embodied in the scriptural texts, which must not, however contradict one's reason and experience. Vedanta also admits the fluid nature of moral laws, which often change with the change of time and circumstances.

There is a general agreement that ethics and metaphysics are closely related in both East and West. In Vedanta ethics is solely dependent upon metaphysical theories regarding the ultimate nature of the soul, the universe, and ultimate reality. The foundation of Vedantic ethics lies in the conception of the unity of existence and the potential divinity of every soul. The sure way of overcoming selfishness, greed, and lust is to realize the impermanence of the empirical self, projected by ignorance. When a man finds himself one with all living beings, and all living beings one with himself, he cannot but cultivate an attitude of love for all.

It appears that all the ethical problems were not fully discussed in the seminars and classes to the complete satisfaction of the Western naturalists and Chinese humanists. The following questions need further clarification and study: What value is to be attached to the empirical personality of the individual? Is the locus of values the individual person, or society, or a transcendent entity? Are they crucial; useful as secondary correctives; or quite unnecessary? If the worldly values are to be deprecated, and finally renounced and transcended, how can these be prized and cultivated? If they are realized as merely instrumental to the life of the spirit, will there not be any loss to the ethical life? Should we not joyously seek after this worldly values and affirm them? What is the specific content of the philosophy of inaction, detachment, contemplation, and renunciation? How will this philosophy help man to overcome present evil and injustice? What should be the special concern of ethics? Will it be social service, or economic and social transformation, or spiritual enlightenment? Can all these be combined in equal degree? What is the place of spirituality in ethics? If ethical values are to be ultimately transcended, will not their importance be minimized thereby? How is emphasis on spiritual

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values to be reconciled, if deemed necessary, with the philosophy of nature and with empirical experiences? Is metaphysics *logically* necessary as the ground for morality? Is it necessary *psychologically*? Can one derive the same or similar moral doctrines from divergent metaphysical theories? What is the relation between moral doctrines grounded in metaphysical theories and those grounded on empirical theories? Can the one profit from the insight of the other?

Methodology

The major differences between Eastern and Western methodological assumptions are found to be as follows: The East uses mainly "concepts by intuition"; the West assigns a very important role to "concepts by postulation." The West wants concrete, logical proof for any belief; Easterners say that ultimate reality may be indicated by logic, but it can be fully realized only by intuition or direct experience. In Vedanta the ultimate experience reveals a total identity of the subject and the object. Therefore, logic does not function there. Westerners want to experience everything for themselves before being convinced; Easterners are prepared to accept, in supersensuous matters, the experience of their ancient seers. Such experience serves as a corrective for reason and personal experience, as reason by itself may be a rationalization of one's desire, and experience full of self-deception. One can be sure by having realized truth when the evidences of reason, the testimony of previous seers, and personal experience point to the same conclusion. But personal experience gives the ultimate validity. Western philosophies are primarily theoretical, aiming at thinking truthfully about reality; Eastern philosophies are primarily practical, aiming to show men how to realize identity with reality. The West is basically concerned with this present world and believes it can be saved by changing it through time. The East is basically concerned with an ultimate, beyond this world (or deep within it). It further believes that no perfection in this world is possible. Western philosophy shows a zest for analysis and is convinced that analysis is significantly independent of any ulterior consideration; for Eastern philosophy, analysis is almost always related to some further purpose and is regarded as insignificant when detached from it. The West is convinced that the result of any knowledge-seeking enterprise is fully expressible in verbal symbols, whose relations are subject to the ordinary logical rules; in the East, the intuitive "higher knowledge" is not capable of verbal expression and communication. The attention of the West is primarily turned to the external world, and that of the East to the inner self with its spiritual and social potentialities.

Some of the Eastern philosophers pointed out that in some systems of Indian philosophy logic is highly developed. The philosophy of Charvaka, for instance, does not accept anything as true that is not corroborated by sense experience. Logic also plays an important part in the Nyaya and Vaiseshika systems.

The differences mentioned above give rise to several problems. One of them is that both East and West believe that their theories are supported by "experience," and that both employ something akin to the "inductive" method. But the Eastern philosophers seem to accept the Western inductive method as valid to the finite objects and events of external experience, but not to the self, which is for them the most important entity to be known. The Western philosophers found it difficult to accept, as data of experience, what is disclosed in dreamless sleep or in the ultimate self-realization.

The greatest difficulty of the West seems to lie in the confidence of the East in the method of intuition or the gaining of experience without the instrumentality of the senses. This the modern West distrusts. To the West intuition often suggests an infra rational apprehension; to the East it is supra rational and is the trusted means by which ultimate metaphysical knowledge may be gained. In the attainment of metaphysical knowledge the East demands prior intellectual and moral disciplines. Logical reasoning is necessary to clear the student's path of contradictions and doubts. The mind also must be cleared of obstructions arising from selfish desire and turbulent emotion. The West finds it hard to accustom itself to this idea, since it does not think it necessary to acquire any moral virtue except honesty or intellectual integrity. In the East, the knowledge of ultimate reality—gained through the testimony of competent persons, reason, and personal experience—is self-evident. The West wants to submit knowledge to further verification. It tends to regard any experimental knowledge, even of the highest order, as always corrigible by further experience. Indian thinkers believe that the intuitive realization of reality is not thus corrigible. They think that the knowledge that brings about a oneness of subject and object is final: it is not a sort of knowledge that merely adds to our information. But the West asks if we can tell infallibly when one has attained to such ultimate knowledge. Vedanta emphatically says that one can.

Another crucial point of difficulty to Westerners is the claim made by Vedanta that the "higher" knowledge, gained by intuition or direct experience, is not communicable to ordinary men through the medium of words. The West characteristically distrusts any such knowledge, which it calls "esoteric."

It seems to be the general concensus that the East and the West, in their methodologies, in the main complement rather than contradict each other, but that the points of possible conflict should be frankly faced.

(To be continued)

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THE SAMKHAKALI OR DINNER DANCE OF KERALA

By M. S. KRISHNA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

The Samkhakali or the Dinner dance, which is known under several names as Sastrakali, Yathrakali, Sathirakali, Chathirakali, Sastrangam, Kshathrangam, Panakali, Panamkali, Panayum Kaliyum, etc., has had once like the Koodiyattom, the Chakkyarkoothu and other theatrical representations, great popularity among Kerala folk, and is still met with during festivals in the houses of kings and other personages of distinction. Like Kathakali, and dances like Mohiniattom whose artistic worth has come to be recognised only within the last few years, the Samkhakali also is a superior form of dramatic representation having literary excellence and historical importance, and it deserves revival, though with changes suitable to the times.

The Nambudiri Brahman had a notable part to play in the evolution and development of this form of *Rupaka* (dramatic representation), and in the heydays of Kerala, it formed an inevitable part of any family function conducted under his auspices. It is necessary therefore, before we proceed to trace the origin of the Samkhakali, to go back a little to the early history of Kerala and one of its earliest settlers, the Nambudiri Brahmans.

Whether one believes in the legendary origin of Kerala or not, it may be presumed that Sri Parasurama was the leader of the Aryan Brahmins who emigrated to the land. The superior mode of life of the newcomer must necessarily have evoked the admiration of the earlier inhabitants and the result also must naturally have been that the newcomer gained leadership and Parasurama became the founder of a new social and governmental order. History records that the country under this order was divided into sixty-four villages, each forming a unit of administration. These villages were grouped into four territorial divisions each with a Rakshapurusha or administrative head. Later on when troubles arose the Perumal Kings were also anointed.

These arrangements for civil government were, of course, followed by the need for military protection, and therefore some Brahmans decided to practise the science of archery. This led to a caste division among Brahmans, for, they could not according to the Dharmasastras, follow the profession of arms allowed only to the Kshatriyas. The Brahmans were generally of eight classes and there were any number of subdivisions. The fifth class was called the Jatimatrakar (belonging to the caste only in name) and in this category was included the Ashtavaidyans (the hereditary experts in medical science and practice in Kerala), the Brahmakshatriyas (those Brahmans that accepted Kshatriya Dharma), the Vedadhyanatyagis (those who abandoned the study of the Vedas), and the Parivarthanakkar (those liable to change their manners and customs). These Brahmakshatriyas were the persons who were initiated by Parasurama into the science of archery. These are known in Kerala under various names as Chathirar, Sastranambudiri, Yatra Nambudri, Yatranga Nambudiri, etc., and it is first, the eighteen groups among them including those that belong to the villages of Kadamuri and Chenganoor in Travancore, that generally conduct the Samkhakali. The other Nambudiris that conduct the Samkhakali are those who settled in Travancore under circumstances detailed below.

The Nambudiris of Thaliparamba village (in the present North Malabar) for some reason earned the displeasure of Udayavarma Kolattiri, Raja of Chirakkal, who, out of spite, brought 237 families of equal distinction as the Thaliparamba Nambudiris from Kokarnam in Tuluvakhanda (one of the four territorial divisions referred to above) to Perinchallur village and attempted to influence the other Nambudiris to accept the newcomers as one among them and as included in their group. Thirty-one villages accepted this new dispensation, the one village Taliparamba alone not agreeing. These new-comers came to be called Sagara Brahmans and Udaya Varma earned the appellation of Parasurama the Second. These Nambudiris belonging to the Perinchallur group first settled in Kolattunad. During Tipu Sultan's invasion some of these Nambudiri families fled away and sought protection under Karthiga Thirunal Maharaja of Travancore. The gracious Maharaja, whose only pleasure in life was giving relief to the distressed, gave them asylum. The descendants of these families are still known to reside in the Moovathupuzha, Chenganasseri Thiruvalla and Mavelikkara taluks in Travancore. The Nambudiris of these places, as also of Evur and Karthigapally conduct the Samkhakali.

Each of the different names under which this form of dramatic representation is known and to which reference has been made in the opening of this article, has etymologically a different meaning and probably refers only to a particular part of aspect of the play, and the difference in nomenclature seems to have arisen either because a comprehensive knowledge of this art portrayal has been lost by eflux of time or because its early characteristics underwent such metamorphosis that the more important in its component parts were wiped out and the less striking assumed more promi-

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nent shape, and many new features also came in. (See *The Chathu Panikkar Memorial Lectures* by Appan Thampuran, page 5).

There is also a lot of difference of opinion as to how the name "Samkhakali" itself came to be adopted. Some opine that it is called so because it is put on boards by a Samkha (a company or association of people). (*History of Malayalam Literature* by R. Narayana Panikkar, page 52). Others say that it is so named because it is enacted by a company of archers (Yodha Samkham). (*History of Kerala* by A. K. Pisharoti, page 54). Others opine that just as there was what was called "Samkhas", a group which had religious significance only among the Buddhists in ancient India, there was among the highest class of Kerala Brahmans (Nambudiris) some Samkha-maryadas (group conventions). The Samkhakali is a symbolic representation of such group life, the shell of it alone now unfortunately remaining. According to this view, the Samkhakali is a cue to finding out many particulars relating to the administration of the country, the army, and the religious and social life of the people. (Vide *The Sangha Orders* by K. Rama Varma Raja, page 1). That the Samkhakali or the Sastrakali is only a simple form of entertainment where humour is the predominant sentiment, and it is so called only because it is conducted by a dramatic group (Samkha) composed of Brahmins and Kshatriyas, is yet another view. (See *The Cochin Tribes and Castes* by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, page 163). That the Yathrakali had a mixed origin and that it is only an entertainment which had its foundation in the science of archery and which continued to be conducted by a group of Nambudiri Brahmans said to be the direct representatives of the Brahman army of Sri Parasurama, is the view held by some scholars. (See E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. V, page 229). A few also hold that the Samkhakali is a kind of entertainment exhibited on the stage by some prominent group of persons (Samkhas) from among the Brahmakshatriya families. (See *Kshatriyas* by K. Ramavarma Raja).

Kerala history talks of 18 Samkhas, 18 Nadus (divisions of the country), 18 army camps, 18 modes of archery and use of other implements of war (*Adavugal* and *Ayudha prayogangal*), 18 kinds of manners and customs (*Nattacharangal*) and there seems to be something of importance in this octodecimal division. Further there were 108 military training centres in the 18 Nadus together and six Sampradayis or hereditary chieftains or Gurus who each founded a different mode or school of military training. Each of these chieftains had one camp (*Kalari*) in each of the 18 Nadus, thus constituting in all 108 camps as pointed out above. There is evidence to show that each group of warriors belonging thus to a particular order or school was called a Samkha. Therefore the "Samkham" in Samkhakali must have been the Samkham or association of warriors. That this word "Samkham" came to have a wider meaning must have been because with the advent of Brahmin predominance and rule in Kerala the constitution of the Samkhas and their manners and customs underwent a radical change.

This form of entertainment throws much light on the conditions of life that existed at the time of its origin and this Yodha Samkham was probably organised on the same lines as the warrior brigades of the middle ages in the west. (See *Sangha Orders* by K. Rama-varma Raja).

The other names by which this form of entertainment is known are not names comprehensive of the whole idea of the play. They are only appellations indicating one or other of the following—the history, traditional precepts, make-up, conduct or conventional modes followed in the play.

The appellation, Yathrakali (literally meaning stage representation of a procession) is again believed to be symbolical of the great processional march that the Mimamsakas led to the presence of the Perumal King challenging the Buddhist propagandists. It is not known if this belief has any foundation, and if it has any, how an event of a superior religious significance came to be associated with a more or less dramatic rehearsal. (See *History of Malayalam Literature* by Narayana Panikkar).

Yet another view which appears to have some historical background, about the connotation of Yathrakali is that it is emblematical of the victorious march of the Kerala Brahmins who took cudgels against the fissiparous tendencies that had set in in the governance of the country and that the dramatic representation as at present displayed is indicative of the these feuds among the ruling classes. (See *History of Kerala* by A. K. Pisharoti).

A tradition connected with the Thrikkariyur temple in Travancore has it that Samkhakali is something in the nature of an offering made to propitiate Siva Parvati and Parameswara. It further goes to say that when the Brahmans who ruled the land felt the need for a king, they sent Attakkat Nambudiri to the neighbouring Chera Nad to fetch one. In those times there was only a narrow passage through the mountains connecting the Kerala country with Coimbatore. As the Nambudiri was coming back with the Chera King a bright super-natural light that spread over the hills was perceived. Two young Nambudiris belonging to Chengamanat village proceeded to find out what this light was. What appeared to them was Goddess Sri Bhagavati herself. The Goddess enjoined on them to go to Kodungalloor (the modern Cranganore) *via* Thrikkariyur. When they reached the latter place they heard an *Asariri* (incorporeal voice)—*Chera Perumal! Chera Perumal!* (Chera King). The meaning of the warning exclamation was that, as the Thrikkariyur temple was consecrated by Parasurama, the Kshatriyas on pain of condigin punishment were denied entrance there. In this place during the time of the sixth Perumal King the Brahmans and the Buddhists held a religious dis-

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putation. The king ordered that the contestants should come to a definite decision as to which of the two religions was superior. The Brahmans began to pray the Lord of Thrikkariyur for their success in the contest. Then Jangama Maharishi came there and initiated them into the secret of a Samaveda Mantra of four *padas* (feet). He then advised them to remove the lamp that was burning within the Garbha Griha (Sanctum Sanctorum) from the time of Mandhatha to the western bathing ghat of the temple tank and continue propitiating Lord Siva. The propitiation went on for a *Mandala* (41 days) when Mayura Bhatta and five others came there and the discussion began with their assistance. But as the discussion went on endlessly the king wanted somehow to conclude it. He secretly caused a cobra to be put into a water-pot, sealed it and enquired of both the parties as to what the pitcher contained. The Buddhists gave the answer correctly and hit the nail on its head. But the Brahmans asserted that it contained a lotus flower and when the jar was opened it was discovered that the assertion was right. From that day the Nalupada (chanting of the Samaveda Mantra referred to above which forms a part of the Samkhakali even to day) began to be considered efficacious to achieve any desired object. It is said that when the Nambudiri Brahmans were chanting the Mantra, the Devas and the Gandharvas were entertaining Sri Parvati with dance and music. An incorporeal voice was then heard to say, "Let these entertaining items also form part of the ceremony for propitiation of Lord Siva." This, according to this tradition, is the origin of the Samkhakali. (See *Cochin Castes and Tribes* by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, pp. 163-165).

A slightly variant tradition substituting Muslims in the place of the Buddhists, and a Yogiswara in the place of the Maharishi and the six Brahmans, is also extant.

One other tradition runs as follows. When the Brahmans went to the Thrikkariyur temple for worship, they took with them some other Brahmans who were well versed in archery and who were for that reason considered not competent to study the Vedas, for the purpose of protecting themselves against the Muslims. These Brahman archers, for whiling away their leisure, engaged themselves in singing, dancing and drumming. When in course of time the Nalupadam became popular, these funny things also happened to be shown, and the two functions came to be associated one with the other with the result that the two became inevitable adjuncts. It is this combination that is called Samkhakali according to this tradition.

It need hardly be said that these traditions cannot stand strict historical or rational criticism. But indeed they are useful to us as explaining certain features and conventions of the entertainment as at present staged or exhibited. And from the fact that all the names by which this form of art is called, can be etymologically explained to have some relationship or other with archery and other military practices, it appears fairly clear that Samkhakali had a military organisational basis.

It is interesting to note in this connection that in one of the 64 villages, what was called Ezham Muttukali was being enacted. (See Thurston: *South Indian Castes and Tribes*). This is said to be an abbreviated form of the Yathrakali; but it has no religious conventions. The actors need not be Brahmans. Nalupadam has no place in it. Sitting round the lighted lamp the actors sing in praise of Lord Siva and begin their play. The play consists of some questions and answers, putting forward of a proposition or problem for decision, a decision on the matter and then a final decision. Whether this form of art has any relationship with the history of Kerala, is a matter for enquiry, and if so it may be that the Samkhas existed even before the Brahman advent and predominance in Kerala, that they were Yodhasamkhas, that archerial feats were exhibited in the stage side by side with other funs, and that the Brahminical Nalupadam, etc., were later introductions.

The one common feature of all the Samkhams is that all of them have Thrikkariyurappan or Lord Siva of Thrikkariyur as their titular deity. So the birthplace of Samkhakali must have been Thrikkariyur. Ezham Gramam was the place where Ezham Muttukali was started and if the Chengamanat Nambudiri who met the first Chera King (to whom we have made reference above) belonged to this village the place where the Samkhakali took its roots must have been Thrikkariyur and the time of its development about 113 B.C. or thereabout.

A peculiar practice among the Samkhas even today is that each of them plays only in a particular portion or division of the country. This limitation must have come about because, as the demand for this kind of devotional sport grew, and as the Brahmans who conducted it could not go to all the places where they were wanted, they were grouped into 18 Samkhas, each under a different name and each given jurisdiction to exhibit the play in a given Desam or section of the country.

The Samkhakali is generally enacted during big family festivals as marriages, Upanayanam, Annaprasanam, Shastiabadapurthi, birthday celebrations of royal personages, Pradrandam Masam (day after the first death anniversary), etc. It has four parts called respectively the Nalupadam, the Angyam, the Pana and the Hasyam. Its elaborate technique exhibits wonderful indigenous talent, and it also shows the recognition by its authors of the presence of the supreme in everything and everywhere. It also consists of quaint and curious rituals. We shall now proceed to give a general account of the play and its paraphernalia.

The troupe of actors reaches the place in the morning of the day the function is proposed to be held. The first thing that they do is to proclaim their arrival by beat of drums. This is called Kelikottu. A big mid-

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day feast is arranged for the actors. An hour or two hence there is what is known as Ucchappattu. This proceeds by first placing upside down a big copper vessel, circular in shape, in the pandal or Shamiana improvised for the show. The Nambudiris sit round the vessel and begin playing on it and sing several kinds of songs. The songs are in old Malayalam having dialectal peculiarities. A detailed and colourful description of Sri Durga is the substance of these songs. One among those sitting round does not take part in the drumming or music but sits leaning on one side with a *chirattakkayyil* (spoon made of coconut shell) in his hand. After some time is spent by his friends in singing, this individual plays the oracle and gives expression to what is supposed to be inspired by the divine. The spoon is the oracle's emblem. The oracle is believed to have derived supramental power from Durga who has been propitiated by the adulation and panegyrics that have gone before.

Before the oracle finishes his part, it is dusk and the actors have *sandhya* or evening prayers. Then begins the Nalupadam or Dipapradakshinam, the next and most important part of the Samkhakali. The actors go round a big lighted lamp loudly chanting in Vedic style and conforming to *tala* (time). What they chant is a hymn in Dravidian metre. The hymn apparently is only laudatory of Thrikkariyurappan, Sri Krishna and Siva, but it really contains the essence of all the four Vedas. Going round the lamp singing this song of praise is regarded as very auspicious. The chant is so enthralling that it moves even the confirmed unbeliever. 'Nalupadam" (literally, containing four feet) can only be a conventional name, for the verse as a whole has more than four feet or *padas*.

After the Nalupadam comes a grand dinner to the actors who, during the meal, call for various kinds of dainty dishes one by one, which the host is bound to supply. Various pleasing tunes are adopted in calling for the things and this gives occasion for a lot of merriment. At intervals what is called Karislokas (verses about the dishes) are recited. These verses begin with prayers of Ganesha, Saraswaty and Krishna. There is also a special chant for Lord Ganesha. This part of the show is reminiscent of the great feast offered by Kubera to Lord Ganesha. There is then the cheering indicative of the magnificence of the feast, followed by *Neetu-chollal*, which is of several kinds. The one in general vogue is the reading of a long letter composed in old and ornate Malayalam prose and addressed by one Puranic hero to another. This is not simple reading; it is accompanied by action and there will be cheering both at the beginning and the end.

After dinner the regular dance drama begins. The actors dress themselves in different kinds of costumes and come out in procession from the green room towards the Kalipandal (stage). The drummers and the Dipayashtikkars (persons holding lights perched on staffs) accompany them. They all station themselves a little away from the stage where in the meanwhile a big lamp is lighted and Arippara (a big measureful of rice), Nelpara (a measureful of paddy), raw and ripe plantain bunches, cocoanut, *pan palakhombu* (white cedar branch), tender cocoanut leaves, etc., are brought and arranged in a particular order. The musicians stand near this and the spectators also occupy places close by. The procession slowly continues its march with music, drumming, etc., the actors singing *vanchipattu* (boat song). The actors take their seats around the lamp. The drummers take the place behind them. After a short panegyric on Ganesha, what is called Angya begins. The musicians sing from behind. They keep time on a water-pot (something like the Ghata Vadyam that is seen in Madras).The actors then show different finger signs (Angya). Though there is not much connection between the songs and the signs, the scene as the whole produces much laughter, mirth and buffoonery and concludes with dances and songs and circumambulation round the sacred lamp.

The third part of the Samkhakali called Pana then begins. It consists of two parts. The first is *Polipattu*. This consists of singing eulogistic songs on Ganesha, Mahamaya, Sri Krishna, and the Vedic gods. The second is *Thattolyuzhichal*. All stand up and pray, and *vadya ghosha* (instrumental music) is at its highest swing. In a cocoanut shell without the kernel being removed, ghee is poured and a flame is kept burning and *mantrakshata*, etc., are placed on a broad plate. This plate is waved three times before the big lamp when a *mantra* praising Sri Durga is also chanted.

Then comes the fourth and concluding part—Harang. This portion is illustrative of the proverbial Nambudiri humour. Several actors as the oracle, Kandappan, Vidusaka (buffoon), Kakkalan, Prakkal, Nambudiri, Kaniyan, etc., take part; but Kandappan is the biggest buffoon of all. He poses himself as a big dignitary and boasts of his accomplishments. His speeches, songs and actions are full of wit and humour. There is much of Sringara Rasa (erotic) also. The other actors likewise indulge themselves in a lot of fun and frolic. Before all these end, it is daybreak and a benedictory song concludes the function.

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TWO BRITISH SYMPATHISERS OF THE INDIAN WAR OF REVOLUTION

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By S. R. RANA, Paris

A Short Sketch of the Life of Dr. Richard Congreve

Richard Congreve, third son of Thomas Congreve by Julia, his wife, was born at Leamington, Hastings, Warwickshire, in September 1818. He was educated at Boulogne under an uncle from May 1827 to 1832, and afterwards at Rugby till 1837. He went to Oxford, a typical pupil of Dr. Arnold, high-minded and intensely earnest. He gained a scholarship at Wadham College, Oxford, took a first class in 1840 and in 1844 obtained a fellowship. His influence upon his pupils is said to have been singularly bracing morally as well as intellectually. He spent some years as a master at Rugby until 1854. In that year he resigned his fellowship and thenceforward devoted himself to the study and dissemination of Positivism. He married his cousin, Maria, eldest daughter of John Bury, surgeon of Coventry in 1854, and after some months abroad, settled at Wandsworth. He had taken orders in 1854 and he had become acquainted with the writings of August Comte, then in course of publication.

In 1856 he published *Gibraltar*, a pamphlet advocating the restoration of Gibralter to Spain, and on Comte's death in 1857, he devoted himself to the preaching of Positivism as a religion, — the Religion of Humanity, bearing on national as well as personal morality. In that year he returned to Dr. Tait (then Bishop of London) his Letters of Orders and published his pamphlet pleading justice for India. The animosity aroused by the publication of this essay on India and the hostile criticisms passed by the English thereon injured him materially.

As a preparation for the special functions of a Positivist Priest, he studied medicine at King's College, going through the whole curriculum successfully.

Dr. Congreve was elected Honorary Fellow of Wadham in December 1891. In 1870 a room—19, Chapel Street, Lambs' Conduct Street, was taken for Positivist purposes and there he, as a leader or director, gave Positivist lectures. There was a split amongst the London Positivists in 1879, when Dr. Congreve deeply regretted for the sake of the cause. In 1881 he went to live in Palace Gardens Terrace but for the rest of his life, disturbed as it was by trials and anxiety, he preached and ministered in the little church at Chapel Street, where also were first spoken the various appeals to justice and humanity, which he put forth and which were afterwards reprinted in three volumes. The last of these special appeals was in 1875 in favour of Brazil, and in his address on the Festival of Humanity in 1896, some of the early pages are headed "Pressure of Empire, India, Armenia, Ashanti." He read the Service at Chapel Street on the last Sunday before his death, which took place on July 5, 1899.

Dr. Congreve's published works are contained in three volumes called *Essays—Political, Social and Religious*, *The Fourth Volume of the Politics Positive* and some earlier circulars.

Indian Placard

Protest published as a Placard
The Thanksgiving ordered for May 1, 1859

Believing the cause of the English in India to be unjust and that of the Hindus just, as the legitimate effort of a nation to shake off an oppressive foreign yoke,

Believing consequently, the English success to be triumph of force over right,

Considering secondly that even had our cause been just, it has been disgraced at home by fraudulent misrepresentations, by exhibition of a ferocious spirit of vengeance and disgraced in India by atrocious cruelties, that we have been demoralised ourselves and lowered in the eyes of all nations,

Considering lastly that the English viceroy is but the source of many evils to us as a nation, involving a further pressure on the already overtaxed and suffering industrial poor of this country and sacrifices of lives of English soldiers drawn from the same class,

I hereby do all that is in my power as a private Englishman to clear myself and induce others to reflect.

In the name of humanity I publicly protest against the Thanksgiving of the 1st May, as an act at variance with our national professions as a free people, repugnant to the spirit of Christianity which the nation has recognised and an outrage upon all higher feelings of mankind.

(Signed) Richard Congreve.

South Fields, Wandsworth
April 19, 1859.

The above-mentioned pamphlet *India* of Dr. Richard Congreve was reprinted and distributed, to the English press and those Englishmen who took interest in India, by late Pandit Shyamji Krishnavarma—President of the "Home Rule for India" Society in London. The author of the pamphlet suggested three ways of putting an end to the pernicious system of the Government of one country by another :

(1) Voluntary withdrawal of the English occupation.

(2) A successful effort on the part of Indians to throw off the foreign rule.

(3) The disinterested intervention of some Power in favour of India.

The policy suggested by Dr. Congreve was as follows : It is that we withdraw our occupation of India without unnecessary delay within the shortest period compatible with due arrangements for the security of European life and property, and with such measures as shall be deemed advisable in the interests of Indian independence and good government. He further proposed that England should secure a guarantee on the part of all great European Powers that the Empire she retires from shall not be considered open to the ambition of any of these and that no extra European Power shall have a right which England renounces herself.

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MR. HUGH O'DONNELL

I must here mention the name of an Irish friend of India, Mr. Hugh O'Donnell, who addressed the following letter to Pandit Shyamji Krishnavarma, who published it in the *Indian Socialogist*, April 1907 :

"A TRIPLE REPARATION"

As the jubilee of the sad and memorable events of 1857 is now at hand, it occurs to me that the great movement of commemoration and reparation in India should focuss itself, so to speak, in three principal centres, all intimately connected with the most tragic events of that tragic time.

The most enlightened Englishmen, even soldiers like Field Marshall Lord Roberts, are now united in recognising the terrible nature of the outrage offered to the gallant Indian Army, when scores of thousands of honourable men, both Hindoos and Mussalmans, were forced to choose between religious pollution, worse than death, and obedience to a Government that had broken the most solemn pledges of impartial justice and religious toleration. When perjured officials and dishonest contractors were permitted to force the offal of the European butchershops upon Hindoos and Mahomedans alike, the consequences were inevitable as if similar outrages were perpetrated upon the white troops of the different Christian denomination.

The scene of the first Service of Reparation should naturally be those arsenals at Dum-Dum, where low caste men were employed to manufacture the polluted cartridges that were to dishonour and degrade hundreds of thousands of brave and gallant soldiers.

The second Service of Reparation should most naturally be held at Meerut, the site of the cantonments of the splendid Third Cavalry, who were forced in to insurrection by the sight of their bravest comrades being led away chained and fettered to penal servitude for no cause, except the just defence of nationality and religion.

I would suggest that a third Service of Reparation could not be better held than at Delhi, on the scene of the murders of the young Princes of the Imperial House, who, though prisoners of war, were butchered in cold blood by the ruffian Hodson of Hodson's house.

As the present British Government has proclaimed its anxiety to conciliate the sentiments of the Indian Mahomedans, it could have no more conspicuous opportunity to exhibit the earnestness of its convictions than by joining the Hindoos and Mahomedans, who should meet in hundreds of thousands to commemorate the cruel massacre of the princely prisoners.

If a conclusive reason were wanted to convince the Government of Lord Minto of the propriety of associating itself with grief and indignation of the millions of India, it would be supplied by the recollection that three-fourths of the Army, which reconquered Delhi for the British Government, were composed of Sikhs, Gurkhas, and other Indian races, who had been kept in ignorance of the truth about the polluted cartridges. It is surely not sufficient to write books, like Field Marshal Lord Roberts exposing the persecution of the Native Army of 1857; there is also room for direct action by the British Government in expression of its sorrow for the deeds which drove to despair hundreds of thousands of gallant men who had conquered for the East India Company all possessions, of which Lord Minto is now Viceroy. Let us also not forget that the action of the Native Army fifty years ago put an end to the Dalhousie system of Annexation, and secured for the Native Princes of India that recognition of their sovereign rights which they are still, though grudgingly, permitted to enjoy.

I remain

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) F. Hugh O'Donnell,
Past President of the National Democratic League
Vice-President of the Irish National Federation

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SWARAJ FOR THE MASSES

BY MANKUMAR SEN

OUR independence is now two and a half years old. But that is only political independence—the independence of controlling our affairs ourselves. We cannot be complacent of our victory and ignore the still more arduous and thorny way we have to tread over before our final victory can be attained. This is only the beginning of our journey to the far-off pilgrimage of 'Swaraj'—a status of economic and cultural development of the people. It is as if we were striking at the iron-bars of entrance to the temple of 'Narayana,'—our combined might has forced the door open, and we have yet to win our numerous obstacles before we can reach the holy temple itself and offer our prayers to Him. Political independence is the means to economic and cultural independence—the end. Let us not confuse between the two.

Now the question arises, are we really clear in our vision about Swaraj—the independence of the masses? Unfortunately no forthright reply to this apparently difficult question is possible at this moment. Nevertheless, our planning and performance during these two and a half years have revealed almost fully that most of us lack a comprehensive and clear view of what we are after or how to fashion our destiny,—the destiny of the masses on proper lines.

THE OUTLOOK

First we have to change our outlook radically. We have to admit it courageously that the pattern of life which our alien rulers have introduced is not only not unsuitable, it is definitely prejudicial to a nation like India. With clear conscience we have to write off much of our present education, present way of think-

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ing and planning, our habits and material considerations as bad debt. Let us voluntarily unlearn what we have learnt only to destroy our own culture and heritage. It is very necessary for us to have a clear conception of the pattern of society we envisage. With this end in view the political, economic and social planning has to be directed. This is the practical way of bringing about co-ordination in the different departments of our national life.

Planning for the People

The masses of the Indian people live in the villages. In other words, Indian village is India. So, it is the villager who forms the pivot of any successful planning for India. Our planning has to be set out in such a manner that the primary needs of the people are satisfied. In fact, this is the only type of planning that deserves to be called a planning. Modern planning is directed by millionaires, and it produces a handful of millionaires only, at the expense of millions of people. This is a terrible deviation from humanitarian outlook. This outlook has led to the modern unnatural economic and social structure. Portents are eminently manifest today that in the not-too- distant future this basically weak structure will tumble down and bring upon humanity a total disaster. India must shun this path here and now. With the practical ideology of Mahatma Gandhi before us, we cannot conscientiously follow the path of disaster. Gandhiji's life and programme of work is a portrayal of what planning for the people should aim at and what should be the order of a society worth being called a human society.

Our Requirements

India is essentially an agricultural country, but the pity is that Indian people are living on the barest minimum food. Hence any national and national planning for India must centre round agriculture with the production of foodcrops and raw materials for clothing as its principal features. Exploitation of land for industrial purposes, such as for producing sugarcane, producing tobacco, oilseeds, etc., for export, cotton for textile mills must now recede to the background and totally remain the responsibility of the State. Scarcity of food is now the number one problem of India. To meet up the deficit we have to resort to food-imports which drain away approximately 130 crores of rupees annually. In fact, it is the food problem alone which has stranded us in other spheres of development and has so far baffled our projects for people's welfare. We have not only to feed the people properly, we have to build up a reserve too for rainy days. So only after we have provided for current demand and for an adequate surplus for reserve, the rest of the land can be utilized for industrial purposes and that too by the state. How are we going to achieve that objective.? Like learned economists we often advocate the use of more and more capital, large-scale use of mechanical equipments in agriculture, as if these two factors alone count in increased production. In fact, the much more important and tremendous factor for production in India is the human labour. Once this labour resource is canalised properly the Indian villages and for that the whole of India will be humming with life. Shortage of this labour factor has persuaded the Western countries to turn more and more, to mechanized production. Their problem is how to save labour—quite reverse is the problem of India, our problem is 'how to employ labour.' In the words of Gandhiji, "Dead machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machines represented by the villagers scattered in the seven hundred thousand villages of India."

Village Industries

Next to agriculture comes the village industry. Having ensured the production of food materials we have to take up agro-industries for processing cereals and other food products ready for the market. The peculiarities and prevailing condition of India should determine what form these industries should take. We have already referred to the baffling unemployment of our labour. And we have shortage of capital as another problem. The immediate deduction from these two factors is that we have to employ our huge labour resource without calling for much investment on plant and machinery. In other words we have to develop village industries. Existence and happy functioning of rice mills, oil mills, etc., have been rapidly making our people lazy, taking vitality out of them and demoralizing the entire life of the nation. Let us think for a moment how bountiful would be the blessings from indigenous paddy-husking system, oil-pressing *ghanies*, etc. Now the time has come when every village or a group of villages should refuse to drain away its resources and to live upon the mercy of mills or a handful of industrialists and millionaires. The suicidal policy of supplying fine oilseeds and getting adulterated—and that too in unreasonably short quantity—oil in return, supplying fine paddy and in return getting inadequate rice with its food-value mostly destroyed by milling process, should be buried for good. The village-industry or decentralization policy will on the one hand ensure sufficient nutritive food for the people and on the other keep them away from the pernicious economic system of centralization. The large-scale industries are inspired by the profit-motive of a handful of powerful and wealthy persons who are extremely self-seeking and self-centred. With the revival of village industries the city-centred large-scale industries managed by private interests will die a natural death. Look at any village today. What do you see? You see the blacksmith, the goldsmith, the pottery-maker, the handloom-weaver, each and every class of our village artisans

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who have made no mean contribution to India's culture and heritage, is either panting for breath or totally extinct. The man behind the plough is no longer a man with life. Skeleton-like he moves about and tills the land with a pair of dead cows or buffaloes. The village industry and village agriculture which for hundreds of years have sustained India are either dead or on the verge of extinction. India lives in her thousands of villages. If the villages die, how can India live? These are simple things, things that have been happening before our eyes. Even today few of us seem to be serious about the impending necessity of a village movement as initiated and guided by the All-India Village Industries Association, All-India Spinners' Association and the like. It is time we wholeheartedly and ardently devote ourselves to the constructive programme as laid down by Gandhiji. Let the meaningless political squabbles stop and stop at once. Gandhiji's plan embodies in itself all the primary needs of the villages which are (1) agriculture, (2) village industries, (3) sanitation and housing, (4) village education, (5) village organization and (6) village culture. Once the villages of India survive and vibrate with renewed life, the Indian Republic will be restored to the peaceful and dignified position which India of ancient times held. The grim realities of the modern world are a pointer to the truth that the village way is the only way through which we can attain our goal—the goal of Swaraj for the masses.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

VAISALI-ABHINANDANA-GRANTHA (Vaisali Commemoration Volume) : *With Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Editors J. C. Mathur and Yogendra Mishra. Published by Vaisali Sangha, Muzaffarpur. 1948. Two appendices and five plates. Pp. 204. Price Rs. 12.*

Vaisali ranked among the greatest cities of our land in the early Buddhist period and was acclaimed as the type of the political *samgha* or *gana* (aristocratic republic) in the ancient Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina works. Nearly a century has passed since its identification with the village of Basarh (Muzaffarpur district, Bihar) was suggested by the late Sir Alexander Cunningham and the suggestion of the Father of Indian archaeology was proved conclusively by the archaeological excavations of Dr. Th. Bloch on this site almost half-a-century ago. It speaks much for the newly awakened patriotism of our people that a *Vaisali Sangha* was started in 1945 "with a view to bring (*sic*) the ruins of Vaisali and to initiate a movement for a culture of the people drawing inspiration from the democratic (*sic*) ideals of Vaisali." The *Sangha* has since been holding annual festivals at the ancient site to commemorate the glory of the old and forgotten city.

In the attractive monograph before us the *Sangha* has brought together a number of papers in English and in Hindi from the pen of some well-known scholars and public men of our country, dealing with various aspects of the history and culture of Vaisali. While it is not possible to notice here even a majority of the interesting points occurring in these papers some remarks may be made. In the paper entitled *Vaisali in Indian History and Culture* (pp. 4-9), the rendering of *Vesalie* in a Jaina work as "the first citizen of Vaisali" is inaccurate, while the terms "national and popular government" as well as "the centre of democracy" applied to the Lichchhavi constitution together with the reference to a chain of courts from the *raja* downwards are based, as was shown by the present reviewer (*IHQ*, Vol. XX), upon a misapprehension of the relevant texts. In the same paper the statement that "the Nine Lichchhavis were in charge of foreign policy and the Ashtakulakas of domestic affairs" ignores the evidence of a story in the Mulasarvastivada-Vinaya (*Gilgit MSS*, Vol. III, Part I pp 9-10) regarding the pre-eminent part played by the Lichchhavi Assembly with the *Senapati* as its executive head in the direction of internal and foreign administration. In the paper on *The Constitution of History of Vaisali* (pp. 67-71), the change from a monarchic to a republican constitution in the ancient city is stated with extraordinary faith in the authenticity of the Puranic tradition to have taken place in C. 2000 B.C. Also the present reviewer is credited with the view that the enumeration in a well-known *Jataka* text "is true as far as the number of 'kings' is concerned, but not so far as the numbers of viceroys, generals and treasurers are concerned"—a statement which in its crude generalisation is a travesty of facts. Other suggestions occurring in the same paper, viz. that "the executive of the Lichchhavis most probably consisted of about 8 to 10 persons," that the Lichchhavi general Harshavardhana elected its general for ea

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campaign and that the method of management of foreign affairs by the Lichchhavis is unknown, are disproved by the testimony of the story in the Mulasarvastivada-Vinaya to which reference has been made above.

We have noticed a number of misprints, such as Mahasamgika (P. 7), Sammatiya (p. 8) and gallaried (p. 32). The paper, print and get-up are excellent.

U. N. GHOSHAL

BAPU'S LETTERS TO MIRA (1924-1948): *Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1949. Pp. 357. Price Rs. 4.*

This collection of letters will remain one of the classics of the literature which is gradually gathering round Gandhi's name. They reveal the intense humanness of his character, and the deep personal interest which he bestowed upon those who loved him and placed themselves voluntarily under his guidance.

I COULD NOT SAVE BAPU: *By Dr. Jagdishchandra Jain, M.A., Ph.D. Jagaran Sahitya Mandir, Kamacha, Banaras. Pp. 241. Price Rs. 3.*

Dr. Jain was one of the witnesses in the trial associated with Gandhiji's assassination. In this entirely sincere book he reveals the story of how, accidentally he came to know about the conspiracy and how also he tried to enlist official co-operation. This attempt proved a failure and led to the enaction of a tragedy for which the whole of the Indian nation should hold itself guilty.

MAHATMA GANDHI: *Edited by S. Radhakrishnan together with a new memorial section. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1949. Pp. 557. Price 15s. net.*

This is the second edition of the volume of essays presented to Gandhiji on his 70th birthday in 1939. It has been enlarged by the edition of a memorial section in which authors and thinkers like Aldous Huxley, Kingsley Martin, and others have tried to assess Gandhiji's position in human history and the contribution which he made to the progress of civilization.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES AND THE FUTURE OF BOMBAY: *By K. M. Munshi. The National Information and the Publications Ltd. Bombay. Pp. 62. Price Rs. 2 only.*

This booklet is in substance a Note submitted in December, 1948 to the Dar Commission on Linguistic Provinces as one of its Associate members. Generally a rehash of the now-familiar arguments against a more rational reconstruction of Indian Provinces and States based on language and culture-expressions, the booklet has a value owing to the publication of certain maps and charts relating to Bombay City and Island, and the Province's linguistic differentiations.

Sree Kanayalal Munshi is an outstanding literary figure in Gujarat, and the use in this booklet of the word "Maha-Gujarat" and the concept behind it give his whole case away of opposition to the idea of reconstituting the Bombay Presidency on the linguistic principle. The pleas of "infant State," of "national emergency" are so specious in the back-ground of promises solemnly made for more than 30 years by the leadership of the Indian National Congress and the hopes raised thereby that the dangers of what the author calls "frustrated linguism" have become a reality and halt progress in various fields of all-India activity.

The experiences of Soviet Union are referred to but no wisdom is drawn therefrom; he speaks of "autonomy" enjoyed by "nationalities" in this Union of States, of their stopping "short of all questions of politics and economics." We have yet to meet an "autonomist" in Bharat who secretly entertains any other higher ambition.

Kanayalalji's burden of arguments in favour of "multi-national State" which he presses forward in the name of unspecified "advanced political thought" is inspired by mixed feelings of fear of "the possibility of a uni-lingual people" over the life of "Bombay City," of an unjust suspicion of people who speak the Marhatta language and of the ambition that claims Bombay as "the pivot of Gujarati culture." These three feelings are really at the back of the opposition to linguistic Provinces and States that has gained the ears of the present rulers of Bharat to the confusion of ordered progressive forces in our country. It is an evil genius.

The booklet under review has gained importance owing to the fact tnat its author is one of the framers of Bharat's constitution as a "Sovereign Republic." As Bharat is constituted now after the partition of August, 1947, no language area except the Hindi belt is powerful enough to think in "terms of power-politics." And in his pet aversion to "linguism," Kanayalalji has misrepresented historic developments in India. He speaks of Bengal as developing this germ "first." of Bengal "already claiming ....some districts of Bihar," while in truth the repartition of Bengal in 1912 had given to Bihar areas which for more than six centuries had been Bengali-speaking; the "South" — the Telugus, Kannadigas, Marhattas—are said to have followed this bad example "a little later;" he has not taken pains to analyse the feelings that inspire the "Maha Gujrat" movement.

Books and pamphlets like these deserve notice for the mischief they do. They give a wrong twist to a natural human impulse and thus stir up feelings that disrupt natural human relations. Opposition to linguistic Provinces and States is having this effect. It is time the thought-leaders of the country recognize the danger of this attitude.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

INDIAN NATIONALISM: *By Nagendra Nath Gupta. Hind Kitabs Limited, 267, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 2-8.*

A journalist of repute and a literary figure of high order, Nagendra Nath Gupta contributed many thoughtful articles to this and other *Journals* on contemporary events. Some of his papers written in 1930 and consequently having a bearing on the famous civil disobedience movement have found a place in this brochure. Its perusal has once more taken us back to those days of storm and stress. The motive force behind our freedom movement of 1930 and all its concomitant factors have been laid bare in these chapters. And the present-day reader, too, will be able to appreciate the volume of this national upheaval from a perusal of this book. Chapters like 'The Awakening of India,' 'Governments and Peoples,' 'Factors of Indian Nationalism,' 'Economic Aspects of Indian Nationalism,' 'The Hindu-Mussalman Problem,' 'The Part of Women in India,' and 'The Problem of Language' will repay perusal. One wishing to have a full conception of the Freedom Movement of 1930 can scarcely do without this book.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

REPORT OF THE BOTANICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR 1943-44. *Calcutta. 1948.*

The work of this national scientific institution could not progress much during the year due to the continuance of the war.

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It is a matter of regret that during this year two eminent Botanists (Sir E. J. Butler, F.R.S. and Sir David Prain, F.R.S.) who held various posts in India and contributed much to Indian Botany, died.

A new species, *Excoecaria aboriana R. N. De* was discovered by Mr. R. N. De, the specimens of which have been sent to the Royal Botanic Gardens for preservation. Two new varieties of *Drosera indica* L. (an insectivorous plant) from Kohlapur (Var. *alba* and var. *rubra*) have been published by Parandekar and Dewan, who, however, omitted Latin diagnosis for these plants and thus violated International rules of Botanical Nomenclature. This omission has unfortunately deprived the authors of the plea sure of publishing the new varieties and their status in the scientific world.

The new Russian method under a short rotation has been introduced in the cultivation of cinchona to increase the production of quinine in the immediate future. Various types of commercial drugs, fibres, etc., were examined and identified by the Industrial section of the Indian Museum. This has given much help to many who are helping different industries to make the country self-sufficient. This section has also been supplying various types of information of economic value to many correspondents.

R. M. DATTA

FOR THINKERS ON EDUCATION : *By Swami Ramakrishnananda. Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. Golden Jubilee, 1948 Memorial Edition. Pages 234. Price Rs. 3.*

The Ramakrishna Order founded with the blessings of the Master, the Rishi of Dakshineswar, and inspired with the noble zeal of dedicated life and service to the cause of humanity has always held high the ideal of a purer and godlier life. The most distinguishing feature of this missionary body is the fact that the leaders, besides being erudite scholars, do not devote themselves solely to personal God-realisation but to the spiritual upliftment of humanity at large. They can focuss the whole wealth of their spiritual wisdom and deep thinking and show the right path to the bewildered people lost in the maze of worldly affairs.

The present volume is a collection of Swami Ramakrishnananda's writings and speeches which, as they gush forth out of a fountain of perfect knowledge, are sure to 'stimulate moral and spiritual thought through a correct philosophy of religion.' The one supreme idea that permeates the whole book is the fervent conviction of the Swami that real greatness of the life of individuals as also of nations lies in their morality and spirituality and not in the quality and quantity of materialistic goods that they may produce. The reader comes in contact with the master-mind's life-long thoughts on subjects relating to essential education and correct appraisal of human values. It is a treasure of thought-provoking ideas and suggestions for educationists. The English-knowing public should be grateful to the publishers for this beautiful, neatly printed volume. A Bengali version of the book will be very much appreciated.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

SHENI AND VIJANAND : *By U. K. Oza. Published by the National Information and Publications Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 1-14.*

A poem of four cantos, originally written by the author in Gujarati and later translated into English, treats a pastoral love-story, that probably got currency at one time from mouth to mouth and then passed into comparative oblivion. The time of the story is put between 1170 and 1193 A.D. and the place of action in the Junagadh State in Kathiawar. The two lovers have been a humble shepherd boy and the daughter of his master. By the magic of song and of music produced on the harp the shepherd boy attracts the master's daughter. But the difference between their respective social status stands on the way of their union. They however meet almost at the end of this mortal life each assuring the other of their reunion in the other world. The charm of the story, told in the poem, is apparent and this charm has been maintained with great craftsmanship in translation. Such revival of folk-lore, in as presentable a form as the poem under review, will go a long way towards consolidation of the Indian National culture and literature.

SOCIO-LITERARY MOVEMENTS IN BENGALI AND FRENCH : *By Miss Indira Sarkar. Published by Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

Miss Sarkar, who is at present in Paris reading at the City University, in the course of the first article of the booklet, that is named after it, shows certain affinities that exist in the literary movements in Bengal and in French since the middle of the 18th century. The other materials of the booklet include "Bengali in French Scholarship" and a bibliographical milieu. The booklet also contains reproductions of the four photographs of R. C. Dutt, Hara Prosad Sastri, Brojendra Nath Seal and Dinesh Chandra Sen.

Such comparative studies of cultural and literary movements in India will help to establish our cordial relationship with the foreign countries. This will also uphold our achievements before the foreigners, who will have no occasion to belittle our attainments.

SANTOSH CHATTERJEE

A GUIDE TO A HEALTHY HAPPY SEX LIFE (Vol. I) : *By R. M. Singh. Published by the S. Health Centre, Jaipur City, Northern India. Price Rs. 3.*

The volume under review contains valuable up-to-date scientific information regarding the sex-life of man and woman. Every chapter of the book is informative, interesting and testifies to the author's scientific outlook. His easy simple style makes the book a happy reading. But we are at a loss to understand as to why he has, so vehemently, denounced the ancient Sanskrit Kama-shastras and the Ayurveda which have stood the test of time. He has got the audacity to say, ". . . The Kama-shastras of ancient origin hardly contain a pageful of useful information each." We would like to remind the author that Vatsyayana, the author of the Kama-sutra, is still regarded to be one of the best authorities on sexology by the top-ranking sexologists of the modern world. The Kama-sutra which is based on other authentic Kama-shastras written by Vabhravya, Dattaka, Subarnanabha, Charayana and others is a monumental work on sexology. Sir Richard Burton, the eminent orientalist, has aptly said, "The work (the Kama-Sutra) has placed Vatsyaana among the immortals." Like scholars and sexologists eminent medical men have also paid high tribute to the genius of Vatsyayana and other sexologists of ancient India. But it is strange that the author of the present work has such colossal ignorance about the ancient Kamashastras and tries to belittle their merit.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

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SANSKRIT

THE EPIGRAMS ATTRIBUTED TO BHARTRIHARI (including the three Centuries) : *For the first time collected and critically edited with principal variants and an Introduction by D. D. Kosambi, Professor at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay. Singhi Jain Series, Vol. No. 23. Published by Singhi Jain Sastra Sikshatirtha, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Royal octavo. Pages i-xvii + 1-81 + 1-240. Price Rs. 12-8.*

This is a critical edition of verses attributed to Bhartrihari who is generally supposed to be the author of three popular centuries of Sanskrit epigrams—the *Nitisataka*, the *Sringarasataka* and the *Vairagyasataka*. The verses numbering more than one thousand have been arranged under four groups. Group I contains two hundred verses which are considered to be authentic being found in all the versions of the above-mentioned works. These are again sub-divided into separate sections: Niti, Srinagara and Vairagya. Group II contains 152 verses of doubtful authenticity not being found in all versions. Group III has 500 verses occurring in single versions, isolated manuscripts and anthologies. Group IV gives the texts of two small apocryphal works of about one hundred verses each, the *Vitavritta* and the *Vijnanasataka*, both attributed to Bhartrihari. Elaborate foot-notes have been added referring to the sources where the verses of the first three groups could be traced and recording variants met with in the manuscripts collated. In a long and learned Introduction we have a detailed description of the critical apparatus, mainly consisting of a large number of manuscripts in the possession of various manuscripts libraries in and outside India. There is also an account of the method followed in determining the text and of the results achieved. A chart has been added showing the position of each verse in different recensions and versions. On a careful analysis of the available material the learned editor has come to the conclusion that 'there is no way of knowing what form the original Bhartrihari collection took but it could never have been a Satakatraya' (p. 62) and that 'the collection is an anthology of verses believed to have been Bhartrihari's by later compilers' (p. 78). It points to the deplorable condition of textual tradition in our country and it is not unlikely that other popular texts like the *Chanakya Sataka*, if subjected to similar scrutinisation may lead to identical conclusions. Students of Sanskrit will extend their hearty welcome to this handsome, valuable and highly useful publication and be thankful to Prof. Kosambi, albeit a distinguished student of Mathematics, for his labour of love and amateur work in bringing out the *editio princeps* of the well-known poems passing under the name of poet Bhartrihari and drawing attention to the textual problems relating thereto.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

HINDI

MAHABHARAT-KATHA : *By Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalacharya. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 250. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a Hindi translation by Shri P. Somasundaram of the author's Tamil work, *Vyasar Virandu*, consisting of forty-nine tales from the Mahabharata, presented without any "ornament," either of expression or of imagination so that the stories like art-pictures, may speak for themselves in all the sincerity and strength of truth. And the writer's fervid hope that such a presentation will be conducive to the cultivation of the virtues dwelt upon in the epic by Vyas, is one which will be shared by many a reader. *Mahabharat-Katha* is, indeed a telescope which reveals the grandeur of the epic. The translator, too, has succeeded in preserving the flavour of the original. The book deserves a special place not only in one's own private library, but also in the kit of every peripatetic teacher in our villages and cities.

BHARATIYA SIKKE : *By Shri Vasudev Upadhya. Bharati Bhandar, Leader Press, Allahabad. Pp. 259. Price Rs. 5.*

The coins of a country are a sort of a pocket encyclopaedia of its many-sided history—cultural, social, economic and religious. This is the impression left on the reader's mind by the work under review, which, perhaps, is the first of its kind in the language. The learned author, whose range of study seems to be almost phenomenonal, has dealt with our large variety of coins from the earliest times to those of the East India Company, from every possible point of view. The book, which is adequately illustrated, is timely inasmuch as it can give many "tips" to our National Government in drawing up designs for their new coins.

G. M.

GUJARATI

Work done by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha. Ahmedabad, A.D. 1945-46. Paper cover. Pp. 243+14. 1948. Price Rs. 4.

There are several Literary Societies in Gujarat, but the most outstanding one is that in Ahmedabad. Year after year it pursues its path, guided by its three Hon. Secretaries, of utility and help to scholars, in spite of difficulties due to present times. The present volume contains a review by experts of the literature produced in A.D. 1945, including science books, lectures including one on Eunuchs (who form an important community in Gujarat) by Dr. Sumant Mehta, celebration of Kaka Kalelkar's sixtieth Birthday, presentation of a Gold Medal to a well-known writer, Gunavantrau Acharya and several other functions. It is a notable and a creditable compilation.

RASHNU : *Published by the Gujarati Sahitya Mandal, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. 1947. Paper cover. Pp. 118. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Professors Jhata and Jhaveri who are the Editors of this issue of the College magazine can congratulate themselves on the lead given by them to their pupils, in having procured contributions from outsiders as well as students, both of outstanding merit.

K. M. J.

VIR VANI : *By Swami Vivekananda. Translated by Jayantilal M. Oza. Ramakrishna Ashrama, Rajkot. Pp. 56. Price eight annas only.*

This is a translation in Gujarati of *Thoughts of Power*—an anthology of Swami Vivekananda's thoughts—together with a rendering of Swamiji's "The Song of Sannyasin." The translator has succeeded indeed in preserving the passionate fervour of the Swami. A good guide for youths.

G. M.

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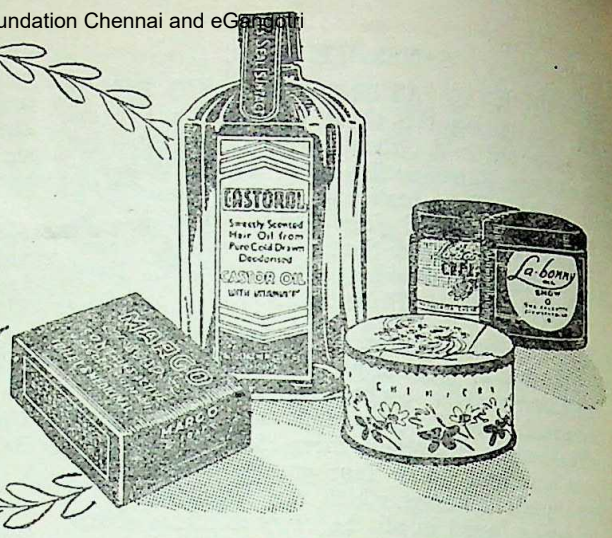

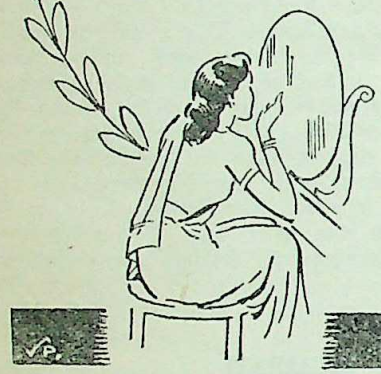

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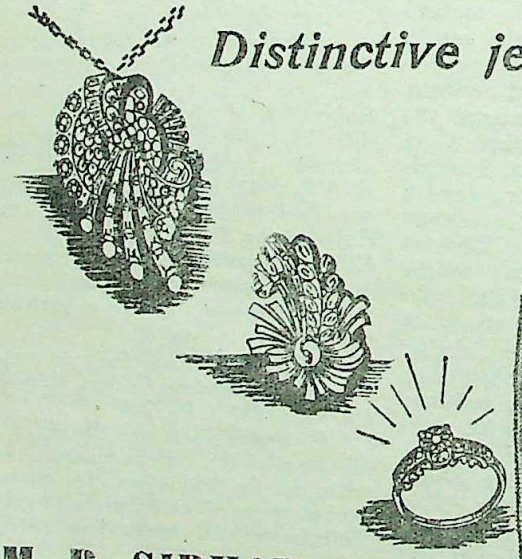
Distinctive jewellery—



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INDIAN PERIODICALS

An Hour with Prof. John Dewey

Principal S. N. Agarwal writes in *The Indian Review* :

A few Indian students at the International House informed me that Prof. John Dewey, the well-known American educationist and philosopher was in New York and it may be possible for me to meet him. Prof. Kilpatrick whom I had seen a few days earlier agreed to contact Prof. Dewey and fix an interview for me.

And so we did get the opportunity of meeting Prof Dewey a day before leaving for London. Although the learned Professor was not keeping good health, he was kind enough to spare full one hour for us. Even at the age of ninety, Prof. Dewey showed a freshness of outlook and keenness of intellect which have always characterised his educational literature.

I had with me a few books regarding the system of Basic education in India as outlined by Mahatma Gandhi. I presented those books to Prof. Dewey and asked him whether he knew about Gandhiji's educational scheme based on learning through a productive craft.

"Yes, I have heard about Gandhi's scheme of Basic education," answered Prof. Dewey, "although, I confess I do not have a very clear idea about it."

Within a few minutes, I tried to explain to him how Gandhiji's Plan of education was different from combining work with education. On the other hand, it was education *through* the medium of productive activity. In this system, academic subjects like History, Geography, Civics, and Mathematics are taught to the students while they are working at their different crafts like spinning, weaving, gardening and agriculture by exploiting the different processes of handwork for educative purposes. It is this integration of work with education, or the correlation of hand-culture and mind-culture, which distinguishes Gandhiji's Plan of education with other "methods."

Prof. Dewey was glad to know these details and observed: "Gandhiji's system of education is, I am sure, one step ahead of all the other systems." "It is full of immense potentialities, and we all hope to learn much from India in this revolutionary educational effort."

Prof. Dewey, then, referred to the Chinese system of education as it existed several years ago when he had been to that vast and ancient country. "I was so sorry to find in China that the professors and students imitated the American manners and modes of thought, instead of trying to evolve their own indigenous culture and traditions," remarked Prof. Dewey.

"The same thing is happening in Japan now," I said.

"Yes, I am glad you mentioned about Japan," observed the Professor; "I will be thankful if you give me some idea of the changes that are being introduced in the Japanese educational system after 'occupation' by the SCAP authorities."

"The American system of education is being foisted on Japan in the name of Democracy. Co-education and greater importance to the English language are some of the new trends," I informed Prof. Dewey. "But the worst feature of the 'Occupational forces' is that plans are being prepared for wholesale conversion of the Japanese to Christianity. The Americans seem to think that only Christians can be real democrats."

"This is very sad, indeed," remarked Prof. Dewey.

"I did try to raise my voice against this cultural domination and conversion while I was in Tokio," I added.

"I have no doubt in my mind that Western impact is liable to prove more disintegrating than helpful to the Eastern countries" said Prof. Dewey, in a serious tone.

"What are your views regarding education in India ?" I asked.

"So far, India had to suffer all kinds of cultural humiliations under the British rule," stated the Professor. "She could not develop her educational system in accordance with her own genius. But now, after regaining her lost freedom, India must try to build up her educational structure on the basis of her ancient culture and traditions."

"What is your message to India ?" Mrs. Agarwal asked the learned Professor.

"What message can I give to India" remarked Prof. Dewey in an admirable tone of humility which is so characteristic of all great men. "We have to learn much from an ancitnt country like yours !"

Later, the Professor was kind enough to write down his thoughts in Mrs. Agarwal's Album. He wrote the following remarkable sentence :

> "We look to India to elicit from its old history and culture that which will give help in the guidance of newer and younger peoples."

Prof. Dewey, then, walked down with us to the adjoining room and showed us his Library and Study Corner. He was very kind to present to me a copy of his latest book entitled *Reconstruction of Philosophy*.

Mrs. Dewey and her two adopted children were extremely hospitable and evinced keen interest in India. She herself drove us back to our Hotel in that fairly hot afternoon.

It was, indeed, a great privilege to have spent an hour with, perhaps, the greatest living educationist of the West in modern times. And what a penetrating intellect and a spirit of humility at this ripe age of ninety !

1949 Squibs

The New Review observes :

General conflagration could have started with Yugoslavia's change of mood. So far Yugoslavia was a communist nation which showed resentment at Soviet interference in her internal affairs, yet followed the Soviet lead in foreign policy. During 1949 Yugoslavia opposed the Soviet on a world-plane. Though she had no military or political alliance with any other country, she repeatedly irritated the Soviet by opposing Moscow on Marxist interpretations with pure Marxist arguments and by encouraging dissidents behind the Iron Curtain. She even ventured to combat Czechoslovakia who was the official candidate for the U.N. Security Council. Still, no military demonstration was made against Yugoslavia.

A second occasion of world-conflict came with the China. The new regime was soon

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recognised by the U.S.S.R., India, Burma and the U.K. Had war been expected in the near future, Britain would certainly have withheld recognition and the U.S.A. would have taken positive action.

In the course of the year, the North Atlantic Pact was given a definite beginning on the continent of Europe. The Soviet made no move beyond verbal protest. On the other hand, the first Soviet atomic explosion shook public opinion out of its complacency, but the U.S.A. who would have had cogent reasons to prevent further production of such weapons in other countries never threatened mobilisation of its atomic forces nor spoke of any 'aggressive defence' but was satisfied with securing some sort of handicap by hurrying up the production of the H-bomb.

On the other hand, the wave of pessimism which swept the world when the Soviet Union withdrew from the Security Council meetings and other commissions, committees and subcommittees of the U.N.O. is gradually subsiding. It is good to remember that this walk-out is an old game with the Soviet. Five previous cases can be quoted: the Iranian debate, the Little Assembly, the Trusteeship Council, the Balkan and the Korean commissions. The most explosive occasions were the Iranian dispute when world-peace and world-war were the alternatives and the Balkan Commission when actual fighting was going on in Greece. The quarrel over the Chinese representative on the Security Council does not imply any war danger; the confusion was inevitable: five of the eleven members of the Council had recognised the Communist regime, and it was the turn of the Chinese delegate to preside; naturally enough the Russian delegate did not miss the chance of refusing a chairman 'who represented nobody.' Then began the boycott of all U.N. activities. The Soviet could do so light-heartedly as they are certain that ultimately they will win in this case. They failed to split the partnership between Britain and America and even to rally India to their side on this Asian question. They, however, strengthened their solidarity with Mao Tze-tung and improved their bargaining position with all of the United Nations which will be forced to accept the reality of Mao Tze-tung's dominance. From a world-standpoint, such tactical advantages do not balance the harm done to the U.N.O.

Were such practice to develop, the U.N.O. would go the way of the League of Nations and the very concept of a world-organisation would recede with disastrous finality.

On the other hand, public opinion is definitely set against any world-war. In no nation do we have a substantial section of the people ready to support war, as we had in Germany in 1938. Everywhere people are tired of war, they are keen on welfare and not on war-fare. They are not prepared to support a move that would look like aggression.

Unceasing Conflict

Though war is not imminent, the struggle which people lazily call the conflict between East and West (West covering West, Near East and Far East) is going on relentlessly for ideological dominance as well as for political, economic and social leadership of the world. Peaceful penetration, economic invasion, strengthening of sympathisers and building up of military advance-posts, economic bases and political groups are used to solidify situations, rectify ideological frontiers and stabilise blocs. The field of manœuvre extends from Korea, Indo-China, Tibet to the Near East, Germany, and Scandinavia. The international struggle is everywhere complicated by national forces and local interests. The whole world is in ferment, and only the stupid and the selfish are free of anxiety about the outcome of the present crisis.

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The First Budget of Republican India

Prof. P. C. Jain, writes in *The Indian Review*:

The Central Government's Budget for 1950-51 has many remarkable features. With total revenue and expenditure at Rs. 339.19 crores and Rs. 337.88 crores respectively the budget is expected to leave a surplus of Rs. 1.31 crores. It is remarkable that this surplus in the revenue budget has been secured without any increase in direct or indirect taxation and in spite of a reduction of nearly Rs. 15 crores in direct taxation. A surplus budget is anti-inflationary. In a period of super-inflation and economic deterioration through which India is at present passing a deficit budget would have been highly undesirable, as it would have added to the purchasing power competing for a restricted supply of goods in the market, thus still further pushing up the price level. According to orthodox theory, a surplus should be created by increasing the level of taxation. If this is done the money available to people for purposes of consumption is reduced thus reducing the pressure of purchasing power in the market. This method was tried in the previous budgets. But in the peculiar conditions of India it completely failed to check the inflationary forces. On the contrary the high level of direct taxation tended to increase the price level. This unexpected result was brought about by the high level of taxation discouraging production and thereby reducing the supply of goods in the market. It reduced the amount of purchasing power in the hands of the people but it also reduced the supply of goods in the market thus defeating its own purpose. Moreover, it reduced people's capacity to save thereby reducing the amount of national savings available for capital formation. This has done tremendous harm to the industrial progress of the country. The Finance Minister has recognised the peculiar working of the Indian economic system and has reduced the level of direct taxation. In last year's budget the income tax on slabs of income below Rs. 10,000 was reduced. This process has been extended further. The rate of income tax on the slab of income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 per annum has been reduced by half-an-anna in the rupee to three annas while the maximum rate of income tax applicable to incomes exceeding Rs. 15,000 has been reduced from 5 annas to 4 annas in the rupee. The obnoxious distinction between earned and unearned incomes, so far as super-tax is concerned, has been removed. The maximum rate of super-tax has been reduced from 10 annas in the rupee in the case of unearned incomes and 9 annas for earned incomes exceeding Rs. 3½ lakhs to a uniform rate of 8½ annas in the rupee for all incomes exceeding Rs. 1½ lakhs per annum. In this way the combined rate of income tax and super-tax on incomes exceeding Rs. 1½ lakhs will be only 12½ annas in the rupee as against 15½ annas in the rupee in the much-hated Liaqat Ali Khan Budget for 1947-48. This gives a substantial relief to all categories of income-tax payers. This will increase the saving capacity of people, will give some relief in the face of a rising spiral of prices, and would lead to an increase in the rate of capital formation which has seriously declined partly because savings are not available for investment and partly because those who could borrow whatever savings are available are not willing to do so because of the high rate of taxation. The 1950-51 budget will not be anti-inflationary because it would reduce the money in the hands of the consumers but because it would increase the output of goods and would lead to an expansion of India's industrial enterprise thus increasing the supply of goods in the market and bringing down the price level. For some time it has been clearly realised that inflation in India is not monetary in nature and cannot be controlled by monetary or fiscal measures. The only effective way of fighting inflation is to increase the production of goods. The 1950-51 Budget is calculated to have this effect.

The Budget gives a substantial relief to industry. The Business Profits Tax which was levied by the Liaqat Ali Khan Budget to replace the Excess Profits Tax although the excess profits had ceased to be earned has now been withdrawn. This was very harmful to business enterprise. The limitation on dividend will be allowed to expire at the end of March 1950. The rate of income tax on companies has been reduced from 5 to 4 annas in the rupee while the rate of super-tax on companies called the corporation tax, has been increased from 2 annas to 2½ annas in the rupee. The effect would be to reduce the combined rate of income and super-tax on company incomes from annas 7 in the Liaqat Ali Khan Budget to 6½ annas in the rupee. The obnoxious effects of the Liaquat Ali Khan budget have to a very large extent been removed. Some mischief still remains but that can only be removed in due course of time because we have to ensure that the Government revenues do not decline below a reasonable limit in the process of giving relief to income-tax payers and companies. The Government has created favourable conditions for industry and it is now for the entrepreneurs to do their part. If they fail to benefit by this opportunity they will be to blame.

The changes in the tax structure in the 1950-51 budget is note-worthy. In 1944-45 the proportion of taxes on income to total tax revenue had risen to a high figure of 68.1 per cent. This was too high for Indian conditions. It was brought down to 44.7 per cent in 1949-50. Now it has been reduced below 40 per cent. The Indian income tax system has become much less progressive than during the war period. The share of customs and union excise duties in the total tax revenue has increased and since these taxes fall on consumers the result is regressive taxation. Under ordinary conditions this might have been a highly undesirable development. But in the peculiar conditions of India a reduction in the progressiveness of taxation will be in the best interests of the country because of its stimulating effects on production which is still very low. The problem of distribution would be solved best when production has increased. In the pre-war period the central excise duties yielded Rs. 8½ crores as against customs duties which yielded Rs. 40½ crores out of a total revenue of Rs. 84½ crores. The importance of central excise duties as a source of indirect taxation has very considerably increased and in 1950-51, union excise duties would contribute Rs. 71½ crores as against customs duties which would contribute Rs. 106½ crores. The importance of customs and excise duties in the central budget has increased throughout the past 10 years. The contribution of commercial services, such as the railways,

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posts and telegraphs and currency, had increased to a high level of Rs. 60 crores in 1945-46 but since then there has been a decline and in 1959-51 these services would contribute only Rs. 19.93 crores. Due to the increase in the wages bill, costs of operation and other reasons these services are not likely to assume their war-time importance for Government finances for quite a long time in the future.

While the revenue budget of the Central Government shows a surplus of Rs. 1-1|5 crores the capital budget shows a deficit of Rs. 15.93 crores but this does not make the budget inflationary. Some of the items in the capital budget are mere entries and show a picture of Government transactions without giving any idea of the net effect this would have on the price situation. Part of the expenditure both on account of the Central Government and out of the loans and grants given to the provinces would be spent on schemes which would produce immediate result. The expenditure will increase the purchasing power while at the same time the supply of goods will also be increased as these short period schemes mature. This will have not an inflationary but a deflationary effect. While the revenue expenditure on development schemes has increased by Rs. 2½ crores from Rs. 12.83 crores in 1949-50 to Rs. 15.33 crores in 1950-51 the capital expenditure outside revenue on development has been reduced by Rs. 45¾ crores from nearly Rs. 101 crores in 1949-50 to Rs. 55¼ crores. This will have an anti-inflationary effect. The remarkable fact is that the budget reverses the obnoxious policy of giving the Provincial Governments development grants which was started in 1946. This led to much waste of money and inflation. In the 1950-51 budget, provision has been made for a grant of only Rs. 9½ crores as against Rs. 26¾ crores last year and this money is for the grow-more-food campaigns. The Central Government has also reduced its own capital expenditure on development and in this industrial development has suffered a loss of Rs. 4¼ crores, irrigation projects of over Rs. 1 crore and civil aviation of less than Rs. 1½ crores. Some items of exvenditure, such as on civil works and communications, have been increased in spite of the general reduction in this budget. This clearly shows that the Government is fully alive to the need of securing economic and industrial development of the country in spite of the need for economy in expenditure.

The two chief weaknesses of the Budget are (1) the shabby treatment which has been meted out to the provinces so far as the distribution of income tax is concerned and (2) Government's failure to reduce expenditure in spite of repeated promises in the past.

Under the Otto Niemeyer formula the provinces were getting a 50 per cent share in the net proceeds of income tax with certain reservations. The relative shares of the different provinces were fixed arbitrarily on the recommendation of Sir Otto Niemeyer. The provinces were not given a due share in the income tax proceeds and were starved of finances although most of the nation-building departments were a provincial responsibility. The Sarkar Committee which enquired into the question recommended that the provinces should get 60 per cent share in the divisible income-tax pool as against 50 per cent so far. Not only the yield of income tax but also that of the income tax on federal emoluments and the corporation tax should be credited to this pool. The provincial share should be distributed to the extent of 20 per cent on the basis of population, 35 per cent on the basis of collection, and 5 per cent as an adjusting factor. This would have improved matters. The Constitution did not incorporate these recommendations and the matter has been left to be decided on the recommendations of a Finance Commission. In the transitory period a new arrangement has been put into operation on the basis of an award given by Sir Chintaman Deshmukh. His award has not improved matters. It has rather made them worse. Without going into the merits of the question, purely on the basis of expediency he has increased the share of West Bengal by 1 per cent and that of the Punjab by ½ per cent while reducing the share of Uttar Pradesh by 1 per cent, of Madras by ½ per cent and that of Bihar by ½ per cent. The shares of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Assam and Orissa have been left unchanged. The resulting shares are highly unfavourable to Uttar Pradesh, Madras and Bihar which have the largest total population. The share in income tax should take into account the needs of the different provinces and population is a very satisfactory index of such need. The provinces of Assam and Orissa have not received an adequate share which is justified by their backwardness. The status quo will remain till the Finance Commission goes into the matter in detail. In the meanwhile it is for the Government of India to remove the hardship of some of the provinces by making special grants which are allowed under the Constitution. Without this the injured provinces might find themselves in great difficulty.

The civil expenditure of the Central Government has increased by Rs. 3.83 crores as compared to the revised figures of 1949-50 and by Rs. 4.87 crores as compared to the budget estimates for 1949-50. This has happened in spite of the fact that the provision for foodgrain subsidies, rehabilitation of displaced persons, and pre-partition liabilities, has been reduced from Rs. 19.67 crores, Rs. 13.70 crores and Rs. 6.6 crores respectively to the corresponding figures of Rs. 21 crores, Rs. 6 crores and Rs. 2 crores. The increase in grants-in-aid to the provinces is mostly due to the fact that instead of getting a share in the jute duty the provinces now get a central grant in lieu of

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it. The chief increase in expenditure is in civil administration by Rs. 9.17 crores from Rs. 40.89 crores to Rs. 50.06 crores. This expenditure should rather have been reduced. The Economy Committee recommended a reduction in this expenditure. The Central Secretariat is top-heavy and this has more persons than it needs. It was expected that the Government will reduce this item of expenditure and a failure to do so is a great weakness of the budget proposals. The integration of Indian States with the Union Centre has led to some increase in the Central Government's expenditure but this does not either explain or justify the Central Government's inability to reduce expenditure.

The defence expenditure has also increased by Rs. 10.64 crores from Rs. 157.37 crores in the 1949-50 (budget) to Rs. 168.01 crores in 1950-51. There is no doubt that the defence of the country is a vital and prime duty of the Government and in view of the turbulent attitude of Pakistan it is not possible to make a drastic reduction in the defence budget. Moreover, it is noteworthy that, the expenditure on the navy has increased by Rs. 90 lakhs and on the Air Force by Rs. 1¾ crores. There is still much scope for development of the navy and the air force and a larger sum will have to be provided for this purpose in the future. There is however some scope of reduction in the expenditure on stores and supplies of the Army without in any way reducing its striking power or efficiency. The Central Government should ensure that as great an economy as possible is made both in civil and defence expenditure, otherwise the purpose of a surplus budget would be defeated. The Government is living much beyond its means and much beyond the means of the country as is clearly indicated by the deteriorating position of Government's cash balances which are expected to decline from Rs. 273.9 crores in the beginning of 1948-49 to only Rs. 78.37 crores at the close of 1950-51. This is not a happy feature. The Government should make all possible economy in expenditure to save the country from ruin.

Fruit for the Millions

Murari Prosad Guha writes in *Indian Farming*:

Banana, the cheapest and possibly the best fruit of India, is being cultivated here from the dawn of civilization; the Ajanta frescoes (443 B.C.) depict the fruit in high state of cultivation.

Decandolle records that banana is cultivated for more than 4,000 years in tropical Asia and its antiquity and wild character are indisputable facts, there being a good many Sanskrit names. The botanical generic name *Musa* is derived from the Arabic *Mouz* or *Mouhoz* as sages ate its fruit and reposed beneath its shade.—Alphonse Decandolle: *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, 1884, p. 304.

Although, as has already been said, the natural home of banana is in the tropics, wild and cultivated varieties have made themselves at home in sub-tropical regions, and even in cooler regions as in the Himalayas, where it is found in the wild state even at 4,000 feet to 6,000 feet and is cultivated at 7,000 feet above sea-level. It has spread all over the tropical world probably from its original home in India or Malaya and today it is grown throughout the warm regions, except the desert areas which are too arid.

Banana found its new home in Africa probably earlier than it was carried to the land of Arabian nights. Probably it spread to the islands of the Pacific before any explorer visited them.

But the present mass production of banana in the West Indies and tropical America had its origin from Canary Islands, where the plant reached in 1516 A.D.

The two most important varieties, from point of view of utilization are *paka kala* (banana) and *kacha kala* (plantain), the former eaten raw and the latter eaten after being cooked. All our Indian varieties are confined to only one sub-species *sapientum* under the species *Musa paradisiace*. The dwarf form (*Musa Cavendishii*), known as *Singapuri kala*, is very popular throughout India, differing from the others in that it loves a cooler climate and the fruit when ripe remains the same pea-green in colour.

The most outstanding variety in the whole world is the Gros Michel, a tall tree with long, comparatively slender recurved yellow fruit with strong stem. This variety alone dominates the whole of the tropical American plantations as well as those of the Pacific Islands and bananas worth about $50,00,000 are shipped from these regions yearly.

The most important provincial varieties are: Sabri or Martaman and Champa in West Bengal; Poovan and Nendan in Madras; Basrai and Tambadi or Tambeli in Bombay; Champa in Assam; Anpan and Chinia or Chunia Kela in Bihar; Palanpodan and Yethen in Travancore; Rasabale and Salmbale in Mysore.

The varieties Martaman and Lalchal in West Bengal and Bombay respectively as well as the hill bananas of Madras are rather costly and are generally preferred by the rich.

It has been estimated that the total area under banana and plantain is about 20 per cent of the total area of two million acres under all fruits in India and next to mango which has the highest acreage of all fruits. Of all the provinces Madras has the maximum acreage, next comes West Bengal, although due to partition the major area has gone over to Eastern Bengal. The present acreage in West Bengal might be more or less some 50,000 acres. As is revealed by available statistics banana gives the maximum yield per acre (being highest in West Bengal yielding 500 maunds per acre) and as such can support a greater number of people, the units of calorie produced per acre being higher than a similar area of any other crop under the most favourable conditions. Moreover, this huge produce can be preserved indefinitely by preparing meal from the dried fruit without affecting the food value.

The available quantity for consumption *per capita* in India was 22.9 lb. (loc. cit. 2) annually (15.2 lb. in England—all imported), this being highest in Bengal (87.1 lb.) and lowest in U.P. (0.5 lb.). Unfortunately this fruit does not reach the millions in our country though in the last few years the production *per capita* has increased considerably.

The young innermost leaf of banana is used as a dressing for burns as well as for covering boils and blisters. From *Ayurvedic* point of view plantain curry is a recipe for bowel troubles and the roots and stems are tonic, antiscorbutic and useful in disorders of blood.

Of the total production of 109,841,000 maunds estimated in 1940-41 (loc. cit. 2), the total available in the market was 87,087,000 maunds, the rest being retained by the producer for home consumption. The annual wastage has been estimated at 1,532,400 maunds and out of the rest a little more than 14 per cent is utilized for cooking, a little more than 85 per cent utilized for table purposes and less than 1 per cent for industrial purposes.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Museums and Education

D. A. Allan, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.S.E., Director, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, November, 1949 :

Museums and education—museums *are* education. They exist only to further it; they can be neither provided, maintained, nor utilized without it. Education is the preparation for living, and for living, if possible, the good and complete life; it aims at understanding and appreciation leading to the application of what has been learnt to the art of living. Man as an animal has a slower rate and a correspondingly longer period of development to maturity than his co-inhabitants on the earth, and there is a wide range of skills in the acquisition of which his educators have applauded sometimes one method, sometimes another. If the individual were to live in a watertight compartment, his education could begin with a study of the earth, its constituent materials, together with their characteristic structures and behaviour, the plant and the animal worlds, and so lead to man, his history and achievements. Man is, however, gregarious, and the young of the species must learn as soon as possible to lead a communal existence, in which process he learns as much from those who are his contemporaries in physical and mental stature as from the giants who have journeyed farther along life's path ahead of him. Living and learning are thus inseparable, but it is not the detached learning of a monk of mature years poring over manuscripts in his cell; it is a complicated organic process in which the learner is growing for a quarter of his life's span, where the world around him is changing and changing rapidly, and where the interpretation of its processes and events develops with the instruments to hand and with each accumulation of fresh evidence.

Education, then, must aim at least at a basic system of living, at such knowledge and aptitudes as will enable the individual to sustain himself and to take his place in his world. It must teach him to identify a considerable range of things, and to perform a fairly extensive series of physical and mental operations. The process of education begins at home in the very early stages of life, where individuality is naturally emphasized, then passes to school where is taught the art of living in a community, which to a large extent reflects the adult world beyond, and so to the stage of higher education where the wider aspects of life and its responsibilities are studied, where a choice of vocation can be made, and opportunities to explore the frontiers of knowledge are provided. In this vitally important work the first essential is a good teacher, at one time or another parent, schoolmaster, instructor, or leader. For convenience of handling and epitomizing, much of the learning is done through the media of speech, pictures, and print, but the most efficient lesson can never be long divorced from actual objects, which are, after all, man's habitat, and particularly at the lower and the higher ends of the educational scale can material things provide both evidence of reality and the stimulus of inspiration. Any educational system must inculcate the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic—the one-time often-quoted three Rs—essential for life at our cultural level, but beyond that there has been a tendency to develop on classical lines with the emphasis on history and literature, on modern lines with the languages, vocations, and citizenship of today in ascendency, and on scientific lines, which, while dealing with the material of our earth, did so in a somewhat detached manner. More recently, possibly as a result of the impact of the outside world on the schoolroom, there has arisen a realization of the need to link lessons with usage, and education is availing itself more and more of illustrative examples from the world around us, of opportunities for seeing things and for studying processes and their products. The first is limited by the accommodation available in any school or college; the second largely by the expenditure of time and money in reiching the appropriate location; but much can be accomplished by the provision of accessible centres where both the class and the individual can find the objects necessary for successful studies.

The museum is the obvious solution to the problem, and it is already in existence as an institution, though probably more often than not but ill-equipped for the important functions it can perform.

It is the aim of this survey to estimate the part that museums can play in the educational scheme, and to examine in what way they can be made to meet the needs of our most important national service.

Most museums had their origin in the collecting instincts and tastes of those who had wealth and power to indulge them, from royalty and nobility to merchant venturers and the successful exploiters of the Industrial Revolution. Their collections were in part an investment and in part an advertisement. Other times provided other means for the first and other fashions for the second, and from private possession the collections passed to public ownership, and ministries, trustees, and municipal authorities became responsible for treasures of gold and silver, ivories, tapestries, pictures, procelain, glass, weapons of war, musical instruments and innumerable examples of, on the whole, fairly high-grade domestic furnishings. A somewhat later source of ready-made collections on the natural and applied sciences lay in the natural history and antiquarian societies, philosophical institutions, and mechanics' institutes which flourished in the second half of the nineteenth century. The material they accumulated reflected the current interest in scientific discovery, and ranged from instruments to demonstrate principles and advances, largely in the field of physics, to collections illustrating the systematics of the natural sciences, enjoying a wide popularity from the publications of Charles Darwin and his contemporaries. Both types of museum were genre pieces; neither claimed to be comprehensive. On the art side, indeed, there was a generally accepted "Index," and certain types of specimens were excluded from the category of museum pieces. Yet all garnered valuable material to serve as a nucleus or establish a bent for the museums of today, although it may suffer physically from the more primitive methods of preservation then considered adequate, or scientifically by the insufficient data regarding the time, place, or conditions of taking.

It is the duty of the museum of modern times to strengthen its collections with the best available material as fully documented as possible.

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Museums, like human beings, are the better for restricting their diet to what can be digested; both readily display the effects of gluttony. Staff and storage are the limiting factors, if a museum is to be more than a repository, is to serve as the educational institution it is its peculiar function to perform. The larger the museum, the wider the field it can safely and satisfactorily survey, the greater the service it can render to a very diverse public, but not even the largest national building of the kind can embrace all the fields of knowledge within its almost endless galleries and halls. A museum must first of all select and define its field, and aim to give the best possible service within it. The day of the museum as a general store-house is over, and with it the often distressingly monotonous similarity between so many of them. The museum official, so long expected to be an expert in a score of sciences and inevitably parrying inquirers with some handy form of encyclopædia, can have an authoritative knowledge of a small group of subjects, his competence enabling him to interpret his collections and the underlying principles of his studies to his public.

Any one type of material presents its own problems of preservative treatment, storage, documentation, and display. Preservation may involve a practical knowledge of the chemical and physical properties of fabrics, leather, wood, ivory, metals, glass, porcelain, fur and feather, the ills to which such specimens are heir and the most up-to-date research methods to combat them. Repair or replacement is a routine obligation, comparison with similar material a daily duty. It is clear, therefore, that museums by limiting their field can employ a staff supremely competent for their restricted needs, can provide adequate storage and supervision for a comprehensive range of specimens for comparison, and can pursue the research and documentation which ensure the greatest use being made of the resources of material. Moreover, from the point of view of major museums policy, it encourages individuality and *amour propre* in our institutions, irrespective of their size and wealth, and discourages competition in the acquisition of similar specimens.

There are fully seven hundred museums and art galleries in the British Isles ranging from large relatively wealthy national institutions with staffs numbering from a hundred upwards, through the municipally owned ones of the important provincial centres, where the staffs may be anything between twenty and eighty, to the small ones administered by the lesser towns and local learned societies, with a paid staff rarely exceeding half a dozen. Their acreage and finances show a correspondingly wide range, but all too frequently the smaller ones attempt to cover a field as large as that of their bigger brethren, and in the failure which naturally follows lose heart. Yet there is a part for every active and ambitious museum to play, and the immediate task is to allocate the individual duties in keeping with individual abilities.

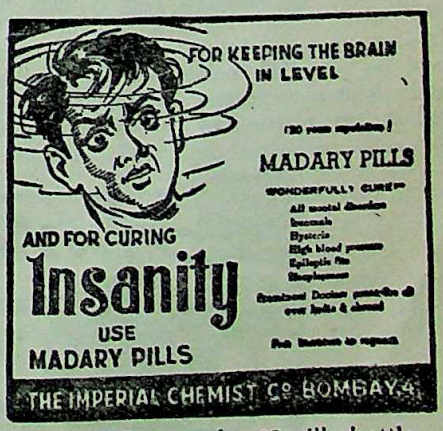
Knowledge, like charity, should begin at home, and a museum has a primary duty to its own people in depicting for them aspects of the district, which are a natural extension of what is learned in school.

It should show by models, diagrams, maps and photographs the geography of the neighbourhood, its hills and valleys, its rock structures and water supply, for on these elementary factors have depended the choice of occupation sites, the provision of shelter, food and drainage, the pursuit of farming and other industries and the siting of roadways to link with adjacent districts. Secondly, there should be shown examples of the commonest or the most important rocks of the district together with associated ores and fossils, and clear indication given where to find and how to identify them in the field. Vegetation should be treated similarly, setting out by means of illustrations, models, and actual specimens the plants of the region, their occurrence, and their uses. Animals, birds, reptiles, and fish would come next. Identification in all these cases is a first step; and to achieve that some elementary treatment of structure, function, and development is necessary, but the aim must be to arouse an interest in habits and habitat—an interest which will extend to the out-of-doors world and the after-working-hours time, for the emphasis is to be laid on the appreciation of factual evidence which the ordinary person can find for himself in his own countryside.

So much for his environment; the work of man naturally follows. Archæology can trace his occupation sites, his handicrafts, and his success in winning a livelihood from his surroundings, the later stages in his progress being normally marked by an ever-increasing variety of relics of his presence and activities. Thus can the history of the region be illustrated by actual material, plentiful or scanty according as the locality was attractive or the reverse, and as the objects have survived or been destroyed. The lacunæ become smaller and the relics ever more abundant till the past merges into the present day, and the line of demarcation can be drawn only in an arbitrary way to suit the special circumstances of the institution. Such, then, would appear to be the legitimate general pattern of a local museum, crystallizing the essential characteristics of the district for young and old alike, satisfying the needs both of the folk on the spot and of the visitor from farther afield, providing the evidence and, above all, the simple interpretation of it for the beginner. To achieve this end, imagination and understanding must be summoned to secure an attractive lay-out leading to interest-compelling descriptive text. The actual specimens are of prime importance, otherwise a good illustrated introductory textbook could replace the museum and carry instruction to the fireside chair, but the best assemblage of real things requires the use of words to describe their significance, and is enhanced by diagrams, models, and photographs in driving its lesson home. The aim should always be to arouse curiosity, not to expose ignorance.

The museum's portrayal of the features of an area will be a link between book knowledge on the one hand and open-air actuality on the other, enjoying the power of epitome with the first and the provision of real evidence with the second.

Of the larger centres, more is naturally expected. They have in most cases much greater resources in space,



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specimens, and staff; but they have a much wider clientele and heavier responsibilities to meet their needs. Advanced schools, colleges of various kinds, and universities attract and produce people to whom extensive collections are essential for the prosecution of their studies, and it is the duty of museums to provide them, preferably in a section apart from the public galleries. Where the users of such reference collections, who are more or less familiar with scientific phraseology and textbook descriptions, can be under ideal museum conditions segregated from the ordinary visitor, there is no need to sacrifice valuable space to artistic display or lengthy introductory texts. The specimens can be arranged in cases in simple close formation on an accepted basis, and the labels limited to brief statements of identity, structures, and provenance. Even then, however, there must be selection of the field to be covered, for such general systematic collections, to be comprehensive, demand considerable space and a staff of experts competent to identify, classify, and explain the material to critical seekers after knowledge on at least an ordinary university degree standard.

There is a third, higher group for whom museum provision must be made—the research students.

For them there must be stored and preserved material on which past research has been based, material which in the light of later discoveries or of newer methods of exploitation may yield further valuable information. With it must be grouped the precious type specimens, the standards by which others are tested. Despite the progress of scientific invention, which is performing miracles in the reduction of time required, of distance to be travelled, or of effort to be expended in any investigation, it is still of considerable advantage to have collections of objects brought together for inspection and comparison. The evanescent character of even the most durable materials left to the mercy of nature in the raw emphasizes the responsibility of man to conserve by all the aids at his disposal such examples as seem valuable for research not only in his own time but also in an indeterminate future. The university remains the spearhead of scientific studies, but there the tempo of research is such that only a fraction of the required material can be kept, and consciousness of the obligation to do so is aroused only by jubilee or contenary celebrations of some distinguished savant. It has not often been easy to raise the funds for research, be it exploration in the field or in the laboratory; still less easy is it to provide the accommodation or the periodic treatment necessary for the retention of the specimens for future inspection. The same problem arises in connection with the preservation of apparatus employed in pioneer work. Here it is that the museum can play a most important part—as a repository of material evidence. It has to gather, classify, annotate, protect, and store systematically as wide and as detailed collections as possible. With them must be kept notes, maps, and diagrams, certain to be required in any revision of the specimens, and also copies of published papers recording the results of research upon them. This type of museum activity calls for different treatment and equipment from that of the two previously described. It demands a laboratory with library and storerooms attached. No display is required, merely adequate, readily accessible, and indexed cabinets together with the fullest facilities for handling, investigating and, where necessary, treating the original material. To maintain such collections calls for a staff of experts of the highest standing, able to assist, to assess, and to exploit the discoveries made by specialists accustomed to visit and utilize the resources of a variety of institutions often of international repute. There are thus few museums adequately equipped to measure up to such heavy obligations, and again there is a clear call to specialize in order to concentrate the available resources to the best possible advantage.

ILO Session, Mysore

The *ILO News Service*, issued by the Indian Branch of the International Labour Office, is designed to enable Governments (Central, Provincial and States), and Organisations of employers and workers in India and other South-East Asian countries to be posted regularly with information about the ILO's current activities:

ILO Director-General's Tour in India

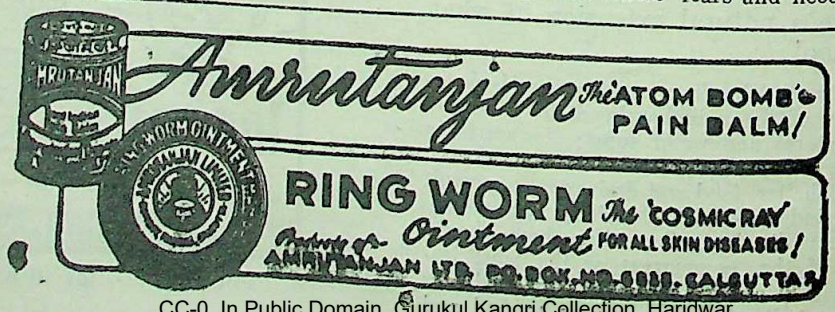
Mr. David A. Morse, Director-General of the ILO toured India during December 1949 and January 1950 on the invitation of the Government of India, and visited among other places, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Delhi, Lucknow, Kanpur, Mysore and Madras. During his tour, Mr. Morse met, among others, Cabinet Ministers, Government officials and representatives of employers and workers.

Mr. Morse's address at Labour Ministers' Conference

Mr. David A. Morse, Director-General of the ILO, addressed the Labour Ministers' Conference held recently at Mysore, on 27th December 1949. Paying a tribute to India, Mr. Morse said that the world at large today looked to India, not only for its stability, but also for its leadership in the world and the preservation of world peace. He called for the closest possible understanding and co-operation in the work of the ILO and emphasised that the ILO was a universal organisation, which reflected every point of view and the problems of all sectors of the world. He appealed to the Labour Ministers to accept the ILO's co-operation in ensuring the proper utilisation of India's resources on a priority basis.

Mr. Morse's New Year Message

In a New Year message, Mr. David A. Morse, Director-General of the I.L.O. said that no year in history had come more richly blessed with opportunities for men and women of good will than the new year, 1950. There never was a time when the men of all continents were so close to one another in a physical sense, or better informed concerning each others' fears and needs. There never was



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a time when so much wealth was at the disposal of men and Governments for the rapid multiplication of new wealth. The press, the radio, the universities and the schools were never so potent before. There never was so much power in the world or so many machines. "Yet no year in human history has arrived at a more difficult or a more dangerous time. Much of the power and machinery which are needed to put an end to fear and want in the less developed regions of the world is being used, instead, to create new fear and, thereby, to produce unnecessary want. Too often, education and public opinion are used to spread fear instead of to destroy it. Vast treasures of human skill and experience and capital and machinery are being hoarded behind artificial barriers of nationalism and economic apprehension."

Stating that the ILO, being an agency not only of Governments but also of the workers and employers of 60 nations, wanted earnestly to help the men and women of all countries to realise their dreams of peace securely built on prosperity and social justice, he appealed to all in the name of the workers, employers and Governments, to do all that lay within their power to aid the flow of technical knowledge and investment into those lands which needed it most, and understand and support the international actions which were being taken to raise the economic and social standards of all countries. Together, the peoples and the nations of the world could make the year 1950 a year of glorious advance. Divided, they could make it a black year of terror and despair.

The 110th Session of the Governing Body of the ILO was held at Mysore, from 3 to 7 January 1950. Mr. S. Lall, Chairman of the Governing Body presided. The Labour Ministers of India and Burma attended the session by special invitation.

Maharaja of Mysore's Welcome address: In the course of his welcome address, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore stated that he learnt that a building of the ILO was intended to be constructed in India and announced the Mysore State's proportionate share of the expenses of the building.

Mr. Lall's speech: Need to tackle Asia's problems stressed: Mr. S. Lall, Chairman of the Governing Body speaking at the opening session emphasised the need for ILO to tackle Asia's problems. He stated: "In Asia the toughest problems still await solution. Asia is a challenge to the ILO. If we fail in Asia, we shall fail everywhere. For this reason, I regard the holding of this session in Mysore as an event of considerable significance, both for the ILO and for Asia."

Mr. Jagjiwan Ram's address: Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, Minister for Labour, Government of India, addressing the opening meeting expressed the hope that the session of the Governing Body will bring ILO closer to Asia and Asia closer to the ILO, thereby contributing in ample measure towards the promotion of peace and goodwill throughout the world. He was glad to find that the ILO was now seriously directing its attention to Asia and her problems. Regional activities were necessary if local requirements were not to be overlooked. But regional activities must be carried on within the international framework because all people must co-operate for the solution of the problems of want and poverty and not only those who are afflicted. The ILO, he stated, would have to demonstrate to the people of Asia that it was willing and able to contribute substantially towards the solution of their special problems.

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ILO Asian Conference, Ceylon, Adopts 16-Point Programme

Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon, January 27, 1950 (*ILO News Service*) : The Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation concluded its work today with the adoption of 16 resolutions for the improvement of Asian social and labour conditions.

The meeting, attended by 121 employer, worker and government representatives of 18 countries, took action on a series of resolutions which will go before the ILO's Governing Body at its March meeting in Geneva for consideration.

The states represented were Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Federation of Malaya, France, Hongkong, India, Laos, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, United Kingdom, Vietnam. The United States and Japan sent observers.

During the conference, while the delegates were waiting for five technical committees to frame the proposals which were adopted, 42 speakers discussed the report presented to the conference by ILO Director General David A. Morse.

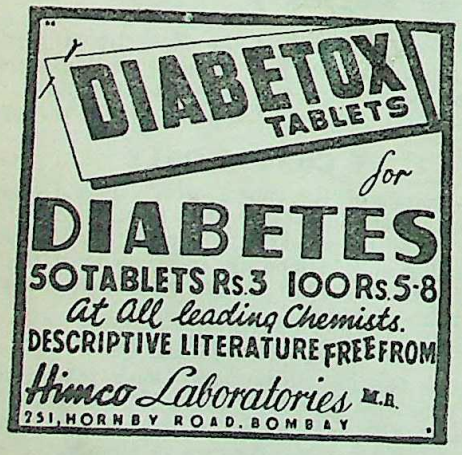
Without exception they spoke of the extreme gravity of social and economic conditions in the Asian countries and the need for international action and assistance. In reply, Mr. Morse urged the delegates to "root out and fight the ills of poverty, disease, famine and ignorance" as the "surest and really only road to world peace." He outlined the programme of technical assistance which the ILO proposed for Asia but emphasised that the responsibility for the "staggering task" of improving living standards in Asia must be shouldered by the Asian countries themselves.

T. B. Jayah, Ceylon, minister of labour and social services, was president of the conference.

The ILO is a specialised agency associated with the United Nations.

Indian Scientist Accepts High Post in WHO

Major-General Sir Sahib Singh Sokhey, who for the last 18 years has directed the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, has now accepted a high international post as Assistant Director-General of the *World Health Organization*, it was announced on March 2, New Delhi. Very shortly he is to leave India to take up his new duties in Geneva, Switzerland.



Dr. Sokhey's work is known and respected by scientists and medical men throughout the world. He is an outstanding authority on plague and cholera. Under his leadership important progress has been made in the production of plague and cholera vaccine and anti-snake venom serum, while the present reputation of the Haffkine Institute as one of the famous laboratories of the world may be said to be due almost entirely to his energy and initiative.

At the sametime Dr. Sokhey has devoted much attention to field work, and he has played an important part in recent advances in methods of treating plague in particular.

In medical circles considerable satisfaction is felt that Dr. Sokhey, who has now reached the age of retirement from the Haffkine Institute, has the opportunity to continue his labours in an even wider sphere.

At Geneva Headquarters of WHO, Dr. Sokhey will succeed Dr. Raymond Gautier as Assistant Director-General in charge of the Department of Technical Services which includes the Divisions of Epidemiology, Health Statistics and Therapeutic Substances. The Department of Advisory Services, responsible for field work and direct assistance to Governments, is under another Assistant Director-General, Dr. Martha Eliot, (U.S.A.), who visited India last September.

The Director-General of WHO is Dr. Brock Chisholm of Canada.—*World Health Organisation.*

Diabetes Detection Machine

A device that automatically and speedily performs a careful chemical blood test for detecting diabetes was recently demonstrated in the United States. Completing tests at the rate of as many as 120 an hour, the machine makes possible mass screening of hundreds of persons to discover victims of diabetes.

The chemical test used in the apparatus was developed by the U.S. Public Health Service. The machine, called a Clinitron, was perfected by Thomas Hewson of a private engineering firm, Lessells Associates, Inc., of Boston. Since the machine is about the size of a suitcase and weighs only about 20 pounds, it is easily portable.

The Clinitron reports whether the sugar level of a person's blood is above normal—one sign of possible diabetes. A drop or two of blood taken from a finger is mixed with a small quantity of water and placed in a test tube. After the tube is inserted in a slot on the rim of a rotating disk, the entire operation is automatic.

As the disk rotates, two chemical reagents in pill form drop into the tube, which then is heated and inclined slightly. Heating continues until a protein precipitate rises in the test tube. Then a third reagent is added, the heat is reduced, and the tube agitated in a cooling water bath. After a fourth reagent is added, the test tube is further cooled and ejected into a rack or basket. The color of the tube's contents indicates the blood sugar level.

The value of the machine is seen in helping public health officials detect cases of diabetes early enough so that it may be controlled. Through early detection and the use of improved insulin treatment, a diabetic today can look forward to living a long and almost normal life. A year-round, nation-wide campaign to detect early cases of diabetes is conducted by the American Diabetes Association.—USIS.

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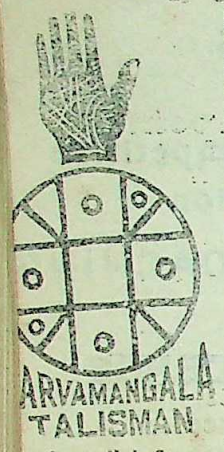

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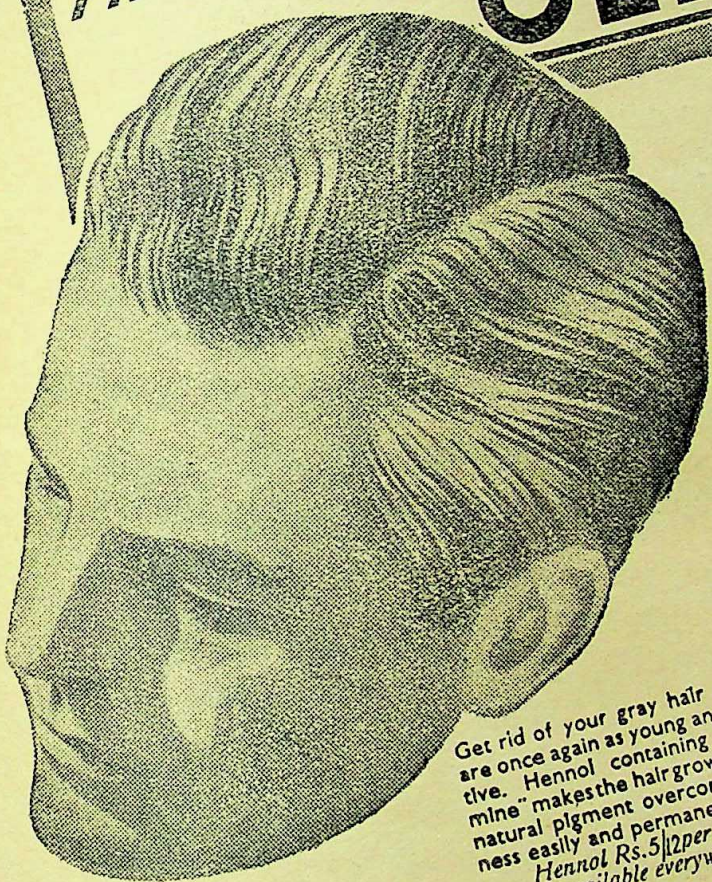

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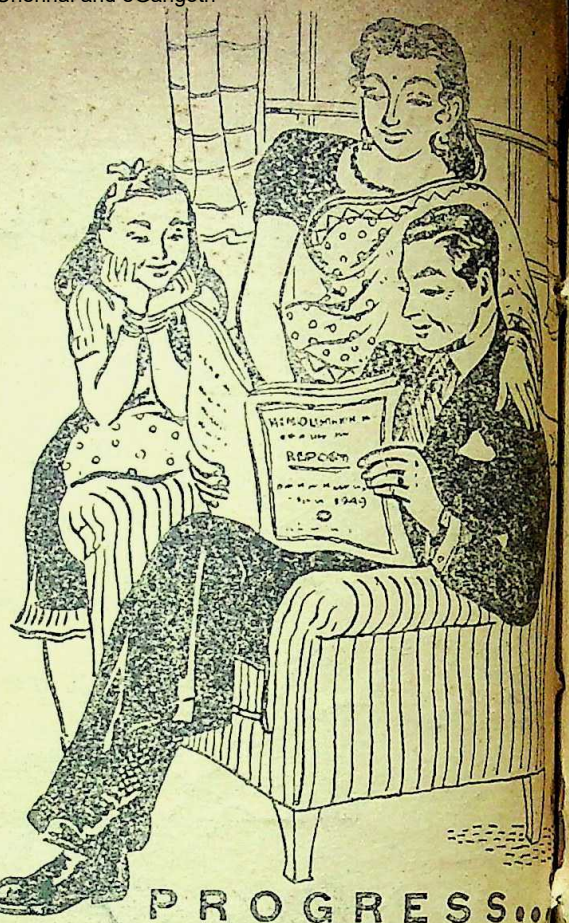

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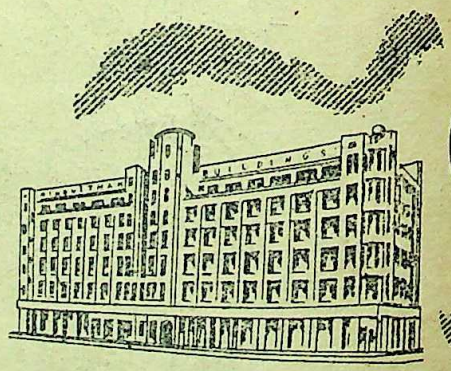

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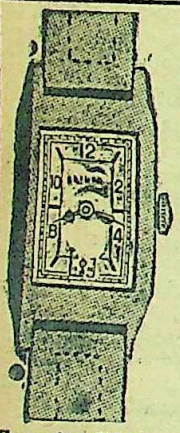

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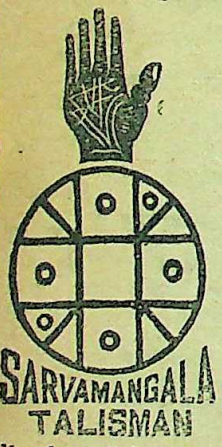

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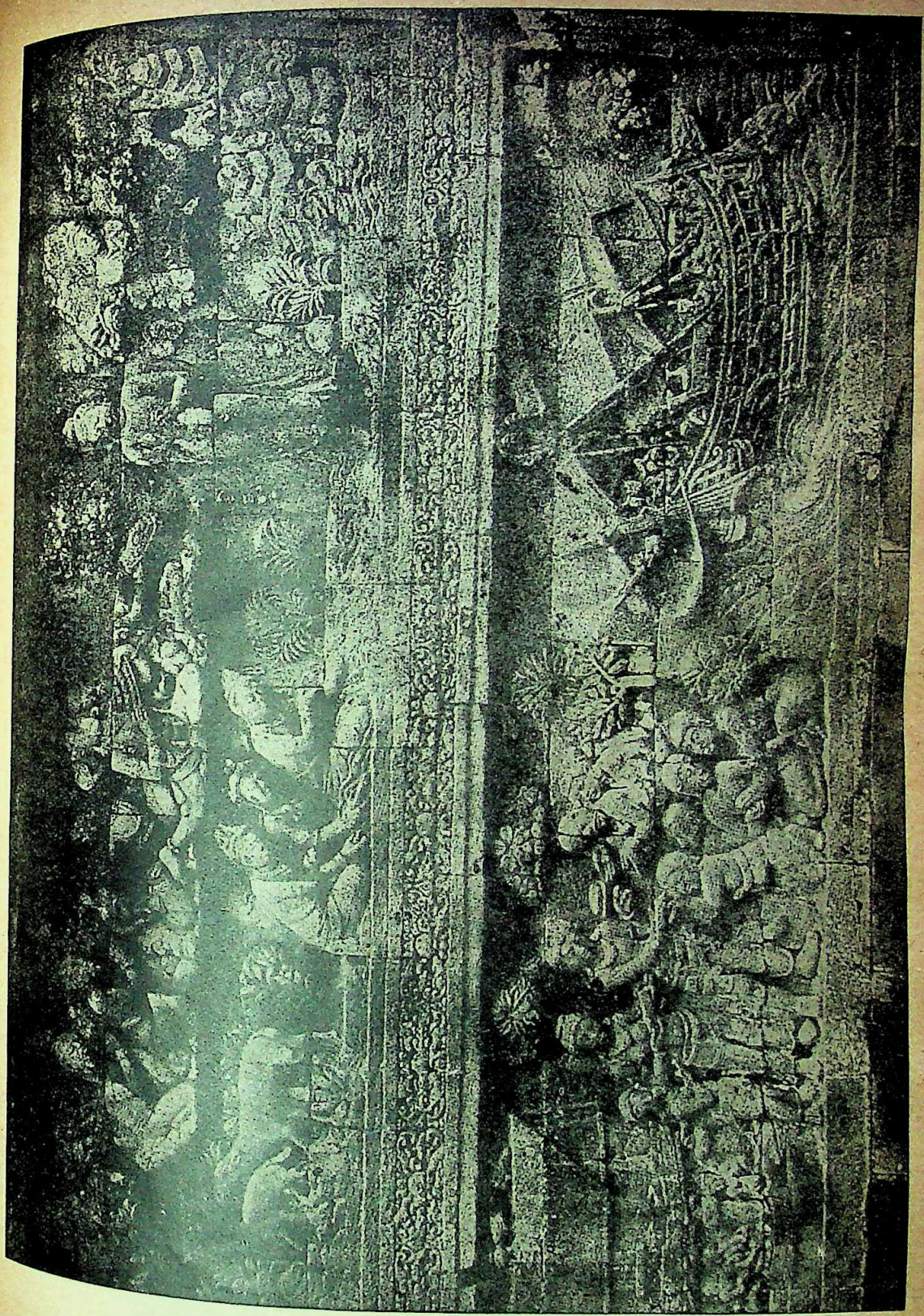

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1950

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NOTES

The World Situation

Ominous portents have appeared in the Far-Eastern horizon. It is beyond the powers of any sage or prophet to foretell what they presage. Let us hope saner counsels will prevail over intransigence and that the trouble will be localized and reduced to normality.

But despite all hopes to contrary it behoves us to set our houses in order and to prepare for any possible exigency—even for that of a world conflagration. There is no sense in ignoring the fact that the world is arraigned today in two camps, both armed to the teeth. And in both camps there is no want of hot-heads and sabre rattlers ready for a trial of strength with a "damn the consequences" attitude. Under these circumstances a mere chance slip may precipitate a third World War, before even the wounds of the last one have begun to heal. The consequences would indeed be catastrophic, too terrible to visualise, but nevertheless we have to face the possibilities, while striving to maintain peace and amity with all nations.

The leaders of our nation are perfectly right in trying to keep out of any alignment save and except that of peaceful nations. But there are intrinsic values and basic principles, common to all civilizations, which no nation dare ignore with impunity, and therefore circumstances might quite possibly arise which might force us to take up arms. We must realize, without any further delay, that there are considerations which cannot be ignored and that dire consequences may follow a blind disregard of facts. Preparedness must therefore be the watchword of the moment. We would like to be assured, therefore, that those who are in charge of the nation's affairs, are exercising ceaseless vigilance together with caution.

We may examine the position abroad a little later, but the situation at home has to be examined and a reckoning arrived at without the least avoidable delay. As matters stand, our nationals are passing through a period of extreme stress and tension, and there are unmistakable signs that the entire social and economic structure has reached the breaking point under the strain. Our leaders are inexperienced and there are hosts of disruptive forces abroad, seeking to undermine the fabric of the Union along the fissures created by greed, corruption and social injustice. It is time therefore to make an all-out effort to stop all malpractices and anti-social and anti-national movements. A halt must be called to the jockeying for political power as well, as there is an urgent call for national solidarity.

Turning to our next door neighbour, Pakistan, we think that the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact may indeed yet prove to be a blessing in disguise. We say "in disguise" deliberately, because we confess we neither liked nor believed in the Pact, at the time of its formulation, because of the procedure followed by Pandit Nehru and because of our experiences in the past about such agreements with Pakistan. We have to admit now that if the nationals of the two countries were locked in an armed trial of strength, all our doors would have been left open, perforce, to any third party that might be formidable enough to contemplate infiltration or open aggression.

We have to take stock of the Pact with an open mind therefore, as, under the present circumstances, both India and Pakistan stand to lose substantially if it fails. A realistic view of the situation must be insisted upon as the alternative to the Pact is now relegated to the sphere of speculation in its entity. The men at the top in Pakistan are viewing the mat- as we have been assured

PILGRIMS' CAMP
By Hirachand Dugar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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by Pir Rashidi, the spokesman for the P.E.N.C. And we must say that we have been impressed by the frankness and sincerity of the chief representative of our brother editors of Pakistan.

It may be said that we are laying too much emphasis on a minor incident in a far distant country, and therefore all this homily is uncalled for. To such critics we would say that the Korean Incident may be taken at the best as a frightful demonstration, convincing in its stark reality, of the precarious condition of world politics. Even if the situation does not deteriorate any more, no sane person can dismiss the implications thereof and go on with theoretical speculations regarding gain and loss.

Korea

The centre of gravity of international politics has shifted sharply from Europe to the Far East. With the sudden invasion of South Korea by North Korea coming close upon the heels of the cold war, the world now stands face to face with the problem of the third World War. On the defeat of Japan Korea was cut into two along the 38th parallel, the northern half surrendered to Russia and southern one to the U.S.A. Since then the north had a Russian sponsored government and the south had an American backed one. Shortly after partition, efforts for the unification of Korea started. The United Nations had sent a Commission to Korea for a local study and report. They were refused facilities to enter North Korea. The Commission is now in South Korea.

The invaders from North Korea are reported to have been armed with Russian made rifles, mortars, heavy guns and ammunition. They are also believed to have Russian fighter and reconnaissance planes, bombers, light tanks and light naval craft.

Immediately on receipt of the news, contrary to its Kashmir attitude, the U. N. Security Council went into session to consider the Korean fighting. The only item before the Council was the United States complaint of "aggression against the Government of South Korea" by North Korean forces. The Soviet delegate was absent. Mr. Lie said that the Report of U. N. Korea Commission complained that military action had been undertaken by North Korea in direct violation of the General Assembly resolution and also in violation of the principle of the United Nations Charter. The Security Council on June 25 branded the invasion of South Korea from the North as an act of aggression, called for fighting to stop, and ordered the northern forces back over the border. President Truman issued a statement in which he said that the U.S.A. would vigorously support the efforts of the Security Council to end the serious breach of the peace in Korea. He said :

"Our concern over the lawless action taken by the forces from North Korea and our sympathy and support for the people of Korea in this situation are being demonstrated by the co-operative action of American personnel in Korea as well as by steps taken to expedite and augment assistance of the type being furnished under the mutual defence assistance programme.

"Those responsible for this act of aggression must realise how seriously the Government of the United States views such threats to the peace of the world.

"Wilful disregard of the obligation to keep the peace cannot be tolerated by nations that support the United Nations' Charter.

"In accordance with the resolution of the Security Council, the United States will vigorously support the effort of the Council to terminate this serious breach of the peace."

U.S.A. ordered General MacArthur to rush all available arms aid from Japan to South Korea.

The order to rush all possible supplies to aid the South Koreans came as General Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, summoned his chiefs to a top-level conference in Washington pentagon headquarters.

Meanwhile, General J. Lawton Collins, the Army's Chief of Staff, arranged to brief the civilian secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force on latest moves while the United Nations Security Council discussed the invasion—branded as a threat to international peace.

Last year the U. S. Congress allocated 120,000,000 dollars in Marshal Aid to South Korea. This year it is due to receive another 100,000,000 dollars in economic assistance.

South Korea has also received about 10,000,000 dollars in military aid this year and had been expecting to receive a similar amount in next year's budget.

The South Koreans have also had the use of large quantities of military equipment including light arms, ammunition, communications equipment and lorries which the United States Army left behind when it withdrew.

America's decision to send South Korea as much arms aid as she can and as fast as she can was made at a top-level diplomatic and military meeting at the State Department, it was learned.

A high State Department official said before the conference, "Things still seem to favour the North. This seems to be a real attack."

General MacArthur's Headquarters also described the North Korean operation as an "extensive invasion." They, it was believed, had thrown in 70,000 troops and 70 tanks against the South.

Two days after the fighting started, President Truman ordered U.S. air and sea forces into action in Korea and took steps to safeguard the security of other non-Communist States in Asia. Acting as Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Armed Forces, he ordered the U.S. Navy and Air Forces to give South Korean Government troops "cover and support in

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their resistance to the North Korean invaders." He ordered the Seventh Fleet "to prevent any attack on Formosa" and announced acceleration of military aid to the Philippines and Indo-China. He also called upon the Chinese Nationalist Government to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. In a prepared statement, he said :

"In Korea, the Government forces, which were armed to prevent border raids and to preserve internal security, were attacked by invading forces from North Korea.

"The Security Council of the U. N. called upon the invading troops to cease hostilities and to withdraw to the 38th Parallel. This they have not done, but on the contrary have pressed the attack.

"The Security Council called upon all members of the U.N. to render every assistance to the U.N. in the execution of this resolution.

"In these circumstances I have ordered U.S. air and sea forces to give the Korean Government troops cover and support.

"The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war.

"It has defied the orders of the Security Council of the U.N. issued to preserve international peace and security.

"In these circumstances the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to U.S. forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area."

General MacArthur, Allied Supreme Commander in Japan, has taken charge of the whole tactical operation around Korea, including operational control of the Seventh Fleet. A U.S. Defence Department official said, that the U.S. did not contemplate sending ground forces, either army or marine, to Korea.

The Security Council, on June 27, was called upon by U.S.A. to allow all members of the U. N. to help the Korean Republic to repel the armed attack. The Council passed the following resolution :

"The Security Council having determined that the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea constitutes a breach of the peace.

"Having called upon the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their Armed Forces to the 38th Parallel, and having noted from the report of the U.N. Commission for Korea that the authorities in North Korea have neither ceased hostilities nor withdrawn their armed Forces to the 38th Parallel and that urgent military measures are required to restore international peace and security and having noted the appeal from the Republic of Korea to the U.N. for immediate and effective steps to secure peace and security :

"Recommends that the members of the U.N. furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area."

The North Korean case has been put forward by its Premier Kim Il Sun in a broadcast speech. He said :

"The forces of the puppet Government of the traitor Syngman Rhee started an offensive on the territory to the North of the 38th Parallel. The valiantly fighting protection units having received the attack, checked the advance of the forces of the puppet army of Syngman Rhee.

"The Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, having considered the situation, ordered our People's Army to pass to a decisive counter-offensive.

"Executing the order, the Army of the Korean People's Democratic Republic repulsed the enemy from the territory to the North of the 38th Parallel and advanced 10 to 15 kilometres southwards, liberating the towns of Ongjin, Enan, Kaeson and Paikczon as well as a number of other towns and inhabited localities.

"The traitorous clique of Syngman Rhee has unleashed an anti-popular civil war, although the patriotic democratic forces of our Motherland have fought for the unification of the Motherland by peaceful means. It is well known that the Syngman Rhee clique has long prepared for civil war.

The Premier said the Southern Koreans constantly provoked military clashes on the 38th Parallel and added that "In the course of the preparations for the campaign into the North, on orders from the American imperialists, the traitors did not shrink from entering into a conspiracy with the hated enemies of the Korean people, the Japanese militarists.

"The Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, together with all patriotic democratic parties and public organizations, together with the people of all Korea has made every effort to avoid the misfortune of civil war and to unite our Motherland without bloodshed by peaceful means."

The Premier declared that "The Korean people must defend the Korean People's Democratic Republic and its Constitution, liquidate the anti-popular Fascist puppet Syngman Rhee regime set up in the southern part of our Motherland, liberate the southern part of our Motherland from the rule of the Syngman Rhee clique and establish there People's Committees, genuine organs of power."

"We must set up one single independent Democratic State and subordinate all work to the requirements and to the task of destroying the enemy," he said.

On June 27, the U.S.A. sent a Note to Russia asking it to use its influence to bring about a withdrawal of the North Korean forces invading South Korea.

On June 28, President Truman said in Washington that it was now up to the Russian leaders to decide whether there was to be peace or a third World War.

On the same day, Britain entered the field. The Prime Minister Mr. Attlee announced that Britain had decided immediately to place her naval forces in Japanese waters at the disposal of American authorities intervening in the Korean war. When he informed the House of Commons of this decision, Mr. Churchill, on behalf of the Opposition said, that the Prime Minister spoke for all parties and, "we shall do our best to give him any support he needs."

On June 29, Commonwealth High Commissioners in London discussed the new Far East moves following the Korean war. The meeting, it is believed, may presage new developments in the war against Communists in Malaya.

On that day, the decisions of the Australian and

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Indian Governments were also announced. Australian and New Zealand Fleet were placed at the disposal of the U. N. through the U.S.A. The Dutch Government also decided to make Dutch Naval Forces available for necessary measures in the Korea area. India decided to assist the Republic of South Korea in her fight against invasion from the North. The following is the India Government's *Communique* :

The Government of India have viewed with grave concern the developments in Korea involving as they do not only civil war but also a threat to world peace. There have been a number of border incidents between North and South Korea in the past. But, whatever the nature of these might have been, it appears clear from the information available to the Government of India that a large-scale invasion of South Korea took place by armed forces of the North Korean Government.

This information was supplied by a variety of sources, the most authoritative among them being the U. N. Commission on Korea on which India is represented, and which, at the time of invasion, was in Seoul. In view of this information the Government of India's permanent delegate to the U. N. and representative on the Security Council, Sir Narsing Rau, supported the first resolution of the Security Council which declared that such aggression had taken place and called for a cease-fire and withdrawal of the North Korean forces to the 38th parallel.

This decision of the Security Council was not acted upon by the North Korean Government and their forces and the invasion continued till it threatened the capital city of Seoul.

The Security Council met again to consider this rapidly changing situation and passed the second resolution on Korea on the night of June 27 (*New York Time*). The Government of India's representative on the Security Council was unable to participate in the voting on this second resolution on Korea because he could not communicate it in time to his Government and obtain their instructions. The operative part of this resolution "recommends that the members of the U. N. furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area."

The Government of India have given the most careful consideration to this resolution of the Security Council in the context of the events in Korea and also of their general foreign policy. They are opposed to any attempt to settle international disputes by resort to aggression.

For this reason, Sir Narsing Rau, on behalf of the Government of India, voted in favour of the first resolution of the Security Council. The halting of aggression and the quick restoration of peaceful conditions are essential preludes to a satisfactory settlement. The Government of India, therefore, also accept the second resolution of the Security Council.

This decision of the Government of India does not, however, involve any modification of their foreign policy.

This policy is based on the promotion of world peace and the development of friendly relations with all countries, it remains an independent policy which will continue to be determined solely by India's ideals and objectives.

The Government of India earnestly hope that even at this stage it may be possible to put an end to the fighting and to settle the dispute by mediation.

Affairs in the Far East had, for some time past, been drifting towards a crisis which is now upon us. Events here had not merited the attention they deserved and were much under-rated in the world Press. Mao Tse-tung's capture of power was described generally as a sort of agrarian revolution having merely an ideological Communist background. This was almost the general view to which Mr. Bevin and Pandit Nehru subscribed which led to a quick recognition of the Communist regime. The fight in Malaya can no longer be said to be one of pure banditry, its political character, importance and magnitude is now fairly clear. In Indonesia, the confederation in power may soon have to measure strength with the extreme Left who are quite strong and consolidated. The Philippines sit on a volcano. The Huks are giving the Government trouble. In Indo-China, the Viet Minh has been under-estimated from the very beginning, and the manner by which the Communists were sought to be countered with the aid of an ex-Emperor tells a sorry tale. Burma had no peace since her freedom, she is torn between three parties, the Communists having a formidable strength. Against this background, Pandit Nehru has just completed a South-East Asian tour. After this tour, he seemed to be prophetic when, in the Calcutta Editors' Conference, as also on some other occasion, he referred to the gathering clouds in the Far East which might bring on another world devastating typhoon.

Will Korea lead to the third World War?—this is the question uppermost in every heart. If it drifts the way of Civil War in Spain where the Fascists won with German help because the Powers aiding the Democrats could not agree among themselves, it will lead to a World War. But if the Korean Civil War follows along the Israel-Arab lines where Powers have not staged a miniature try-out of arms and strategy, it will boil down to a zonal territorial conflict and the World War clouds will melt away.

Weeks, if not days, will decide the issue.

Soviet Boycott of U.N.O. Organisations

Since political power over China went from the hands of the Nationalists to those of the Communists, the Soviet Union and its allies represented in the various organs of the United Nations Organisation have been consistently boycotting these, specially the Security Council, the highest Executive of these International organisations because China is represented in them by a Nationalist representative. This boycott has been holding up all progressive measures for the solution of the world's many intricate problems; it has been given point to the rising temper of the two groups of world Powers led by the United States and the Soviet Union respectively.

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India has been trying to play a lone hand in this affair. She has recognised the Chinese Communist regime, and it has been her attempt to break the present deadlock. It appears now that the deadlock is on the way to a break. Sree H. L. Jerath, Deputy Director General of Post and Telegraph in the Government of India who went to represent his State at the meeting of the Executive and Liaison Commission of the Universal Postal Union reports that this meeting has taken a decision that will have far-reaching consequences. The decision taken is,

"The expulsion of the representative of Nationalist China and the recognition of the Republican delegate as the sole representative of China. This move which was made by Czechoslovakia was seconded by India and it was a bold decision in view of the fact that this was the first agency of the United Nations to recognise Republican China on the grounds that it was the Government in charge of the postal administration of the country."

Soviet Union and Peace

They had a Peace Conference at Vienna (Austria), on June 11 last to popularize the cause of Peace in the world. The following, sent from Vienna on June 15 last, throws light on the mind of a section of the delegates to the Conference with regard to this problem troubling the hearts of the world's more than 225 crores of people and causing headache to the whole body of world statesmen and its thought-leaders:

"Prof. Hans Thirring, Austria's leading atomic scientist, threw down a challenge to Eastern European delegates to secure from their leaders pledges of freedom for their peoples and 'practical proofs of their own humanity' at a session of the Communist-organised peace conference here.

"According to the reports, he faced the Eastern European delegates on the platform and declared: 'You must understand that millions of anxious people know that in the Soviet Union and in the People's Democracies strict military organisations exist and that spokesmen of these countries carry on an uncompromising relentless campaign against the Governments of the rest of the world.

"Further, every first of May, the whole world can view with amazement pictures and reports showing indescribable military parades with the most modern tanks, bombers and frightful flame-throwers and other weapons taking place in Moscow, of all places.

"Is it to be wondered at if the people of the West, intimated by this sort of sabre-rattling parade, can place little faith in peace offers from the East?"

Prof. Thirring asked the Soviet Union to give up its permanent veto against the conclusion of an Austrian peace treaty; this would be a 'splendid practical contribution to the peace idea.'

Prof. Thirring's speech was really directed to the Soviet Union. The delegates from the Soviet-dominated States and from the Soviet Union had to reply, therefore:

Czechoslovakia's Health Minister, Josef Plojhar, after quick consultation with the Russian delegates, declared in reply that neither Russian nor the other East European States would 'make one single step over their own frontiers for an aggressive war.'

Amid cheers, he told the delegates: 'On the basis of our so-called Eastern ideology we are convinced, the new socialist world does not need a war, and will certainly not start a war.'

The Russian delegate, Anatol Cafronov followed him and said: 'The Soviet Army has no aggressive intention.'

American Naval Bases in Japan

The Press and politicians of the Soviet Union and of its allies never tire of propagandising the thesis that "dollar imperialism" is anxious to retain its strangle-hold over Japan. As evidence of this intention they cite the delay in General MacArthur's departure from Japan with his occupation forces. The Soviet Press also say that this delay is really caused by the anxiety of the U.S.A. to get from Japan certain naval bases in her mainland as protective measures against the rise of Communism in Japan and as jumping-off grounds for the attack on Communism's homeland.

We have no desire to take part in this controversy. But the following news sent from Japan on June 6 last, puts a different colour to the whole of it:

"Naval bases in Japan are not essential to United States security, Admiral Arthur Radford, C.-in-C. of the U. S. Pacific Fleet, told reporters here yesterday. Pearl Harbour and Guam were the main U.S. bases in the Pacific.

The U.S. Navy had during the past war highly developed mobile support groups. Short-based facilities were desirable if they could be obtained and produced, but the Navy could operate with Pearl Harbour and Guam if necessary. Formosa could be made, in an emergency, into 'a very important base' by anyone who held it, the Admiral said. The Russians could turn Formosa into a 'very serious threat' if they wanted to."

The opinion cited above will not, we are afraid, silence the controversialists. But it is necessary to know its various details.

China and India

It was not expected when India accorded recognition to the Mao Tse-tung regime in China, generally known as the Communist regime, that this will receive praise from the United States, from its ruling classes at least. But we were not prepared for the continuous sniping to which our Government is being subjected from American publicmen and publicists. The following sent from New York on June 16 last by the *Press Trust of India* and *Reuter* throws light on their attitude.

The New York Times, in a despatch from its Hongkong correspondent reported that India is now the one country outside the Soviet Union and People's Democracies, to get "favoured courtesies" in Peking. The 600-word report was headed: "Chinese Reds give special attention to India;" "Nehru envoy gets favoured courtesies—Communists stress common frontier."

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Giving an example of the "special treatment" given to India, the report said, "The official news report describing the massive May Day parade in Peking listed India as the only country except the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies represented on the viewing platform."

The despatch added, that the Chinese Communist Government "had been far more friendly with the Government of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru than with any other large nation of the non-Communist world."

The report referred to "the warm reception" given to Sardar K. M. Panikkar, India's Ambassador, and said that texts of speeches made on the occasion of the Indian diplomat's presentation of credentials to Mao Tse-tung "were broadcast by the Peking Radio." One week later, Mao gave a State dinner in honour of Sardar Panikkar, a report of which was circulated to the Chinese Press throughout the country by the official news service.

The New China News Agency also noted that Sardar Panikkar had separately called on such top Communist leaders as Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh and Lieu Shao-chi.

"In his greeting to Sardar Panikkar, Mao spoke of the common frontier between India and China."

Dependence on Britain

We have a certain feeling that the Government of India and its military advisers have been depending too much on British advice, experience and military equipment for the defence of their State. The reason for it is easily understood ; our military leaders have learnt their trade at British institutions and under British instruction. They are naturally afraid to go in for other help and advice. And as the Anglo-Saxon Powers have standardized their weapons of war, India has willy-nilly no other choice but to depend on Britain for her military preparations. The constant visits to Britain of India's military leaders is an evidence of this fact. They have, therefore, to draw upon British experience for the organisation of their fighting forces.

We have never been able to understand why an attempt should not be made to throw off this dependence. The sorriest part of the affair is that India has to look as yet to outside Powers for ideas on the latest technique of warfare. And as in the past Britain has been in the habit of saddling India with her unused and unusable equipments, we will not be surprised to hear that she has been doing the same in the matter of military advice and equipments. We have often wondered why the India Government have not tried to exploit German, Japanese and Russian experience in this line. It is not too late to mend. In any case, for obvious reasons, no country should depend entirely on one foreign power in the matter of its defence equipment, technique and plans.

Dr. Matthai's Statement

The resignation of Dr. Matthai and his statement in reply to the Premier's statement, had met with a mixed reception in the country. The newspapers generally condemned it while the average public received it with acclaim. As the Premier was away in his South-East Asian tour, Maulana Azad, the Education Minister replied in a public statement to Dr. Matthai. This must be considered unfair and not worthy of a Cabinet Minister. The Maulana Azad's action left the other Ministers or any of them to come up in support of Dr. Matthai and thus start a chorus of mutual recrimination. The only person who should make such a reply is the Prime Minister, and nobody else.

Vigil made the following comments upon this controversy which deserve attention :

"Last week we said in the Editorial Notes that unless the differences are 'purely personal or relate to top secrets affecting national security,' a Minister who leaves the Cabinet or is made to leave it should take the country into confidence about his point of view. This we hold is the procedure followed in every democratic country. Cabinet Ministers, however chosen, are the representatives of the people. If they leave their posts of responsibility the public has the right to know the reason why. That is the only way to educate voters to take an enlightened interest in their country's affairs. Therefore even when Mr. Neogy resigned we regretted his silence. If he had not been silent there would have been no ugly rumours about officials in the Commerce Department which the Prime Minister thought it necessary to contradict.

"We are therefore glad that Dr. Matthai has made a full statement on the differences that led to his resignation.

"Some papers have called Dr. Matthai's statement unfortunate. It is in a sense unfortunate, but only for him, if he has yet any ambition to join the present Government after a temporary retirement. If a democracy has a permanent Government it may as well dispense with the costly and cumbersome paraphernalia of democracy. The essence of a democracy is a periodically changing Government. How can this change come about unless people are made familiar with differing viewpoints all designed for the good of the country and for its strength? Nobody doubts that both Attlee and Churchill are good British patriots who, above everything else, want to make their country strong and prosperous. They both keep their points of view before the people and leave it to them to decide which policies have their approval.

"The Prime Minister denied that there were fundamental differences between him and Dr. Matthai (once a tower of strength). He laid emphasis on differences regarding approach to the Planning Commission. Dr. Matthai says that the reason given by the Prime Minister does not adequately explain his withdrawal from the Cabinet and he has in detail explained the differences about the Planning Commission which led to his resignation. He has referred to other differences also, namely his fear that the Trade Pact with Pakistan would inevitably lead to a policy of appeasement, coupled with his suspicion that foreign influences were at work in our counsels to revalue the rupee to the detriment of our economy. He has also complained of extravagance in the

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expenditure of public revenues specially in the departments controlled by the Prime Minister. These certainly are no minor differences. If the Prime Minister had not considered them as major, the question of Dr. Matthai's resignation could not have risen. It is widely known that the latter had sent in his resignation last winter, before the budget session. The Prime Minister dissuaded him from pursuing the matter and asked him to carry on through the budget session. The session was over but no change was made. The differences had evidently been squared up and the resignation withdrawn."

We however think that subsequent developments on the Planning Commission's status, power and activities became such that Dr. Matthai considered it wise to protest. The allegation he made against this body is serious. The Planning Commission is an appointive body responsible only to the Prime Minister. The Cabinet is responsible to the Parliament. If the Planning Commission is allowed full voice on all matters of economic policy then the Ministries of Finance, Industry and Supply, Commerce, Food, Agriculture — all become subordinate to it. Dr. Matthai alleged that the Planning Commission decided matters and asked the Cabinet to ditto it. Acceptance of this position means in effect acceptance of the Prime Minister as a Dictator. In vital matters of State policy, the Cabinet will be left to answer criticisms in the Parliament for decisions taken by the Planning Commission.

Trees and Cereals and Cash-crops

An India-wide tree planting campaign has been launched for the first week of July. We do not know what experts decided this date at least for Bengal. Here the month of July is the worst one for the planting of trees. Planting is done here either well before the beginning of the monsoons so that the plants can be brought up to a certain stage so as to be able to stand the monsoon and not get drowned and rot, or at the close of it. Nobody plants trees here in the midst of the monsoon which breaks about the 15th of June.

The same confusion exists in the Grow-More-Food and Sow-More-Jute campaigns. In a Press release in May, Sri K. M. Munshi said :

"India is deficit not only in food but also in jute and cotton, and unless we can provide adequate quantities of jute and cotton to our industries, we may have to face a very serious industrial and economic crisis.

"It is, therefore, necessary to have a co-ordinated plan for achieving a three-fold self-sufficiency in food, cotton and jute.

"This can be done by intensifying the efforts in areas suitable for each of these three crops, and by reducing the margin of impact between them to the minimum. For instance, the areas most suitable for food production are the wheat-producing areas of Malwa, the delta systems of South India, the Ganga and Jamuna Canal tracts of Punjab (I) and U.P. and the Banas Kantha District of Bombay.

"As regards jute cultivation, the problem is still simpler because West Bengal and Bihar are the main areas offering great scope for increasing jute cultivation. It is in these areas that we make an all-out effort to increase production in the short period now left to us in which to reach the target."

Mr. Munshi stressed the importance of the execution of these schemes and confessed that results "have not impressed me as being satisfactory."

"On the side of the administration, there is a lack of enthusiasm, hesitancy and absence of adjustments with the politician: in the public mind, there is a suspicion of the official. This is happily not universal, but we cannot ignore the existence of the unfortunate situation."

Now on the basis of this speech one would imagine that the peasants of West Bengal and Bihar have no reason whatsoever for bothering about the sale of all the jute they might grow. Indeed the road to Eldorado was open to them if they would but grow more jute. But then there is the Indian Jute Mills Association, dominated by its old British bosses, who are aided by a still more ruthless and unscrupulous group, who are of our own nationality, be it said to our sorrow and shame, which has intruded into Indian Industry. The Jute Pact was the result, and now where stands the Indian jute-grower ?

Kashmir

Sir Owen Dixon, the arbitrator appointed by the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation, has been in India for more than three weeks. He has been discussing matters with regard to the Kashmir deadlock with the Governments of India and Pakistan. His visit appears to have created fresh problems in this matter and started speculations in favour of various solutions of the Kashmir affair. The Premier of Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah, is reported to be canvassing support for his scheme of an "Independent Kashmir," to be guaranteed by India and Pakistan and other great Powers. The British Press has stuck to its old plea for the partition of Kashmir.

This plea has gained a new importance by what the Prime Minister of India said at his monthly Press Conference on May 22 last. A correspondent asked him whether or not he would agree to the partition of Kashmir. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have replied :

> "I am not prepared to give any categorical assurance of any kind whatsoever. Ultimately it is the people of Kashmir and not my assurance that will decide the matter."

This refusal to stand by his earlier assurances has emboldened *Time and Tide*, a London paper, to return to the solution of partition of Kashmir. On June 2 last it said that "the chances of settling the Kashmir dispute were better than in the past." It continued as follows :

> "But though the new spirit of goodwill is very welcome, it could not in itself be sufficient to provide a basis for a permanent solution of the Kashmir dispute. What is really significant is that

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Mr. Nehru has at last admitted that the real answer might lie in partition rather than in a plebiscite, though it is true that he has hedged his concession in by adding that such a division would have to be agreed to by the inhabitants of Kashmir.

"Hitherto the problems have been first to demilitarise the whole area, then to conduct a plebiscite over an impossible terrain, then to get the disputants to agree to the result.

"Partition would by-pass all this and could at the same time, if reasonably contrived, serve the best interests of the population. Fortunately, Sir Owen Dixon has been given fairly broad instructions and has room to manoeuvre. When he visits Srinagar, he will be in a position to decide which course of action gives better hope of ultimate success."

Kashmir's Economic Link with India

An analysis of the economic link between Kashmir on the one hand and India and Pakistan on the other hand shows that Kashmir is more dependent on India than on Pakistan for her economic well-being. This has been revealed in a Srinagar message of the *Hindusthan Standard*. The analysis is as follows :

The figures of imports for the years 1944-45, 1945-46 and 1946-47 as maintained by the State Customs Department are Rs. 638.08, Rs. 650.00 and Rs. 759.09 lakhs respectively. Kashmir acceded to India in October 1947, and the raiders' depredations and the general upsetting following these, put the import and export trade completely out of gear. Trade could revive only towards the end of 1948 but the figures since that time are not available.

The source of supply of cotton textiles, leather goods, metals, sugar, tea, stationery, silver bullion, fibrous products, tobacco and woollen piecegoods is in India, and Pakistan cannot obviously claim to supply these commodities as she is herself dependent for them on India and other foreign countries. Spirituous liquors and petroleum products are produced both in India and Pakistan, though in small quantities and it may be assumed that the main source of supply of these commodities to Kashmir are foreign.

With regard to exports, customs duties are levied only on fruits and vegetables, leather goods and seeds exported from the State. The more important things like timber, woollen and pashmina manufactures, silk, embroidery, wood-work, silver-ware and other goods are exempt from export duty. It is estimated that during the years 1944-45, 1945-46 and 1946-47 goods of the value of Rs. 808.61, Rs. 942.84 and Rs. 906.68 lakhs respectively were exported. Timber, the most important item of export, was partly exported as logs and partly as sleepers of Deodar, Fir, Pine and Kail. As such the greatest demand is in the industrial centres of India like Bombay, Calcutta and Kanpur. Fir timber amounting to nearly one-third of the total value of timber exported from Kashmir had its market entirely in India.

Under the head 'minor forest products,' Kashmir exported mostly drugs, turpentine and resin. Almost the entire quantity went to India as the requirements of the territory now consisting of West Pakistan were met by the Jallo Factory. As for the woollen and pashmina manufactures consisting of the famous Kashmiri shawls, carpets, numdas, gubbas and other goods, their main market was India. Some of these also went to foreign countries. These products were collected at Amritsar and from there forwarded to other centres in India. Approximately 10 per cent went to Pakistan. As for silk, India remained the exclusive customer for raw silk and the principal consumer of manufactured silk.

Tourist traffic is one of the principal sources of income both to people and Government of Kashmir and it is estimated that 10 per cent of the total income from this source may be allocated to Pakistan.

It follows from the foregoing that Pakistan absorbs only a fifth of Kashmir's exports and supplies a little less than a fifth of State's import requirements. In case Kashmir becomes a part of Pakistan, the latter may consume more timber, woollen textiles and also silk cloth. For reasons already given Kashmir fruits will have no market in Pakistan. On this hypothetical basis the value of Kashmir's exports to Pakistan may at the most go up to Rs. 250 lakhs against an average of Rs. 175 lakhs; Rs. 550 lakhs worth of exports will still have to be consumed by India, which is traditionally their natural market.

How would a Kashmiri think regarding the natural attitude of India towards the entry of these exports in case Pakistan absorbs Kashmir ? It would mean the elimination of tourist traffic from India, thus spelling ruin for hundreds of thousands of Kashmiris who depend upon it for their living. A tariff wall would be raised against woollen and silk textiles and pashminas which can enter India duty free. Tariff barriers may also be raised against fruit imports and fruit culture developed and protected in India. The same with forest and other products.

With regard to imports, Pakistan can supply the requirements of Kashmir in some articles of merchandise. On the basis of the estimate given above these are valued at Rs. 100 to 120 lakhs. In case petroleum and petroleum products and some imported stores are supplied through Pakistan, the above figures would go up by another Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 lakhs. Thus the import of Rs. 200 lakhs would probably be the maximum that could be expected in this direction. This would still leave a balance of Rs. 550 lakhs which will have to be utilised for the purchase of imports requirements from India. For essential articles like cotton textiles, iron and steel and other metal, sugar, leather manufacture, stationery, rubber goods, drugs and medicines, Kashmir has inevitably to look to India.

The conclusion, therefore, is inescapable that

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Kashmir were not to form a part of the Indian political and economic system, there would be little hope of meeting the requirements of the State from Indian sources. While Indian economy is an indispensable prop to Kashmir's economy, the latter can do without the balance of Pakistan economy.

India and U. S. A.

Mrs. Dorothy Norman, a member of the Executive Committee of the India League of America, who had been touring for about three months through our country gave her impressions of the mind of our people towards her country's political leadership. Speaking at the Willkie Memorial Hall on June 3 last she said that there was in India at the present time a certain psychological "resistance" or sense of suspicion and fear towards America. She was of opinion, however, that this could not be described as an "anti-American" feeling; the more educated the people the more they would be critical and the feeling amongst the people of India took different forms; "while they go to American movies in enormous numbers," the educated Indian could not but be reminded of "foreign dominations" following economic help. Have they not reasons for this cautiousness from their experience of the way in which Pandit Nehru's request for 10-million tons of wheat on a "barter" basis was sabotaged. Since then they have developed this fear about external aid with "strings attached." This was not "false pride." Mrs. Norman thinks, however, that her own people should "take the initiative" so that India's needs may be honourably met, her susceptibilities could be influenced by above-board dealings.

Pakistan and U. S. A.

The *Montreal Star* may be a Canadian paper, but it represents, we think, the feeling of the ruling classes of both Canada and the United States in their reactions to Pandit Nehru's policy of neutrality and Janab Liaquat Ali Khan's effusions with regard to the latter country's "leadership" of the modern world.

To explain this attitude of theirs we quote from the Canadian paper :

"Mr. Nehru proclaimed India's need for peace, but was chary of appearing to make any sort of commitment to help maintain it.....India, he said in effect, had no intention of allying herself openly with any outside Bloc, even if a Bloc designs to check the spread of Soviet influence in a direction which would doom India's independent survival. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, however, shows no hesitance about identifying Pakistan's interests with those of the West to the utmost. In the days ahead, it is particularly necessary that those of us who believe in liberty should draw together..... He has none of Mr. Nehru's apparent belief that by refraining from taking sides, he would be able to play a spectator's role if any open test of strength were ever to occur."

This argument is a variant of the one that says that he who is not with us is against us. And the contrasting attitudes of Pandit Nehru and Janab Liaquat Ali Khan are responsible for the coolness of the Anglo-Saxon Powers towards India. Sreemati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, India's Ambassador to the United States, has noted this attitude of theirs and her recent protest registered by her with the Foreign Office of the U.S.A. for discrimination between India and Pakistan in the matter of war equipment supplied to the two States is India's reaction to it. The American Foreign office has pleaded that these supplies were all for "defensive" purposes. We may or may not accept the plea. But the following sent from New York on May 25 last puts a new complexion on the whole matter. Mrs. Norman is not alone in feeling that the United States has not been consulting her own interests by antagonising India :

> Mr. Harold L. Ickes (Democrat), former Secretary of State, has asked whether Pakistan is passing arms to the Arabs and called for 'an explanation' of the explosion of Pakistan-bound munitions in New Jersy last week.
>
> Addressing an American Zionist Council rally here last night, Mr. Ickes protested against British arms shipments to the Arabs and called Pakistan the 'switch track' through which Arabs received arms in the Palestine fighting two years ago.
>
> "In this connection," Mr. Ickes said, "Americans would like some explanation of the explosion last Friday night. It is pertinent to ask whether Pakistan is procuring for the Arab States munitions of war we would be embarrassed to send directly.
>
> "Were these implements of war, apparently destined for Pakistan, bought with Pakistan money or charged against the credit in this country that has been set up for Pakistan?"

In a joint declaration on arms purchases published by the French Foreign Office previously, the three Governments warned Israel and the Arab States that, if they found any of these countries preparing to violate frontiers or armistice lines, the three countries would take action "both within and without the framework of the U.N."

Officials said that the Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Bevin, and the French Foreign Minister, M. Schuman, reached the decision to send the Middle East "strictly defensive" military supplies at their recent conference in London.

The three Ministers are understood to have examined the Middle Eastern picture in detail, and to have reached complete agreement on co-ordinating their policies there more closely.

The decision on arms shipments in effect approves Britain's past policy of shipping arms to Egypt and Jordan, with which it has agreements for military aid.

Israel's Government and many American Congressmen have criticized the British for this policy, claiming that the arms were intended for aggression against the new Jewish State.

Regrouping of Railways

After having completed the integration of Indian States, the Government of India have now embarked upon their second big integration venture, *viz.*, the regrouping of the Indian Railways. The memorandum issued in this connection by the Ministry of Railways deserves close attention. The memorandum is reproduced in full here :

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"The existing railway administrations have grown up haphazardly owing to historical reasons. The company system had originally been formed more or less on accidental considerations. Often the main consideration was financial. There has been a persistent demand for rationalisation and regrouping of the existing systems. So long as all the major railways had not come under State management this was not possible. The railways of Indian States cutting across the other railway administrations like that of the Nizam's State Railway was another serious obstacle to rationalisation, as also the existence of various small railway administrations owned and controlled by the Rulers of Indian States.

"The Partition of India in August 1947 involved the breaking up of the old North-Western Railway and the Bengal Assam Railway and India has been left with rumps of those systems in the Eastern Punjab Railway and the Assam Railway which cannot in any case continue as economic and self-sufficient units. The final integration of the Indian States Railways from 1st April 1950 has removed the major obstacle towards regrouping. The time is therefore fully ripe for reorganising the Indian Railways on a national basis.

"The Railway Board have been considering this question for the past many months, and have reached tentative conclusions. They realise, however, that the question is of such great importance that no final decision should be taken without giving the country and all interests concerned in railway transport ample opportunities for consideration and comment. The tentative scheme is therefore being released to the State Governments, the various Chambers of Commerce, the Railway Labour Organisations and the public with the request that their considered views may be sent to the Railway Board before 31st August, 1950.

"The main principles underlying the tentative scheme are fourfold :

(1) Every railway administration should serve as far as possible a compact region.

(2) It should be large enough to provide a headquarters organisation of the highest calibre capable of following and assimilating up-to-date improvements in railway techniques and equipped with adequate workshop facilities and statistical, training and research institutions.

(3) The regrouping should cause the minimum dislocation in the existing arrangements and should be so phased as to prevent any kind of dislocation or even temporary diminution of the quantity or efficiency of railway service.

(4) While the existing proposals do not indicate the nature of the internal administration of each group, *viz.*, whether it should be on a Divisional or District system, it is not proposed to adopt any dogmatic attitude in the matter and the vital necessity of causing minimum dislocation will also govern the decision on this important issue.

"The total route mileage of the Indian Railways is of the order of 33,000. It is proposed to divide this into six zones of administration with due regard to the factors mentioned above. The zones proposed will be as follows :

Zone 1.—*Northern Railway* : It will consist of the E. I. Railway between Lucknow-Kanpur and Delhi, Saharanpur, Metre Gauge portion of the B.B. and C.I. Railway between Agra and Kanpur and the O. T. Railway west of Chupra.

Zone 2.—*Western Railway* : It will consist of the Metre Gauge portion of the B. B. and C. I. Railway except Kanpur-Agra section and the States Railways of Sourashtra, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaipur, Rajasthan and Kutch. In this zone, consideration has been given to the development needs of the Kandla Port and the business and economic connections of Sourashtra, etc. with Rajasthan.

Zone 3.—*Central Railway* :It will consist of the Broad Gauge section of the B. B. and C. I. Railway, major portion of the G. I. P. Railway, Scindia and Dholpur State Railways. In this zone not only the alternative routes from the major port of Bombay to Northern India, but also the lines of communication between Bombay and the industrial areas around it have been placed under one administration.

Zone 4.—*Southern Railway* : It will consist of the S. I. Railway (both Broad Gauge and Metre Gauge), major portion (Broad Gauge) and entire portion (Metre Gauge) of the M. and S. M. Railway and the entire Mysore State Railway. Both geographically and from the railway operating point of view grouping together of all the Southern Railways is the ideal arrangement.

Zone 5.—*Eastern Railway* : It will consist of the N. S. Railway, portions of the G. I. P. and M. and S. M. Railways and the B. N. Railway excluding the coalfield area of Bengal and Bihar and Howrah-Kharagpur section.

Zone 6.—*North Eastern Railway* : It will consist of the E. I. Railway east of Lucknow-Kanpur, the coalfield area of Bengal and Bihar at present with B. N. Railway, Howrah-Kharagpur section, O. T. Railway east of Chupra and the Assam Railway including the Assam Rail link and the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway."

This Memorandum has been well thought out although short. The first effect of this regrouping will be a reduction in overhead cost. The number of General Managers will be reduced from about a dozen to six, a similar, almost fifty per cent, reduction will also take place in the case of their deputies and the requisite paraphernalia. Consequent upon this arrangement, a number of reversions of officiating personnel

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to their substantive ranks will take place. Some vested interests will no doubt be effected, but the over-all result will be good for the nation. The small amount of opposition that has emerged so far, seems to have come from those who are likely to be adversely affected. The difficulties and anomalies that may arise out of the regrouping are however not incapable of solution. When different Railway Companies amalgamated, anomalies arose in respect of length of service, pay and allowances of persons of different railways holding similar posts. Officers with short service periods but confirmed may supersede the unconfirmed officers of a different railway having a longer period of service. The rules for confirmation for different railways were different. Some railways are overcrowded with senior staff leading to a smaller number being confirmed. In the smaller companies, most of the staff are confirmed. If seniority be calculated according to length of service from confirmation, junior personnel from smaller railways may find priority over senior men of bigger companies. So far as we have been able to ascertain, this anomaly has been the main reason for the nervousness that has been caused among the Railway staff as a result of the grouping proposal. This anomaly can be removed in either of the two ways: (*a*) Confirmation of personnel may be made with retrospective effect taking other factors into account; or (*b*) *Status quo* as on August 15, 1947 in respect of service may be restored and confirmations made according to rules as from that date. Most of the present changes have taken place in a haphazard fashion since the date of Partition. This must be regularised on a scientific and equitable basis, and the sooner it is done the better.

Other objections offered so far do not bear scrutiny. In an article published in a Calcutta daily, it has been suggested that accidents will increase with increase in the length of the lines. This is not correct, because in that case the smallest Railway, the Assam Railway ought to have been free from accidents, which it is not. The percentage of accidents on this Railway may be seen to be higher than those on other railways that are much bigger.

In fact, this matter of accidents and sabotage calls for quite a separate investigation and memorandum. Cases of sabotage, leading to appalling loss of life and property, have been high-lighted by the recent derailment of the Punjab Mail at Jasidih in Bihar. That this derailment was due to sabotage by miscreants has been proved beyond doubt in our opinion. We publish two pictures of the disaster in this issue's plates, from photos taken on the spot by the staff photographer of the *Hindusthan Standard*. They illustrate the actual spot where coach bolts, fish bolts and fishplates were loosened and removed, by knowing men with proper tools, and the rail-track displaced.

Intelligent but interested men have refrained from other criticisms with the sole observation that time for this regrouping is not ripe. In our opinion, however, the time is not only fully ripe but not even a moment's delay should be brooked in regard to this integration. The integration of the States has enhanced the strength of the Indian Union to a very large extent. Similar integration of the Railways will make India still more strong. Integration of States has taken place amidst the severest post-Partition difficulties, regrouping of railways can certainly be effected right now. We consider it imperative in the face of the threatening third World War.

The Schuman Plan

France's Foreign Minister, M. Schuman has produced a Plan which has shaken the world. A Six-Power Conference is at the present moment busy considering the Plan. The Plan called for pooling of the French and German coal and steel industries. These industries now operate under the kind of artificial conditions which ECA'S Paul Hoffman and other U.S. preachers of "integration" want abolished—reports the American *Time*. The Germans sell their Ruhr coal to French steel-makers at a price up to 30 per cent higher than the coal price for domestic German buyers. The French sell their Lorraine iron ore to German steel-makers at far higher prices than they charge at home. Tariffs, import quotas and Government subsidies further protect the French steel industry from competition by lower-priced German steel, keep prices high, markets divided and output lower than it should be.

The Schuman Plan would establish a single steel and coal market for France and Germany, plus any other European countries that want to join. It would abolish customs duties and discriminatory freight rates on coal and steel. A joint international authority of the member nations would be set up to run the industries, with the specific tasks of (1) modernizing production, (2) supplying coal and steel to France, Germany and other members of the combine on equal terms, (3) developing joint exports to other countries. Unlike most international arrangements existing or proposed these days, the coal-steel authority would have real powers. Its members would be independent personalities able to make binding commitments. There would be no veto—majority rule would prevail. The authority's decision would be enforceable in all member nations. The Plan also calls for a U.N. representative to sit on the new organisation, make periodic reports particularly with respect to protecting its peaceful aims.

Anticipating charges that the proposed coal-steel pool would merely be a vast cartel, the Schuman Plan carefully points out that the new organisation would not, like a cartel, divide markets and keep prices artificially high; on the contrary, it would create a larger market, see to it that member industries produced the most coal and steel at the cheapest possible price. It would in fact enforce competition. Schuman Plan also mentioned the industrial development of Africa, which the new coal-steel combine would get started. The Schuman Plan

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says: "A united Europe will not be achieved all at once. . . . It will be formed by concrete measures which first of all create a solidarity in fact. . . . The pooling of coal and steel production....will change the destiny of these regions (Lorraine, the Saar and the Ruhr) which have long been devoted to the production of arms to which they themselves were the first to fall constantly victim.....It will introduce a broader and deeper community of interest between countries which have long been divided by bloody conflict."

European Payments Union

Agreement has now been reached on most of the outstanding questions affecting the European Payments Union.

The Union which is planned greatly to increase intra-European trade is intended to serve as a clearing house for the settlement of accounts between the members of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation so that trade and payments inside Western Europe can be conducted on a fully multilateral basis to the maximum possible extent. This will enable each country to ignore its balance of payments with each other and to concentrate solely on its balance with the group as a whole.

Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, Minister for Economic Affairs, on his return to London after presiding over a meeting of the Executive Committee of the O.E.E.C. in Paris, stated: "Although there are still a number of points to be settled, the O.E.E.C. Executive Committee has reached an agreement about the recommendations to be made to the Council on pretty well all important issues. Even if there are still some hurdles to face, I believe we are now over all the big jumps.

"From the beginning of these discussions last winter, the British Government has been anxious to see the creation of a new payment system which would help to free the trade of Europe. The proposals now emerging naturally differ a good deal from the British plan put forward a few weeks ago. There has been a lot of give and take and many half-way-house solutions have been adopted but in a matter of this kind where the approach of some countries diverged quite considerably from that of others such a compromise was essential. Without it effective co-operation would be impossible.

"I believe the scheme now in prospect is a practicable one and well-calculated to facilitate the trade of Europe, while holding the balance evenly between the dangers of both inflation and deflation."

The Executive Committee's decision represents the policies of the seven member-countries but the nature of these decisions has not yet been revealed since they have first to be submitted for approval to the Council of the Organisation which is expected to meet early next month.

Unanimous agreement was reached on four main points discussed at the Paris meeting. These points were: the duration of the Payments Union; the size of credit quotas, the proportion of gold payments and the position of persistent debtors and creditors; objections raised by Belgium to the size of her contribution to the Payments Union Fund; the settlement of existing debts and the use of existing resources when the Payments Union comes into force.

Questions that remain to be settled before the Payments Union can come into operation are stated to be of only minor importance and are expected to raise no difficulty. In the words of the Secretary-General of the O.E.E.C., M. Marjolin, "the agreement reached by the Executive Committee makes it almost certain that the European Payments Union will come into existence when it is required."

Proposals for a European Payments Union were first put forward simultaneously, but independently, by the U. K., the U.S.A. and other Governments last December. We hope that, in case this arrangement materialises in a satisfactory form, the system envisaged will expand to include world trade markets in general without any reservations regarding Asiatic countries.

Restraint on Freedom of Press

We hope the Nehru Government will now review its steps in their campaign against the freedom of Press, the free expression of popular feelings and sentiments. The judgments of the Supreme Court of India in the *Cross Roads* case and in the *Organiser's* case should enable them to do so. The former, a pro-Communist weekly of Bombay was banned by the Madras Government from their Province under Section 9(1)(a) of the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act of 1949; their Lordships declared this order as *ultra vires*. The latter paper, a pro-Rastriya Swayam Sebak Sangha of Delhi was put under pre-censorship by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi under Section 7(1)(a) of the East Punjab Public Safety Act; their Lordships declared this order as "unconstitutional."

Mr. Justice Patanjali Sastri wrote and delivered the majority judgment of both the cases; the Chief Justice Mr. Harilal Kania, Mr. Justice Mahajan, Mr. Justice Sudhir Ranjan Das and Mr. Justice Bijon Behari Mookherjee concurred with the judgment; Mr. Justice Fazl Ali gave the dissenting judgment in both the cases. In course of his judgment in the former case Mr. Justice Sastri said:

> "There is no doubt that freedom of speech and expression includes freedom of propagation of ideas, and that freedom is ensured by the freedom of circulation."

He also remarked that

> "Criticism of Government, exciting disaffection or bad feelings towards the Government cannot be regarded as a justifying ground for restricting the freedom of expression and of the Press."

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Problem of Plenty and Scarcity

The International Federation of Agricultural Producers had a nine-day Convention at Stockholm, (Sweden), ending on June 9 last. At this Convention a solution of the problem of plenty in some countries and of scarcity in others was accepted on behalf of the Indian delegation. A summary of the news gives us the following information :

India's solution was embodied in a proposal forced through by her chief delegate Mr. Mohan Wahi and his colleagues. Under it, the Federation's "have" member countries are to draw up lists of surplus farm products in their countries and suggest prices and conditions for their sale to the "have-not" countries.

The "have-not" countries are to draw up statements of their food requirements. Then, the member countries of plenty and the member countries of scarcity will negotiate an agreement between themsevles for transferring the surpluses to the needy areas. After that they will press their Governments to embody their agreement in international trading agreements. Australia, Canada and the United States are the countries of plenty and India is one of the countries of scarcity. Another Indian proposal accepted by the Convention was for young farmers from the agriculturally more backward countries to receive practical training on modern farms in the agriculturally more progressive countries.

Their training on agricultural land dairy farms will be sponsored by the Federation.

Mr. R. V. Swaminathan, another Indian delegate, gave the Federation facts and figures to illustrate the world's unequal food production and consumption. "The average yield of rice per acre in India is 731 lbs." "But the average yield is 1,605 lbs. in Burma, 1,549 in China, 3,190 in Italy and 1,427 in the United States. The yield of wheat per acre is 636 lbs. in India, and 1,140 in Europe.

"Agriculture in India has been a gamble in monsoon, to the vagaries of which irrigation is the only effective solution.

"The most dominant fact in the world food economy is the maldistribution of production. The continent of Asia, excluding Soviet Russia, maintains more than half of the world's population, with less than one-third of the cultivated land. North America, on the other hand, has more than 21 per cent of the cultivated land with only 8 per cent of the population.

"Consequently, the world is divided into surplus areas and deficit areas. On April 1 this year, the supplies for export and carry over reserves in the United States, Canada, Argentina and Australia amounted to 921,000,000 bushels. 13 per cent greater than in 1949. But in India, the estimated food deficit on the basis of twelve ounces per adult is 28,00,000 tons.

"Therefore, immediate steps should be taken to alleviate the distress of the deficit areas by arranging for an adequate distribution of the available supplies. I have to point out that any slackness, in this effort of equal distribution will drive certain countries into hunger and what a hungry nation would do may better be imagined than described.

"In the equitable distribution of available supplies of the available foodstuffs among the various countries greater attention must be paid to the price factor. A higher price to an export market is the most short-sighted policy. It deprives the act of assistance of its grace. It engenders bitterness instead of goodwill in the hearts of the deficit nations.

"The distress of the farmers in one country must not be made an opportunity for profiteering by those of another.

"Even if Governments are inclined to make hay while the sun shines the farmers should disavow such policies and persuade their Governments to take long-range views and respect higher ideals. If the I.F.A.P. fail in this hour of trial to rise to the occasion the consequences might turn out to be dreadful.

"No one has the right to expect sober judgment and rational action from a hungry man. The hungry man, as the great Bernard Shaw has said, is the most easily combustible material."

We are glad that an international body has passed such a resolution. But the use of the words "forced through" suggests that the resolution was carried by majority votes, and though another Indian delegate appealed to the world's farmers over the head of their Governments—many of them anxious to use food as an instrument of power-politics—we will continue to hope for the best relying on the ultimate goodness of human nature.

Orissa's New Chief Minister

We cannot say that we understand the various party alignments that have made Sree Nabakrishna Chowdhury, one of the youngest of publicmen in the Province, her Chief Minister. But we wish all success to him and expect that he will be able to fulfil all the ambitions that he gave expression to at a public meeting held at Cuttuck on June 5, last. "The Congress Government aimed to circle the State with an electric grid of power production in the south by the Machkund Hydro-electric Project, in the centre by the Thermal Station at Cuttack, and in the north by the Hirakud Project ;" this will commit the State to an expenditure of about 60 crores of rupees against its annual income of only about 7 crores.

Evidently this huge amount must come as loan from the Central Government who will either have to advance it from their own funds or from loans taken from the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. This huge expenditure would have daunted Provinces bigger and wealthier than Orissa is. But the ray of light is that the Oriyas have gained a new self-confidence by the satisfaction of their grievances caused by the dispersal of their people amongst about four Administrations. This has put heart into them and will enable them to put forth the utmost energy for the various projects intended to make their life fuller.

Assam

Babu Sree Prakash on the eve of his departure from Assam as its Governor for New Delhi as the

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Commerce Member of the Nehru Government, is reported to have said that Assam was "sitting on the crater of the volcano." He did not elaborate this verdict of his; during the last two years he must have come to know of the many acts of commission and omission of the Gopinath Bardoloi Government as the trustee of the composite life of the Province. This knowledge must have inspired him to utter the quoted words as a warning of a friend. The report of his speech does not enable us to understand the various matters that caused him anxiety, the legacy of separatism connived at and encouraged by his predecessor, the late Sir Akbar Hydari.

His successor Sree Jairamdas Daulatram on taking office uttered almost the same warning at a meeting of the Assam Press Advisory Board on June 8 last. Sree Jairamdas has taken on a bigger job than he is aware of. His reference to "certain hostile forces of international origin" that to make "Assam a back-door entrance" is evidently directed to the Communist Party of India and Burma, who have found in the dissatisfactions of the various elements of Assam's population a play-ground of their disruptionist policies; they have chosen the tribal peoples of Assam specially as their dupes and victims.

His reference to the resettlement problem of refugees and call for "statesmanship of Bengalee and Assamese sections" of the population are well meant but does take us nowhere. His predecessor must have told him of the dangers of the situation caused by the insidious policy of discrimination followed by the Bardoloi Ministry. It will take Sree Daulatram time to pick up the various threads of the rather complicated problem. We will try to indicate these in a few lines.

The world hears much of the new problem created by the refugees in the Province. To appreciate its various factors the ratio of the various peoples, native and resident in Assam must be known. Assam's population is about 80 lakhs; of these about one-third are Bengalees; a little over one-third are Ahoms; the rest are tribals whom Sree Jairamdas has called "the flesh and bone" of India's body-politic. The Bardoloi Ministry have managed to antagonise the two-thirds. The Ahoms are spoiling for the adventure of "Ahomizing" these two-thirds. This is the seat of disease that Babu Sree Prakash could just control. Sree Jairamdas Daulatram will come face to face with this problem in all its ugliness. If he cannot persuade the Bardoloi Ministry to see reason and if the Nehru Government do not take a definite stand against its separatist policy, the volcano to which Babu Sree Prakash had referred must burst out. There is yet time to halt this evil force.

Prohibition

A Bombay weekly reported on June 7 that India's new Finance Minister, Mr. Deshmukh was anxious to check the growing tendency in several States to go ahead dogmatically with bankrupt economic policies and fritter away precious revenues, in pursuit of out-dated moral fads. It said that as Governor of Reserve Bank of India and later as the principal Economic Adviser to the Government of India, Mr. Deshmukh opposed vehemently, for instance, "the mad venture of Prohibition." When Madras and Bombay States decided to enforce total prohibition, he told the Government of India bluntly, according to this weekly, that viewed from any sensible angle, it was nothing short of economic suicide. His argument was that if the Congress Ministries thought through Prohibition they were doing good to the poor, they were very much mistaken; on the other hand, they could have done much more good to the very same poorer classes if the vast revenues they were throwing away in the name of Prohibition were utilised in some of the more urgent welfare schemes. Article 360 of the New Constitution relating to financial emergency confirms ample powers on the Centre to enforce a uniform economic policy throughout the country. The Centre need no longer appeal to the good sense of the States; it can very well dictate the over-all policy. Even if for political reasons the Centre does not desire to resort to such drastic course, the setting-up of the Planning Commission has armed it with yet another powerful weapon to deal with truculent States.

Now that all the States have agreed to fall in line with the Planning Commission and set up regional commission to assist the Central body, no State can hereafter go ahead with its economic or fiscal plans without the Commission's previous approval. Being an expert body not concerned with politics, the Planning Commission will not approve of any scheme unless it is convinced that it is in the best interests of the country as a whole.

In other words, if the Planning Commission as it is constituted today was in existence last year, the Bombay Government, for example, would not have been able to flout the Prime Minister's appeal and go ahead with Prohibition nor could have Madhya Bharat indulged in those transactions in regard to newsprint mills, etc.

The Finance Minister is naturally anxious to take full advantage of this new position and utilise the opportunity to tighten over-all Central control in vital economic matters. In his view, the Planning Commission is a potent weapon in the hands of the Centre and that is why he proposes to retain his membership of that body, so that he could always utilise it to press the Centre's viewpoint.

Left to himself, he would not hesitate to utilise the Planning Commission to compel the States, notably Bombay and Madras, to abandon prohibition and utilise the large excise revenues for better purposes.

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But for political reasons, in view of the impending general elections next year, the Congress leadership may not approve of such a step at this stage. So the Finance Minister and the Planning Commission will confine themselves for the present to at least preventing the extension of Prohibition in other States.

On June 16, a New Delhi message stated that the Indian Government's new import policy for the second half of the current year permitted established importers ale, beer and wines to import 10 per cent of their "basic imports." Brandy and whisky may be imported up to 50 per cent. Fixation of percentages instead of monetary ceilings, as in the previous six months, will have the effect of increasing supplies.

This new import policy may be considered to be one step forward towards the prohibition of Prohibition.

Prohibition was introduced with full knowledge of the loss that the State Exchequer would be called upon to bear. It was done with the object of implementing a policy which Congress had championed for a long time. There were two arguments against it, —one anti-school said that the financial loss consequent upon prohibition would be needless and heavy; the other said that it would give rise to wholesale smuggling which it would be impossible to control. Prohibition was however launched in full knowledge of these two opposing views. It will be unfortunate if a conflict arises between the Centre and the States over this issue as seems likely due to the present Finance Minister's policy.

South Africa's Racial Policy

Mr. Alec Reid in a series of special articles in the Birla group of papers has been describing the various forces that have worked to consolidate the racial policy of the Government of South Africa, representing only 30 lakhs of her white population dominating over the more than 60 lakhs of non-white peoples. The Malan Government has requisitioned the religion of Christ and the Old Testament to advance their policy. We will allow Mr. Alec Reid to describe how this trick has been done.

"To fully appreciate the depth to which these sorts of ideals have sunk into the Afrikaner mind, one must turn to probably their greatest inspiration—the Dutch Reformed Church, which is the principal religious institution in South Africa today. It is interesting to recall that before Dr. Malan took up his political career, he was a preacher in that church.

Basing their teachings mainly on the Old Testament, the leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church go back to Noah, who after the Flood directed his sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth to various parts of the world; and Ham, we are told, became the ancestor of the people of Africa. And they were destined to be the everlasting servants of their white masters. Putting forward the Biblical testimony, it is therefore argued that the maintenance of a white and 'Christian civilisation' in Africa is correct. Not so long ago in a court case which involved the Dutch Reformed Church their legal representative actually put forward the argument that Noah was the first believer in *Apartheid*."

And so Malan and his followers are loyal supporters of the Church. In March, 1947, that body held a conference in Pretoria on the question of "Our Church and the Colour Question." And in the resolutions that were adopted was the following:

> "The findings of the United Nations with regard to South African race, relations and conditions rest largely on ignorance and prejudice . . . The Holy Scripture upholds the existence of separate nations and races and condemns such mixture between nations and races as can harm the Christian religion and civilisation. The conference pronounces its conviction that the Church's policy of racial segregation concurs with the Scriptures and considers that this is specially applicable to conditions in South Africa, where there exists a vast 'heathendom' as against a small 'Christendom' and where Europeans and non-Europeans are far apart in cultural and other living spheres."

A Poem by the Nizam

Northern India and Western India papers have published a poem by the Nizam to commemorate the Indian Republic Day on January 26, 1950. It has been rendered into English from Persian by Mir Nizamat Zung, ex-member of the Nizam's Executive Council. We know that the Nizam of Hyderabad, Mir Osman Ali Khan, has made a name as a poet.

What splendour for our eyes—auspicious, fair!
What fragrance wafted on the morning air!
The tidings that from Delhi's walls rang wide,
Brought solace to all hearts, and joy and pride,
To hearts released from bonds of caste and race—
Yea, hearts that only bend before God's grace.
How wondrous is the bond of love! No heart
Disowns the spell it works by mystic art.
'Karbala's martyrdom'—Love's glorious meed—
Proclaims what blessings crown the pure heart's creed.

'Tis not the throned seat, the waving plume;
The heart, the throne that golden deeds illume.
The feast's prepared, the sparkling bowl o'erflows!
What joyous strains towards the zephyr blows!
The new dawn's greetings, 'Osman,' rich and strange;
And the four quarters hail the promised change!

Steamer Service between Calcutta and Banaras

The following appears in the *Leader* of Allahabad from its Lucknow correspondent, dated June 5:

> "It is learnt from an authoritative source that the Government of India are investigating the possibility of introducing steamer service on Ganga between Calcutta and Banaras. The scheme now under the consideration of the Government contemplates reviving the Calcutta-Banaras water highway which used to be the main means of passenger and goods traffic about 70 years ago. This scheme also envisages rehabilitation of certain number of refugees along the river bank. It is stated that refugee *bastis* can be created at every five miles of this bank.

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Sites along Ganga could not yet be tapped for refugees because they are mostly cut off from communication lines. Once this regular steamer service is available, that impediment will disappear. The projected scheme can also galvanise the trade activity in the towns situated on the banks of Ganga. The revival of a water highway communication will also relieve pressure on railways. If the scheme passes the test of investigation, Government of India would seek the co-operation of some of the States. The river-bed would have to be made deeper at certain places in order to make water navigable. The idea is to rehabilitate refugees of East Bengal along the river bank. Pressure of about 25 lakhs of refugees now in West Bengal, Assam and Orissa is straining the economy of these States. The Government of India had asked the U.P. Government to take in five lakh Bengal refugees for rehabilitation in U. P. But the U.P. Government has expressed its inability in view of the fact that its hands were already full with West Pakistan refugees."

The project, if given shape to, will benefit all the three provinces—Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. The settlement of East Bengal refugees is a minor point. The economic gain to Calcutta should be the greatest incentive to the West Bengal Government to actively participate in influencing the Central Government to finalize it with their blessings. For, without the Centre's guidance in the matter the three Provinces will be thinking more of their particular interests than of the far-reaching consequences of this project. The West Bengal Government has a scheme for a barrage on the Ganges near the area from which flows the river as the Hooghly. This scheme may be dove-tailed into the project referred to above in the Lucknow message.

National Income of India (1946-47)

A brochure entitled "The National Income of the Indian Union Provinces (1946-47)," published by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India, gives in broad outline the net national income produced within the country at "factor cost." The Press has published a summary of it, which will be found interesting. We print it below :

"The total net national income in 1946-47, according to the brochure, stood at Rs. 5,580 crores. This figure is for the whole of the Indian Union Provinces as constituted after partition and does not include the States merged into them subsequently.

Provisional estimates for 1948-49 place the national income at about Rs. 6,968 crores and the per capita income at Rs. 272. Taking into account the number of gainfully employed, the national income of Indian States is estimated at one-third of that of the Indian Union Provinces.

There has been an increase under the head agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry and mining works from Rs. 2,009 crores in 1945-46 to Rs. 2,398 crores in 1946-47. Agriculture alone fetched a net income of Rs. 1,770 crores in 1946-47 as compared with Rs. 1,495 crores in the previous year.

The income of urban areas works out to Rs. 2,107 crores for a working population of 18.8 million as compared with Rs. 3,483 crores in rural areas for a working population of 87.1 million. Thus the income per earner for urban and rural populations for the year 46-47 is estimated at Rs. 1,121 and Rs. 401 respectively.

The per capita national income of India rose to Rs. 228 in 1946-47 from Rs. 204 in the previous year alongside the general price levels which went up by about 12.5 per cent."

This is disclosed in a brochure, "The National Income of the Indian Union Provinces 1946-47," just published by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India, giving in broad outline the net national income produced within the country at factor cost.

Damodar Valley Project

Sree Kumud Bhusan Roy, a retired Engineer with experience of railway building and of experience of River Training in India, has sent us a pamphlet entitled "The Damodar Valley Corporation—will it achieve its aims?" In this he has brought a heavy charge against the Damodar Valley scheme as it has "departed from the Tennessee Valley Authority pattern by its proposal to use Damodar water in the irrigation canals," as he is afraid that in consequence "the lower Damodar will deteriorate and die." He pleads that his pamphlet is intended "to place before the public and the authorities, facts to convince them that certain modifications are necessary in the Damadar Valley Scheme without which it will not be able to achieve any of its five objects." We are not competent enough to judge the intricacies of the controversy raised by him. But we are vastly interested in the objectives aimed at by the Project. These are: (1) control of floods; (2) power generation; (3) irrigation; (4) navigation; and (5) improvement of the port of Calcutta. If as Sree Kumud Bhusan Roy apprehends there "be not enough water to meet all these needs," the port of Calcutta will be in danger if the D.V.A. authorities do not realise the implication in full. However, the project is as yet in the constructive stage.

France's Modernisation

News From France, a Bulletin published by the Information Section of the French Embassy at New Delhi in a recent issue has summarised the report of the General Commission of France's Modernisation and Equipment Plan dealing with the first three years of the Plan (1947-49) and with the remaining objectives that must be attained to ensure a favourable balance of payments in 1952 and a continuing development of national production. M. Jean Monnet, Commissioner-General of the Plan, has written a general statement of the main points of this report. We publish the following introductory lines with a view to enable our readers to understand how France has battled with misfortunes and come out almost successful, and why our country more fortunately placed has not been able to remove the people's discontents. The contrast should shame our boosted planners, and turn their minds for once to their own incapacity and weeknesses.

"The Modernization and Equipment Plan adopted by the French Government on January 3, 1946, has been financed with funds appropriated annually by Parliament and since 1948 with additional funds obtained from the

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unblocking of Marshall Plan counterpart francs. One of its assets has been its method of joint action by Government and private enterprise, a method which made the Plan an instrument for collective achievements rather than an instrument of Government planning as such. The Plan can, therefore, be considered entirely apart from any controversy between liberalism and "dirigisme," or planned economy.

Less than four years after the end of war, national output, with an increase of more than one-third since 1946, has nearly reached the maximum (1929) level for industry and the average (1934-38) level for agriculture. After the First World War it took France six years to reach the maximum pro-war production level. This rapid recovery was achieved partly by an increase in man-power (300,000 additional workers) and an increase in working hours (45 hours a week, against 39 in 1938). With the exception of limited (partial or local) unemployment in certain industries (textiles, leather, building and public works) it can be said that there is full employment. At the same time production per man-hour, in 1949, reached the 1929 level."

Servants of India Society

This institution associated with the Late Gopal Krishna Gokhale has completed the forty-fifth year of its inspiring career. The founder and first member wanted to "spiritualise" politics, to train up Indians to approach politics with the spirit of a religious duty. Since 1905 it has been quietly doing its duty in the midst of indifference and want of appreciation from the general public. One reason of its failure to make the required appeal does not exist today; the Society stood for "Colonial Self-Government" which later came to be known as "Dominion Status." Pandit Nehru by agreeing to remain within the British Commonwealth has really underlined this ideal of association with Britain which was the inspiration of the Liberal Party in India.

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, the present President of the Society, is a valued member of the Indian Parliament and his criticism of men and measures in India informed as it is by knowledge and a spirit of sweet reasonableness carries great weight with the public.

The report of the Society for the year (1949-50) is a story of constructive activities that will help rebuild the India of our dreams and aspirations.

We pray for the Society a more successful career of national service.

Indian Shipping

The new Commerce Minister of the Central Government of India, Babu Sree Prakash, during his recent visit to Bombay met the members of the Indian Ship-owners Association on June 20 last and asked them to prepare a memorandum on the present condition of the Indian shipping industry, and suggest ways and means of developing it. Mr. G. T. Kamdar, Vice-President of the Association in his speech welcoming the new Minister, harped on the plea that Indian capital was poverbially "shy." This plea ought by this time to have been discredited; it would be truer to say that Indian capitalists are not prepared to risk, to face competition from the dominant European interests that have entrenched themselves in the Shipping Industry of India.

This is the "psychological" factor that really stands in the way of Indian Shipping Industry making its progress. Hitherto the alien States in India have treated the industry as a step-mother; that plea is no longer present. And we are sure that the Government of free India will do its best to help the industry with subsidies and some sort of protection in the coastal trade.

The Shipping Policy Committee, appointed by the Government, have recommended a target of two million tons to be fulfilled within the next five years. But that can be hit when "the psychological situation is reached and the atmosphere of mutual suspicion is eliminated and some serious and earnest effort at co-operation will begin," to use the words of Babu Sree Prakash. This is a mild criticism of the spirit of grab that has been characterising Indian capitalists. The way in which they have exploited the country's difficulties is notorious. After this experience we can hardly expect any better result from Babu Sree Prakash's appeal to the Indian shippers.

It is because the Nehru Government is not able to make up its mind with regard to Nationalisation that all this uncertainty about the bigger problem of better and fuller life in India is being halted in its solution.

Vanaspati Prohibition Bill

Sree Kishorlal Mushruwala, Editor of the *Harijan*, has addressed us a communication on the Bill introduced in the Indian Parliament by Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava. He has criticised rather mildly the comments made by certain Ministers of the different States of the Indian Union obliquely supporting the propaganda of the Vanaspati industrialists and capitalists who advertised their opinions as the last word in this controversy.

The Vanaspati industry appears to be a very profitable one, and about Rs. 20 crores have been sunk in it. With the help of this vast resources the industry has been filling the Indian Press with advertisements in support of their claims as almost a substitute for pure oil and pure *ghee*. They appear to have been able to persuade most of the scientists of the country in support of their cause.

But we are surprised to see that Dr. Shantiswarup Bhatnagar has been quoted as certifying the adequacy of Vanaspati as an element in human food. Sree Kishorlal has been pained that a high officer of the Government, as Dr. Bhatnagar is, should have lent his voice to the propaganda of the Vanaspati people and he has drawn attention to the fact that while Dr. Bhatnagar had been asked to suggest a light colouring matter to distinguish Vanaspati from *ghee*, he went out of his to give a certificate to the conductors of the industry! He has called upon the people — constructive Sanghas, public institutions, such as Municipalities and Panchayats—to deliberate upon this matter and forward their considered opinion before

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August 31, 1950, to the Food Minister of the Central Government and the Speaker of the Indian Parliament. If they agree with the prohibition policy suggested in Pandit Bhargava's Bill, they may state it in the following terms :

"In the opinion of....., the hydrogenation of edible oils and trading in hydrogenated oils should be prohibited at an early date; and so long as this has not been done, all these hydrogenated oils should be coloured, so that it may become impossible to deceive the public by mixing it with pure ghee."

Sugar

West Bengal is not a major sugar-producing province. We just nurse our resentment at the profiteering of the sugar mills of Uttar Pradesh and of Bihar. We do not really understand the various factors that have created this sugar problem. The following appreciation of these, sent by the correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* on May 25 last from Allahabad, enables us to present our readers with a factual picture of the situation.

The sugar season is at an end, and a general survey can be made of the production figures and their reactions on the consumer's purse.

To put it modestly, as undermentioned figures will bear out, by the time last season's *gur, khandsari* and black-market-driven sugar are sold out, the consumer would have been easily relieved of an amount between Rs. 80 crores and 100 crores, which could have been his but for his Government's asking.

During the last season, expert statisticians claim, 30 lakh tons of *gur* and 2½ lakh tons of *khandsari* were made in this country as opposed to the normal 15 lakh ton *gur* and one lakh ton *khandsari*. The prices at which these are being sold are Rs. 26 and Rs. 55 a maund respectively for *gur* and *khandsari*, when their normal prices were Rs. 12 and Rs. 26 in previous years.

The loss to the consumer's purse on these two counts is, thus Rs. 64 and 65 crores. No reliable figure can be arrived at in respect of 'black' sugar but these three together will carry the figure to beyond a sum of Rs. 140 crores to which extent the consumer, mostly urban, stands cheated. Had half of the sugarcane diverted to *gur* and *khandsari* been crushed for manufacture of sugar, to be sold at controlled price, the consumer could have been benefited to an extent of many crores of rupees.

Gur and *khandsari* prices have risen for a very definite reason. The manufacturers of these commodities knew that to the extent sugarcane was diverted to them, sugar production would be lessened and demand for their own products increased. Taking advantage of this situation, they kept the prices high, and the consumer was forced to pay it.

The U. P. Government have a great deal of responsibility for this fraud on the Indian consumer. In spite of repeated warnings in the Press and from their own officers in the beginning of the sugarcane season, they did not control the movement of cane to *gur* and *khandsari* industry. In consequence sugar mills were starved of cane and the production, it is feared, will touch a new ebb.

Add to Sugar

The latest position with regard to this scandal is the appointment of an Enquiry Committee of one member, Sree Ganganath Jha, retired Judge of the Allahabad High Court, to go through the charges of "hoarding, black-marketing, smuggling into Pakistan of sugar intended for home consumption, and violations of freezing orders of the Uttar Pradesh and the Central Governments."

Announcing this decision the Ministry of Agriculture indicated the purpose of the enquiry : "On the report of the Tariff Board in the sugar industry, the Government of India had stated in a resolution dated March 6, 1950, that the question whether any further inquiry into the sugar crisis was necessary and if so, what its scope should be, was engaging their attention and a decision would be taken shortly. The Government have now completed their examination of the Tariff Board report and having regard to the assurance given to Parliament that an inquiry will be made about such aspects of the sugar crisis as were not fully covered by the Tariff Board, they have decided that the inquiry should be held into the following matters of which items 1 and 2 were recommended by the Tariff Board themselves for further investigation :

(1) The suggestion that wagon supply to the sugar factories for movement of sugar during the season 1948-49 was excessive;

(2) the allegation that sugar intended for consumption in India was in fact moved into Pakistan on an appreciable scale during 1949;

(3) the allegation that several factories despatched sugar in breach of the Freezing Order of the U.P. Government on August 26, 1949 and of the Central Government on September 2, 1949;

(4) the allegation that many factories or their sales agents charged heavy premia over the fixed price during July-August 1949;

(5) the circumstances under which the proposal for export of 50,000 tons of sugar was made in May-June, 1949 by spokesmen of the Industry and the circumstances under which the proposal was dropped;

(6) the allegation that substantial stocks of sugar were moved out by the factories to their own godowns before the crisis, that large stocks were moved by the factories and trade from the Bihar factories during the interval between the U. P. and the Central Governments' Freezing Orders and that in July-August 1949, considerable movement of sugar by factories and trade took place in various directions to facilitate the sale at exorbitant prices of sugar purchased at high premia and,

(7) any other matter which may be germane to or incidental to these matters, or to any finding of the Tariff Board on the sugar crisis.

The Government of India trust that the Sugar Industry, the trade and the general public will co-operate to facilitate the early completion of the inquiry.

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Palm-Gur Industry in Bombay

The West Bengal Government has for about the last three years been keeping up a training scheme for the wider and more scientific organisation of the Palm-gur Industry in the Province. We seldom have reports of the progress of this work, of the number of trainees in villages that the official organisers have been able to train up. The possibilities of this industry is vast, considering the crores of palm trees in the country, we have seen an estimate that said that there were 5 crores in India and that the income from every tree tapped is about more than 200 rupees during the season, March to June.

In Bombay they have been going about the business in a more systematic way, as the following from the *Harijan* of June 17 goes to show. It appeared over the name of Krishnadas Shah, Honorary Director, Government Nira Plan: "For the last three or four years, the Government of Bombay has been working the *nira* plan under which *nira* and *gur* are produced from palm trees. One of the objects of organizing this industry is to find employment for toddy-tappers who have been thrown out of employment on account of the Prohibition policy.

It should be noted that though the *nira* work is carried on under the auspices and with the aid of the Government, it is an independent department, wholly under the management of social workers. The Excise and the Prohibition departments give their co-operation to it, but do not interfere in its work. As the work is carried on through social workers, the administrative charges, etc., are also very low.

Under this scheme, the District organizers and Centre inspectors are honorary voluntary workers. Many of them are Congress and constructive workers. Workers on salary basis are selected after a thorough test. But since the work is expanding, there will be need for more honest workers.

The field offers a unique opportunity to those who are desirous of engaging themselves in constructive activities. The worker is allowed plenty of freedom to develop the work to the extent of his capacity. They can work as honorary or remunerated workers as they wish.

The department intends to open a camp after June 1950, for training intending and untrained workers. Those who are recipients of salaries will continue to receive them during the period of training."

We would commend this plan to all Provincial Governments that are short of gur and sugar like West Bengal. We think the possibilities of the wild date palm are enormous, if an organised attempt is made to utilitize it.

A Forgotten Fighter for Freedom

The *Organiser* of New Delhi has been publishing a series of articles on the life and times of Basudeo Balawant Phadke and his unsuccessful attempt to drive the alien authority from India during the seventies of the last century. The writer whose pen-name is "Kaushik" has done well in bringing out this forgotten chapter of India's struggle for freedom. He shows Basudeo Phadke as a child of that age responding to the call of the new enlightenment that started with the introduction of British methods of education and exploitation which disrupted India's society. In Maharastra, Mahadeo Govind Ranade was the symbol of this awakening of whom Lokamanya Tilak wrote, "When Maharashtra was lying passive like a cool iron ball, Mahadeo Rao infused life into it;" he started the 'Sarvajanik Sabha' in 1870 which preached national self-sufficiency in every department of Indian life. He was in British service at that time as a Subordinate Judge but he managed to pilot organisations, seemingly innocent, which were intended to inspire the youth with national pride, love of country, ambition for service and sacrifice for the motherland.

He delivered lectures on subjects like the "State of the Nation" and "Responsibilities and duties of citizens." These lectures were attended by the youth of Maharashtra of which Basudeo Phadke was one; they were inspired to take the vow of *Swadeshi* and boycott of foreign goods.

The upholders of foreign interests recognised the significance of this phenomenon. The *Bombay Gazette* was found observing on June 26, 1879, "There is the section in Poona, of Brahmins bound themselves by a vow never to purchase or use articles of British produce. Basudeo Balwant Phadke was one of these. And those who knew him in the Finance Office say that, he religiously kept his vow."

Mahadeo Ranade was the writer of the epoch-making book *The Rise of the Marattha Power*; it recalled Marattha youth to realise the greatness of their past and of their fall. It was in this climate of opinion that Basudeo Phadke grew up; and "Kausik" shows us how he responded to this challenge to the self-respect of his nation. He left Government service and organised youth and the masses of Maharashtra for an armed revolt against British authority. He proceeded to the hills and valleys of Maharashtra which were inhabited by a sturdy tribe known as Ramoshis (Ram-vanshis). It was this tribe that supplied recruits to his unsuccessful *emeute*.

British historians have termed these as vagrants. The *London Times*, however, recognised the portent in the following words:

> "—emboldened by casual success (the looters) threatened even high roads near Poona, the capital, and issued a proclamation in the name of a Brahmin leader declaring that their proceedings were really against the Government. Government issued proclamations for the arrest of and information about Wasudeo. Wasudeo in his turn announced rewards for the heads of the Governor of Bombay and the Collector of Poona; and assumed the title of the Chief Minister of the Peshwas. . . . The Intelligence Department of the dacoits seems to have been efficient."

Maharashtra, however, has not forgotten Basudeo as the history of the last seventy years shows.

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Sahajananda Saraswati

The death of Sahajananda Saraswati on the 26th June last removes a dynamic personality from India's public life. Born in Bihar, he came to occupy a distinct place in our country's many-sided activities for fuller life as an organiser of the Kisan Movement. He had become a *Sannyasi* in the authentic Indian traditions. But the discontents of the times in India drew him into the Congress movement in its struggles for national self-respect which is *Swaraj* ; he responded to this call and as Gandhiji's Non-Co-operation had stirred the placid waters of Indian life and moved the masses, the vast majority of them peasants, Sahajananda chose their grievance as his special work within the Congress.

But this traditionalist in personal life was a rebel by nature. With Rahula Sankrittayana the Buddhist monk as his source of inspiration he organised and launched the most formidable agrarian movement of those days. The Kisan movement was his greatest achievement and even today his work in Bihar remains a testimony to his qualities as a fighter and a leader. This caused a shift in his attitude to the Congress. But he joined the "Quit India" movement of 1942. Since then he has been with the Leftist parties.

To the memory of this service we pay our homage.

Devadatta Bhandarkar

Devadatta Bhandarkar died at the age of 75 on May 30, last. We tender our sympathy to his family.

Son of the great Maharastra Savant Ram Krishna Gopal Bhandarkar, founder of the Bhandarkar Research Institute for Indology at Poona, Devadatta inherited traditions of scholarship that made him Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History in the University of Calcutta in 1917. He held the post for 20 years during which his reputation as a Research worker spread far and wide, and he identified himself with the cultural life of Bengal. The most notable among the publications written by him were: *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindoo Polity, Origin of the Saka Era, Gurjars, Foreign Elements in the Hindoo Population, Asoka.*

Lord Wavell

The death of Lord Wavell, the last but one British Governor-General of India, at the age of 64, recalls the last days of a decadent administration breaking down under the weight of its own acts of omission and commission. He came to India at the height of the Bengal Famine in September-October 1943, moved relief measures with military precision and dispatch, and thus gained a name as an organiser of peace as he had been an organiser of war.

During the Cabinet Mission days he was taken in as one of its members, and had often to correspond with leaders of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Princely Order, in course of which he made elucidations and promises that were found to be conflicting and contradictory.

Panchanan Neogi

The death of this Bengali chemist is a distinct loss to our Province. He had passed his most active days as a Professor in Government colleges, and had a reputation as a successful teacher of youth. But we think that his best work was done as a social worker after his retirement. He had been for years the Secretary of the Sarojnalini Memorial Association and its various activities. This organisation was started by the Late Gurusaday Dutt in memory of his wife who had been a pioneer of extended female education in Bengal in response to the breakdown of our joint family system.

Our sympathy goes to his bereaved family.

Pandurang Sadashiv Sane

The death of this Marhatti Socialist thought-leader removes a notable figure from the field of scholarship in India. He has died untimely at the age of 45 only. He was popularly known as "Guruji" Sane, testifying to how people looked upon him. He was a sincere Congress worker, having taken part in almost all the movements of national liberation initiated by Gandhiji. During his latter days he appears to have drifted away from the ways of the Congress and adopted the advance of socialism as part of his socio-political activities. He was, moreover, more of a scholar and the country looked forward to him as one of its coming man. He has gone to his rest. May his soul rest in peace!

Herambalal Gupta

The death at Mexico City at the age of 69 of this Bengali revolutionary snaps another link with the days when Bengal was making history in India. Son of the distinguished scholar, Umesh Chandra Gupta, he was a student of the Bangabashi College when in 1905 he went to the United States for higher studies; he graduated from the Boston University. During World War I he took an active part in organising revolt in India. Hardayal, Bhupendra Nath Dutta, Tarak Nath Das were the leading lights of this movement in the United States; the Ghadar Party was its spear-head.

These activities made him a *persona non grata* a man beyond grace, with the alien State authority in India; he had, therefore, had to pass his days as an exile. He settled in Mexico where he worked for years as Professor of English at the National University. May his soul rest in peace !

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MORE LIGHT ON THE NEHRU-LIAQUAT ALI PACT

Dr. John Matthai Administers Its "Coup de Grace"

BY C. L. R. SASTRI

"Was the hope drunk
Wherein you dress'd yourself? hath it slept since?
And wakes it now, to look so green and pale
At what it did so freely?"

—LADY MACBETH

"Two persons with gun-shot wounds, Dr. Kuladhar Nag and his daughter, were among the refugees who arrived in Calcutta by train from East Bengal yesterday. It was learnt on enquiry that they were wounded when Dr. Nag's house in Bajitpur, Faridpur district, was raided by a gang of dacoits last week."—A *P. T. I.* message, Calcutta, June 8, 1950.

It must, in all fairness, be conceded that the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact still holds the centre of the political stage in our "vast sub-continent", even Pandit Nehru's Indonesian tour and that other itinerary of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan to the Antipodes not being able to overshadow it in importance. There is no suggestion here, let me explain, that it is already vying with Cleopatra's beauty in that matter of age not withering or custom staling it. Poetic licence has no place in political articles, unless, indeed, they are written by Congressmen, their *jo-hukums,* and such other wild-fowl; and this happens to be a political article written by a Liberal of the old school, a Liberal "to the manner born," a Liberal back, belly and sides. So I am bound to confess that, in spite of its association with two world-renowned figures, the Pact remains of the earth earthy and, in consequence, essentially ephemeral in character. "Diuturnity," as Sir Thomas Browne has put it in imperishable language, "is a dream and folly of expectation. There is nothing strictly immortal but immortality."

ALL IN THE NAME OF THE "FATHER OF THE NATION"

Still, among *mortal* things the Pact is assured of a modicum of longevity—as how should it fail to be, with the distinguished Nawabzada as one of its signatories? And the crux of the matter is this. Since the publication of my last article on the subject in these columns more facts have come to light, and they only tend to confirm the doleful thesis that I ventured to put forward there: namely, that the Pact in question (as, indeed, might have been expected by anyone less given to floundering in the mire of rank communalism than our friends of the Congress persuasion) was true to type in that it was *one more* "let-down" for the poor Hindus, and one more "let-*up*", if I may say so, for the consistently fortunate Muslims. It was, in short, a *further* concession (the umpteenth of its kind) to Muslim intransigence: all, let us remind ourselves, in the august names of brotherhood and amity and the following in the illustrious footsteps of the "Father of the Nation" and the ushering in of the era of Sarvodaya "and no d—d nonsense", *et hoc genus omne.* Nearly three months have elapsed since the signing of the Pact, a period of time during which, if they had so wished (or, rather, if they had had the necessary data), they ("the powers that be") could have pointed to the glorious success of this latest experiment in their famous "appeasement" policy.

"WAS THE HOPE DRUNK?"

I am not, by any means, suggesting, or faintly stirring the air in the neighbourhood of suggesting that they have been routed out of the field altogether. That day, unfortunately, has yet to dawn, though about the dawning of it there can, at this juncture, be no doubt whatsoever even in their own minds, warped as they might be by too much wishful thinking and a systematic pandering to Exhibitionism of a peculiarly noxious nature. Nonetheless, signs have not been wanting, of late, that the voices that had, in the not so remote past, acclaimed the Pact in accents that reverberated down ". . . the ringing plains of windy Troy," that had bidden fair to shake "the topless towers of Ilium" to their very foundations, are muted now, if not altogether silent. The hope, it is now pellucidly clear, had been drunk—in the immortal words of Lady Macbeth—wherein the Congress leaders had originally dressed their thoughts. It had slept since and, at the moment of going to press, has woken—"to look so green and pale at what it had done so freely." It has ever been like that—with the Pacts and Protocols into which the Congress has entered with its loving neighbour, Pakistan, a neighbour so loving, indeed, that, while negotiating these Pacts and Protocols, it has an eye cocked (eminently practical as it always has been in its dealings with India) at American ammunitions and war paraphernalia in general! But of that anon.

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The Chorus of Approval Dying Down

Any impartial observer would have noted by now that the first fine careless rapture over the Pact has given place to a more realistic appreciation of its dire implications. It can no longer be said of the ranks of its defenders that

> "The stubborn spearmen still made good
> The dark impenetrable wood,
> Each stepping where his foeman stood
> The instant that he fell."

Those ranks are not now so serried as all that. The gaps are rapidly widening with the passing of days, and by far the biggest calamity that has as yet befallen them has been the significant statement of Dr. John Matthai in reply to the one made, *a propos de bottes*, by the Prime Minister at Trivandrum that the resignation of the former was due *solely* to his differences with the Cabinet over the creation of the Planning Commission. The secret of all good prose is omission, as R. L. Stevenson recognised long ago, and our beloved Panditji, though not (as we know to our cost) usually noted for his under-statements of facts (or fancies), was, in this particular instance, guilty of a distinct suppression of relevant details.

Dr. Matthai, a normally reticent person, was, therefore, impelled to come out into the open and to make a clean breast of the doings behind closed doors at recent Cabinet meetings. His relation of events does not, I need hardly point out, redound to the glory either of Pandit Nehru or of the Cabinet as a whole. Naturally enough, there was a flutter in certain dovecots, a flutter that could be heard miles away, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had to enter the fray hurriedly to rebut Dr. Matthai's more serious allegations. The Maulana Saheb, however, might, in the vulgar phrase, have saved his breath to cool his porridge : his painstaking rebuttal is not calculated to convince anyone excepting, of course, the already converted.

Dr. Matthai Pounces upon the Pact

I am not here concerned with the controversy between Pandit Nehru and Dr. Matthai in its entirety. It has quite a few features that make an instant appeal to the habitual writer on politics, but, for the present, they need not detain us. The sting of Dr. Matthai's statement is in the tail and we have to do only with that here. While pointing out that the differences between himself and the Prime Minister were not, as had been alleged by the latter at Trivandrum, confined to the creation of the Planning Commission he was compelled to give "a local habitation and a name" to the rest of those differences; and a stage arrived when, in the process of narrating them, he had, willy-nilly, to mention the Delhi Pact, and to mention it in terms the reverse of flattering.

It now transpires that, like Dr. Mookerjee and Mr. Neogy, he had also all along been opposed to the Pact, and that his opposition to it had at least as much to do with his eventual resignation (or was it dismissal ?) as his opposition to the creation of the Planning Commission. This revelation is most opportune and we ought to be indebted to that inadvertent remark made by Pandit Nehru at Trivandrum for it. Dr. Matthai, as everyone knows, is not a Hindu, and as such, his scathing denunciation of the Pact ought to be an eye-opener to those who have been extolling it to the skies—doubtless in the (vain) hope of extricating our beloved Prime Minister from a major political blunder : one in a long chain of major political blunders, beginning from his hasty and cloth-headed acceptance of the *in*famous "June 3 Plan."

Dr. Matthai's Denunciation of the Pact

I shall now quote Dr. Matthai's own words. Dewan Chimanlal, among others, will do well to listen to them. It has become quite a fashion for Hindu Congressmen to be curiously apathetic to Hindu interests—all in the name of their much-vaunted "secularism." It is a significant commentary on this singular state of affairs that it should have fallen to the lot of a *Christian* to come to the rescue of those same Hindu interests which have been so very unsafe in the hands of Hindu Congressmen ever since this bug of "secularism" bit them—in the more vulnerable places of their flesh. These are Dr. Matthai's *ipsissima verba* :

> "I must also point out, since the controversy has been forced upon me, that I was one of the members of the Cabinet who regarded with grave misgivings the conclusion of the recent Indo-Pakistan Pact and anticipated the gradual disillusionment that recent developments have produced. In spite of it, I accepted the position that having committed ourselves to the Pact, we should give it a fair and honest trial. A policy of appeasement in these circumstances is, therefore, inevitable."

Mark, however, the sequel :

> "But, under the guise of appeasement, it is extremely important that we should be careful not to barter away vital national interests. It is right in a great cause for individuals to sacrifice their personal interests. But a Government is in the position of a trustee for millions of human beings and has no right to sacrifice without adequate consideration and sufficient justification the interests of those who are committed to its authority."

All Honour to Dr. Matthai !

After this, the least that Hindu Congressmen can do is to hang down their heads in shame for having left to a non-Hindu like Dr. Matthai to champion the Hindu cause and to save something for it from

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the general wreck caused by their own culpable neglect. The whole statement is an object-lesson to politicians that, ever since the Gandhian irruption into the arena of Indian politics, have been gradually educating themselves out of a proper love for members of their own community and, by way of adding insult to injury, calling it patriotism of the highest order. All honour to the outgoing Finance Minister for thus venturing to come to the rescue of a community which, in the considered judgment of our revered Congress leaders, is less than the dust beneath their chariot-wheels.

A Question

A question, however, remains to be asked of Dr. Matthai—of course, with the utmost respect. Holding the same views as Dr. Mookerjee and Mr. Neogy on the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact as, according to his own testimony, he has been doing all along, would it not, I ask with becoming humility, have helped the cause he has so much at heart better if he had chosen to resign at the same instant as the other two instead of at a later date and after (as it has turned out) the washing of so much dirty linen in public? To be sure, the responsibility for such washing cannot, in fairness, be laid at *his* door, because the work had been started, in right earnest, by no less a personage than the Prime Minister himself at Trivandrum for no ascertainable reason. "Not presuming to dictate," I do feel that if Dr. Matthai had elected to stand shoulder to shoulder with those two aforementioned eminent colleagues of his at the critical juncture of their resignations he would have done a greater service to the country than he has done now—invaluable as that is anyhow. I am so happy at Dr. Matthai's valiant espousal of the Hindu cause—and at a moment, too, when, thanks to the Congress, it could not have sunk lower in the mire of degradation—that it was with considerable reluctance that I decided to enter this slight caveat against him: I can but trust that he will not take it ill. For the rest, I renew my thanks to him on behalf of my fellow-countrymen. May he be spared for long to serve his Motherland is my earnest prayer to the Almighty!

Some Dirty Work at the Cross-roads

The matter, however, does not stop here. Dr. Matthai's resignation does not seem to have been such a simple affair as it undoubtedly looked at first sight. There appears to have been a lot of dirty work at the cross-roads, and his leaving the Government might well have partaken more of the nature of an ignominious dismissal than of a self-respecting resignation.

Pandit Nehru, it will be remembered, confided to his audience at Trivandrum that the *sole* cause of Dr. Matthai's resignation from the Cabinet was the creation of the Planning Commission. Since then the higher criticism has been assiduously at work over this unsavoury episode and has already produced some quite interesting results: the most salient of them being this one—namely, that not only was the creation of the Planning Commission *not* the sole cause of that resignation, nor yet the immediate cause, but that the credit for it indisputably goes to the Delhi Pact, all roads, presumably, leading to Rome. The villain of the piece was this and none other; and no wonder either, for it easily bears away the bell in this matter. "At the beginning was the Word," we have been told, and at the beginning of all these resignations was the Delhi Pact, the *fons et origo* of the more recent and the more pronounced Cabinet dissensions; and behind that there is another story. It would appear that Dr. Matthai's resentment at the Delhi Pact was no mere flash in the pan, was not the solitary instance of his disapproval of such ill-considered transactions: he had been opposed to the Congress policy of *ad lib.* appeasement of the intransigent Muslim minority right from the start of this unholy growth on our body politic. At this point one remark of mine may not, I suggest, come amiss. The Congress at one time had also been opposed to this short-sighted pandering to Muslim intransigence, though, after developing an unaccountable taste for it, it began calling the poor Hindu Mahasabhaites rank communalists—offence, evidently, being the proper form of defence. I hope our revered Congress leaders will not similarly call Dr. Matthai a Hindu Mahasabhaite and a rank communalist and take him to task for not being sufficiently "broad-minded" and for lacking in the requisite "international outlook." It is so easy (is it not?) to fall foul of people when our case is inherently unsound!

The Pandit Walks into the Spider's Parlour

In this connection the despatch of the Special Correspondent of *The Times of India* from New Delhi, dated June 5, is extremely revealing. Dr. Matthai had been (so we are informed) consistently doubting the wisdom of the Congress's policy towards Pakistan. The despatch runs:

> "The immediate cause of Dr. Matthai's resignation was the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. Dr. Matthai is reported to have expressed grave misgivings about the outcome of the Pact. He found himself—although he was neither a Congressman nor a Hindu—responding to the statement of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee in Parliament. From the economic point of view, Pakistan was finding herself on the verge of collapse and was, therefore, anxious to come to a settlement with India, sending out all the Hindus from East Bengal as well as all the Muslims who had recently left the Indian Union. Dr. Matthai was believed to take the view that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan wished, for political

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reasons, to enter into this Pact on the eve of his visit to the U.S.A. Dr. Matthai thought that Pandit Nehru had fallen into the trap set by the Prime Minister of Pakistan."

A Striking Contrast

Public memory, it is true, is notoriously short, but I hope it is not so short that the offer to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan by Pandit Nehru some time ago of a sort of *permanent* mutual non-aggression pact and its contemptuous rejection by the Nawabzada have already become matters of ancient history. The Pact that subsequently eventuated between the two, though its object, in essence, is the same as that of the originally projected Pact, is not quite that Pact, being more limited in scope and in duration. Still, it can be considered as a miniature edition of it. The question now arises as to why the Nawabzada, who had been so very reluctant to sign the first pact, was in such a tarnation hurry to sign the second. It cannot be that the Pakistan Prime Minister who, at the time the first pact was mooted, had behaved like the deaf adder of Scripture which, as my readers are doubtless aware, the more one piped the less it danced, was suddenly, like Paul of Tarsus on his way to Damascus, smitten by a dazzling light at the time of the proposal of the second pact and so hastened to lend his support to it. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is a hard-headed politician and, therefore, the idea that, at a moment's notice, as it were, he would have become a victim of sentimental tantrums, in the manner of some other Prime Ministers whom I can name, can be dismissed at once from our minds. If, after looking askance at the original offer, old Liaquat so far staged a climb-down, a couple of months hence, as to consider the feasibility of sitting at a round table, along with Pandit Nehru, with a view to evolving a formula, there must have been a cogent reason for it; and that reason must be found in the fact that his visit to America was approaching and that he persuaded himself, or was persuaded by a third party, that it would be a distinct feather in his cap if, on the eve of his visit, he could bring about some diplomatic triumph on the Indian front that would appeal irresistibly to the American citizen. This supposition of mine has received corroboration from many quarters; and below is a quotation from one of them.

Liaquat's American Visit

That very well-known President of the India League of America, Mr. J. J. Singh, writing a strictly factual report of the Pakistan Prime Minister's visit to the United States in the *Indian News Chronicle* of June 9, has this to say, among other things:

"This brief and incomplete analysis of Liaquat Ali's visit to the United States would be even more incomplete if I did not add that perhaps the Prime Minister of Pakistan would not have received such a favourable and friendly reception in this country if the Minorities Agreement had not been reached between him and Prime Minister Nehru."

My readers may remember that, in my last article in these columns, I referred to the report of the American Correspondent of *The New York Times* in Karachi to the effect that the aforementioned Minorities Pact would not have seen the light of day but for the indefatigable efforts, behind the scenes, of the two American Ambassadors in this "vast sub-continent." In that report we were led to believe that it was that American intervention, and that alone, that brought about the settlement in question. I added that this report was not contradicted by the authorities over here. If we read between the lines of Mr. J. J. Singh's article in the *Indian News Chronicle* we shall have to admit to ourselves that there is a good deal to be said for that story put about by Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, the American Correspondent of *The New York Times* in the Pakistan capital. This is the concluding portion of Mr. Singh's article:

Mr. J. J. Singh's View

Mr. Singh continues:

"From the very day, in the first week of April, when Liaquat Ali Khan went to New Delhi, the American press started giving prominence to the New Delhi conference. Almost to the last day that Liaquat Ali Khan left Karachi for the United States, news-stories appeared almost every day about the improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations. Practically all the important newspapers highly commended the signing of the Minorities Pact in their editorials and paid tribute to the farsightedness and statesmanship of the two Prime Ministers."

And this is the concluding portion of his article *which carries its own moral*:

"Thus, suddenly, the Prime Minister of Pakistan began to be talked of, in the United States, as a great statesman. And as Americans are most anxious that peace should prevail on the sub-continent of India and Pakistan, they opened their arms to Liaquat Ali Khan as one of the great men of that sub-continent who had so recently helped to avert a catastrophe."

Superb Strategy

It is becoming more and more clear, with the passing of days, that there is more in the Delhi Pact than meets the eye and that it was a piece of superb strategy on the part of the Nawabzada. It won for him immense good-will from Americans; and, at the same time, it secured for him peace on his eastern frontier—especially during the period of his absence from Pakistan. He not only did not lose anything by the Pact: he gained everything from it—more kudos as well as material victories. The Delhi Pact

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was followed by the Trade Pact between the two countries at Karachi, and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had no more worlds to conquer. Pakistan was on the verge of economic collapse, as Dr. Matthai has pointed out in his statement in reply to Pandit Nehru, and both the Pacts were calculated to avert that collapse. India's boycott of Pakistan jute and her stopping of coal supplies to her neighbour had virtually brought that "largest Muslim State in the world" to its knees. That was one reason for the recent persecution of Hindus in East Bengal : there was not a little method in that religious madness. By driving out a large portion of its population—on whatever grounds—it contrived to have fewer responsibilities, and to that extent could be said to be in clover. The Delhi Pact came in handy in this way — namely, that Pakistan knew that while, as a result of it, *very few* Hindus would return to East Bengal, vast numbers of Muslims (that had migrated from West Bengal recently) would cheerfully make a trek back to their homes; so that, on a final reckoning, it would be seen that its initial objective of expelling quite a huge proportion of its minority community was still gained, *and gained without any moral obloquy attached to it.* The Karachi Trade Pact was a virtual signing by India on the dotted line, and, by that means, the time-honoured *one-way* traffic between the two sundered halves of our beloved Motherland became one hundred per cent complete. Pandit Nehru is no match for Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan so far as political legerdemain is concerned, and has always been trounced by the latter in a battle of sheer wits; and, backed by American intrigue, the Nawabzada's chances of success over the Pandit are, needless to say, doubly assured.

That Explosion in South Amboy

I made a passing reference, at the beginning of my article, to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's purchase of vast quantities of ammunition in America the while lulling our gullible "secular" politicians to sleep by entering into pacts and protocols with India. As a result of his visit to the United States that purchasing received a by no means negligible impetus, and ammunition was sent post-haste to South Amboy for being loaded into ships bound for Karachi. But, as everyone knows, the best-laid schemes of mice and men "oft gang agley," and all that ammunition went up in a holocaust before the ships ever started for Karachi. It was only then, however, that this whole question of Pakistan's purchases of war materials from "God's own country" began to be high-lighted. Coupled with the portentous wink dropped by its Prime Minister that his country feared aggression *only* from the side of India, this purchasing of arms and ammunition by our loving neighbour has naturally given us all "furiously to think." "What price Pacts and Protocols ?" is the question that comes uppermost to our lips. It was only a fortnight or so after his signing of the Delhi Pact that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had the impudence to tell his American audience that India, *and India alone*, was Pakistan's potential aggressor; and, on top of that, came his fervent appeal to his hosts to furnish him with every kind of war equipment and that, too, in record time. The first person to have violated the Delhi Pact was one of its own signatories; but when the attention of its other signatory was drawn to it he simply pooh-poohed it ! If this sort of thing can be done in the green leaf, we are asking ourselves, what cannot be done in the dry?

Mr. Rashdi Gets It in the Neck

Before concluding my article I should like to refer to a few matters, leaving my readers to draw their own conclusions from them. Recently some members of the Pakistan Newspaper Editors' Conference took the drastic step of resigning from that august body by way of a strong protest against certain conciliatory speeches of its President, Mr. Rashdi, while he was on a "Good-will Mission" in India. Mr. Rashdi, it will be remembered, had had the courage to admit that the reports of Hindu hooliganism in West Bengal had been considerably exaggerated in the Pakistan press and that Muslims were receiving excellent treatment, indeed, in our country. For reasons into which we need not probe these highly unexceptionable sentiments offended the *amour propre* of some of his colleagues and they resigned in a huff from the P. N. E. C. Mr. Rashdi had also said that there was, after all, not so much difference between the cultures of the two countries as he had originally been led to suppose. This statement also was not relished by the resigning members. My only comment on this must be that there is no accounting for tastes !

Dr. Malik's Exhortation

The other day Dr. Malik, Pakistan's Minister for Minorities, had occasion to indulge in a heart-to-heart talk with the bigoted section of Maulvis. He exhorted them to search their hearts and see whether they could claim to have done their duty towards their Hindu brethren. This exhortation was to the purpose not only in view of the past exodus of the Hindus from East Bengal but also because there has been no substantial diminution in that exodus even after the signing of the Agreement. And about this something has to be said. The "inspired" propaganda of the Government over here that there has been a substantial diminution in that exodus simply does not hold water. And, as for that other "inspired" propaganda

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that quite a large number of Hindus have gone back to their homes in East Bengal, it is equally without foundation. Many of those who *had* thus gone back have, since, returned, after discovering that all the talk about their properties being restored to them was just so much poppycock. Some have gone back because they found the conditions of the refugees here unbearable. Viewed in whatever light not many Hindus will ever return to East Bengal : on the other hand, those still remaining there will gradually trek back to the west.

The Pact is a Failure

Our Government will do well to peruse the following excerpt from the statement recently issued by Messrs. N. C. Chatterjee, Meghnad Saha, Makhanlal Sen and Charu Chandra Roy :

We would appeal to the Government of India to face the stark realities of the situation however unpleasant. In spite of cordiality at the top level, there has occurred a large number of incidents of oppression on the minority community in the various parts of East Bengal since the Agreement was signed in Delhi. Dr. Mookerjee has publicly announced a list of over 500 such incidents which have occurred during the period April 9 to April 30, as illustrative of the insecure condition still prevailing in East Bengal. They have not yet been contradicted. The victims were all non-Muslims and unfortunately they were spread over various districts—Dacca, Faridpur, Barisal, Khulna, Jessore, Mymensingh, Tippera, Kustia, Chittagong and Sylhet.

The Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact, in a nutshell, is a miserable failure from India's point of view and a magnificent success from Pakistan's point of view: that is the Law and most of the Prophets.

——:O:——

THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IN INDIA

By MRITYUNJOY BANERJEE, M.A.

The term 'Balance of Payments' is most commonly but inappropriately used to indicate the general balance of transactions during a given period out of which international monetary obligations or claims arise and the payments made or received in settlement of these obligations or claims. Adam Smith described this as the 'state of debt and credit.' Goschen proposed to call it 'the balance of indebtedness.' In recent years a Sub-Committee of Statistical Experts of the League of Nations has suggested the more comprehensive and appropriate term 'International Transactions Account.' Among the transactions *current items* such as merchandise exported or imported, movements of gold, services in shipping, banking and insurance, tourists' expenditure, diplomatic and consular expenditure, immigrants' remittances, interest and dividends, and *capital items* like (*a*) long-term investments in foreign lands or foreign investments in homelands, amortisation of inter-governmental debts, sale of existing domestic securities to foreign nationals or purchase of foreign securities issued abroad, and (*b*) short-term changes in short-term assets and liabilities, particularly, in foreign exchange holdings of the National Central Bank and changes in gold holdings. It may be seen that the last item under capital (*b*) (short-term) is the balancing item and can be truly called the Balance of Payments.

In other advanced countries a study of this question has received a remarkable amount of attention since World War I. In U.S.A. very detailed estimates have been compiled since 1919. In 1923-24 official estimates of the Balance of Payments were prepared by as many as 15 countries. The items included in them varied considerably from each other. Through the efforts of the League of Nations a good deal of progress has been achieved towards uniformity in the method of presentation of such accounts. A resolution was passed stressing such uniformity by the League Assembly as early as 1922. In 1947 the International Monetary Fund recommended a new and more elaborate schedule for recording international transactions by its members.

Pre-War Balance of Payments in India

In India the first officially recognised compilations of Balance of Payments relate to the period 1923-24 to 1938-39 and were made according to the standard form laid down by the League of Nations for its member countries. These are shown below :

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(In crores of rupees)

	CURRENT ACCOUNT					CAPITAL ACCOUNT			
		Goods, services and gold				*Known capital items*			
	Merchandise	Interest and dividends	Other services	Gold	Total	Long-term	Short-term	Total	Errors and omissions*
Balance for—									
1923-24	+110.53	−32.37	−43.30	−29.21	+ 5.65	+22.10	− 1.05	+21.05	−26.70
1924-25	+117.66	−31.78	−33.37	−73.88	−21.37	−12.25	− 0.03	−12.28	+33.65
1925-26	+119.05	−28.99	−36.48	−34.86	+18.72	−16.53	+ 0.33	−16.20	− 2.52
1926-27	+ 35.10	−29.78	−34.72	−19.40	−48.80	+38.38	− 0.05	+38.33	+10.47
1927-28	+ 51.34	−31.44	−34.70	−18.10	−32.90	+14.68	− 6.55	+ 8.13	+24.77
1928-29	+ 66.50	−32.47	−31.22	−21.20	−18.39	+ 0.52	+ 0.71	+ 1.23	+17.16
1929-30	+ 53.81	−31.60	−18.01	−14.22	−10.02	+13.32	+ 4.12	+17.44	− 7.42
1930 31	+ 37.13	−33.58	−15.91	−12.76	−25.12	+43.22	− 5.33	+37.89	−12.77
1931-32	+ 22.26	−34.76	−17.94	+57.97	+27.53	+11.76	− 8.68	+ 3.08	−30.61
1932-33	− 5.47	−34.41	−16.16	+65.52	+ 9.48	− 6.50	− 8.15	−14.65	+ 5.17
1933-34	+ 27.09	−33.92	−12.19	+57.05	+38.03	−21.55	− 9.62	−31.17	− 6.86
1934-35	+ 11.26	−32.51	−13.94	+52.54	+17.35	− 8.67	−10.56	−19.23	+ 1.88
1935-36	+ 19.38	−32.02	−15.97	+37.36	+ 8.75	..	..	−12.11	+ 3.36
1936-37—									
Credit	217.54	0.62	10.10	29.45	257.71	..	..	0.32	258.03
Debit	160.81	33.00	28.41	1.61	223.83	..	..	33.68	257.51
Balance	+ 56.73	−32.38	−18.31	+27.84	+ 33.88	..	..	−33.36	− 0.52
1937-38—									
Credit	205.02	0.83	10.09	17.89	233.83	..	..	16.94	250.77
Debit	205.04	31.00	28.22	1.56	265.82	..	..	11.64	277.46
Balance	− 0.02	−30.17	−18.13	+16.33	−31.99	..	..	+ 5.30	+ 26.69
1938 39—									
**Credit	185.50	0.88	11.27	13.80	211.45	..	..	12.97	224.42
	(185. 8)	(12.2)		(23. 3)	(221. 3)	..	..	(14. 3)	(235.6)
Debit	179.86	28.00	30.42	0.75	239.03	..	..	10.84	249.87
	(178. 6)	(58.6)		(—)	(237. 0)	..	..	(10. 7)	(247.7)
Balance	+ 5.64	−27.12	−19.15	+13.05	− 27.58	..	..	+ 2.13	+ 25.45
	(+ 7. 2)	(−46.4)		(+23. 3)	(− 15. 7)	..	..	(+ 3. 6)	(− 12.1)

* The balances in this column are due to unrecorded (private) capital transactions and possible errors and omissions in the account for goods, services and gold.

** Revised figures, recently published by the International Monetary Fund are given in brackets.

Source: League of Nations publications on Balance of Payments.

Post-War Balance of Payments in India

The post-war Balance of payments has been compiled by the Balance of Payments Division of the Department of Research and Statistics, Reserve Bank of India. It is reproduced below:

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(*In crores of rupees*)

Item	1946* Receipts	1946* Payments	1946* Net	1947* Receipts	1947* Payments	1947* Net	1948(a) Receipts	1948(a) Payments	1948(a) Net
A. *Current Account*—									
1.(I) Merchandise (including silver) (Exports f.o.b., Imports c.i.f.)									
(a) Private	336.0	280.6	+ 55.4	450.9	427.8	+ 23.1	433.7	352.4	+ 81.3
(b) Government ..	1.5	108.1	—106.6	2.8	106.9	—104.1	—	184.0	—184.0
2. Gold (non-monetary) ..	0.9	1.7	— 0.8	1.0	15.1	— 14.1	—	0.1	— 0.1
3. Services :									
(a) Private**	22.6	49.2	— 26.6	31.9	65.6	— 33.7	44.6	62.7	— 18.1
(b) Government ..	96.0	53.8	+ 42.2	31.7	52.4	+ 20.7	24.6	45.0	— 20.4
4. Unilateral Transfers (II) ..	..	..	..	..	4.5	— 4.5	16.0	5.8	+ 10.2
5. Unclassified	—	—	—	—	—	—	23.2	14.6	+ 8.6
B. *Capital Account*—									
6. Change in the Assets of the Banking System (III)	56.9	—	+ 56.9	107.5	—	+107.5	327.0	—	+327.0
7. Change in the Liabilities of the Banking System (IV) ..	5.8	—	+ 5.8	4.7	—	+ 4.7	12.0	—	+ 12.0
8. Identified Security Transactions (V)	..	6.5	— 6.5	10.6	12.3	— 1.7	8.3	7.1	+ 1.3
9. Contractual Transactions of the Government : (a) Purchase of Dollars from the I.M.F. ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	22.8	—	+ 22.8
(b) Others (VI) ..	—	17.8	— 17.8	20.3	9.9	10.5	1.4	224.0	—222.6
10. Private Capital Remittances (VII)	..	..	..	..	—64.4	64.4	18.0	34.4	— 16.4
11. Miscellaneous	..	9.3	— 9.3	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. *Errors and Omissions*	7.1	—	+ 7.1	97.5	—	+ 97.5	—	1.5	— 1.5
	526.9	526.9	—	758.9	758.9	—	931.6	931.6	—

A dash (—) has been used to indicate either that a figure is zero or less than half the final digit shown, or that the item called for does not exist. The non-availability of data is indicated by dots (..).

* The data for 1946 and 1947 relate to pre-partition India, while those for 1948 relate only to the Indian Union and also exclude the Union's exchange transactions with Pakistan.

(a) The figures for this year exclude transactions in merchandise under Government barter deals.

(I) Includes Rs. 60 crores paid for stores to the United Kingdom according to the terms of the Indo-U. K. Financial Agreement of July 1948.

** Covers foreign travel, transportation, insurance investment income and other miscellaneous services.

(II) Mainly migrants' remittances.

(III) Includes the change in the sterling assets held by the Reserve Bank of India ; of this the amount transferred to Pakistan in 1948 has, however, not been shown.

(IV) In addition to the liabilities of authorised dealers in foreign exchange, this item includes the foreign liabilities of the Reserve Bank representing balances in the current accounts kept by certain foreign institutions with the Bank.

(V) Include repatriation of sterling debt movements in rupee securities held by the Reserve Bank on account of foreigners' rupee securities enfaced for payment in London re-transferred to India, amortization payments and certain other contractual payments.

(VI) Cover the transfer of amounts between the Governments of India and Burma, the transactions relating to the loan granted to Siam, subscriptions paid to the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank, and the recent acquisition of the pensions annuity by the Government of India.

(VII) Include such items as savings remittances, distribution of capital under trust, repayment of funds, and surplus funds of insurance companies.

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This latter compilation, it has been admitted, follows no established pattern and the form has been dictated by the available material. The categories have been adapted to fit the available data instead of the data being made to fit the categories. Besides, there are certain discrepancies in the figures. First, the data for 1946 and 1947 relate to undivided India; while for 1948 they relate to the Indian Union but exclude its exchange transactions with Pakistan. Secondly, the source of the first two is the Customs Returns and of the third the Exchange Control Department. Thirdly, the Capital Account which presents more precise figures is not complete for any of the three years. Apart from these limitations, the figures can be said to present a rough picture of how India has been balancing its international accounts since the end of the war.

Features of the Pre-War Balance

It appears from the above statements that India's pre-war balance of payments had three characteristics worth noting. First, her balance on merchandise account had been very much fluctuating. It was fairly high after World War I, but as India has been chiefly an exporter of primary products, it dwindled after the depression so much so that it was negative in 1932-33. Secondly, as a debtor and dependent country its net annual payment for interest and dividends and for services was quite high throughout. Thirdly, gold movements played a prominent part in balancing India's external accounts from year to year. Thus as a rule she imported gold in times of prosperity and exported it when adverse conditions made it necessary. The Balance of Payments shows her adversity and distress as a result of the depression. But there is one good feature about it, *viz.*, that her balance on merchandise account, that is, her visible balance of trade had on the whole been favourable in the inter-war period.

Features of the Post-War Balance

By the end of the last War, most of the previously depressing factors in India's Balance of Payments had disappeared and the position, to start with, was much stronger from this standpoint. Prices of primary products, her staple export, had risen to great heights. Having repaid most of her sterling debts on official account, she has accumulated a pile of sterling assets. The net payment on service items has also diminished. Further, various internal and external factors had reduced the volume of gold movements. But several post-war developments have weakened the position in many ways. First, due to increase in population and inability of home production to cope with it, the slow recovery of Burma and Siam, our main suppliers so long, India had become vitally dependent on foreign countries for her requirements of food. Before 1939 her net imports of food did not exceed 0.5 million ton per annum, but this figure after the War increased to five or six times. Secondly, there is a large accumulated demand in industries for machinery for replacement and development purposes —both of which had to be postponed during the War. On top of these came Partition of the country which has taken away not only the important surplus food-producing areas but also jute and cotton-growing regions, the mainstay of our export trade. It has affected both the blades of the scissors, increasing our food deficit and the need for import on the one hand and reducing our exportable surplus on the other. The result has been that the balance of trade in merchandise has been negative throughout the post-war period. Of course, considering private trade in merchandise separately, there was large favourable balance of Rs. 55.4 crores in 1946, followed by one of Rs. 23 crores in 1947 and Rs. 81.3 crores in 1948. But imports on Government account were particularly heavy, the chief item being foodgrains. Imports of rice and wheat alone were valued at Rs. 60 crores in 1946 which increased sharply to Rs. 102 crores in 1948. This is the main reason why the deficit in Government account in 1948 was so high as Rs. 184 crores. It may be recalled figures for 1948 relate to the Indian Union. In respect of gold as well, India has been a net importer. The sudden increase in the negative balance under gold in 1947 was due both to the favourable prices ruling in India and to the Government of India's inclination to allow liberal imports of gold as a counter-inflationary measure. Coming to service items, it may be seen that Government receipts fell much after 1946 because the United Kingdom then ceased to pay anything to the Government of India for the latter's military expenditure. The Capital Account shows the manner in which the deficits on Current Account have been met. The foreign assets of the Banking system, including the sterling assets of the Reserve Bank of India fell by Rs. 56.9 crores in 1946, Rs. 107.5 crores in 1947 and Rs. 327.0 crores in 1948. The high figure for 1948 is explained by the fact that Rs. 224 crores had to be paid to the United Kingdom Government for the purchase of an annuity to meet the annual pension charges due to British nationals by the Indian Union, Rs 60 crores for the purchase of stores from the United Kingdom under the terms of the Financial Agreement of July, 1948, and large transfers had to be made to Pakistan according to the terms of Partition.

The progressive deficit on Current Account in the Balance of Payments arising mainly from the growing adverse Balance of trade constitutes the greatest

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weakness of India's post-war Balance of Payments position. This is having two very adverse reactions. First, there is the progressive depletion of the sterling balances, which have been built at tremendous sacrifices during the war, in order to meet the deficit on Current Account. Thus in 1946, the sterling balances were depleted to the extent of about Rs. 45 crores, in 1947 Rs. 104 crores and in 1948 more than Rs. 493 crores. Of course, there are some extraordinary circumstances as mentioned before to explain the high figures for 1947 and 1948, such as the stoppage of payments since 1947 by the Government of the United Kingdom for recoverable war expenditure and the purchase of military stores, and pensions annuity in 1948. But still so far as the overall position of international transations is concerned, this amounted to a sort of living on capital—virtual disinvestment. This became still more serious since India's limit of drawing upon sterling balances has been fixed. Till August, 1947, there was no such limit. Under the Sterling Balances Agreement signed in July 1948, India can utilise Rs. 210 crores out of the balances in the next three years, *i.e.*, Rs. 70 crores per annum. Out of this Rs. 20 crores only would be convertible into hard currency. This leads on to the other difficulty which is no less serious. This is our heavy adverse balance of trade with the hard currency areas. The table below brings into relief the amount and factors of such deficit :

(In lakhs of rupees)

Item	1946 Receipts	1946 Payments	1946 Net	1947 Receipts	1947 Payments	1947 Net	1948 Receipts	1948 Payments	1948 Net
1. Merchandise ..	88,72	42,39	+46,33	1,19,06	1,44,26	25,20	1,40,34	1,17,91	+22,43
2. Non-monetary gold movement	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	— 11
3. Government expenditure (merchandise and services) ..	63	49,39	—48,76	..	49,47	—49,47	1,18	61,59	60,41
4. Services—									
(a) Foreign travel, transportation and insurance ..	..	2,83	— 2,83	..	4,04	— 4,04	65	3,03	— 2,38
(b) Investment income ..	..	2,51	— 2,51	..	3,64	— 3,64	..	4,49	— 4,49
(c) Miscellaneous ..	2,39	1,05	+ 1,34	2,59	4,30	— 1,71	3,21	2,88	+ 33
5. Unilateral transfers ..	5,29	92	+ 4,37	2,66	1,03	+ 1,63	2,70	71	+ 1,99
6. Unclassified ..	4	2,82	— 2,78	24	3,61	— 3,37	16	4,28	— 4,12
7. Errors and Omissions ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—	2,90	— 2,90
Total current transactions	97,07	1,01,91	— 4,84	1,24,55	2,10,35	—85,80	1,48,24	1,97,90	—49,66

Note : Hard currency countries comprise for 1946, the United States, Canada, Sweden, Switzerland, and Portugal and its possessions (excluding those in India). The 1947 figures also include the other American Account countries. For 1948 in addition to the countries included for 1947, Germany and Japan are taken as hard currency countries for the whole year, while Argentina is included and Sweden and Switzerland excluded for the second half. Throughout the period 1946-48 (even when Argentina was not treated as a hard currency country) the payments made in dollars for imports of food from Argentina have been included in the respective statements.

The deficit in 1946 was not so high because of import restrictions. In 1947 relaxation of import controls led to its steep rise. In 1948 too the figure was lower but still the deficit was fairly heavy. The hard currency difficulties are mainly due to imports of food which cost India nearly £ 100 million in 1948, a third of the total food imports and two-thirds of the aggregate hard currency deficit. Other imports on Government account from these areas include locomotives, tractors, hydro-electric plants. The hard currency problem became gradually more and more serious not only for India but throughout the sterling area since the Central gold and Dollar Reserves which were the common pool of foreign exchange resources for this area were declining day by day. This led to the fixation of limits for drawing from these Reserves. The Indian Union was permitted to draw not more than the equivalent of £10 million in the first half of 1948 and of £15 million in the period of July 1948 to June 1949. Subsequently these reserves became so thin that the United Kingdom had to devalue her currency in terms of the dollar in order to stimulate exports to and restrict imports from dollar areas. In this attempt she was followed by nearly all other countries of the sterling area, includ-

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ing India but excluding Pakistan. India had to meet her hard currency deficit partly out of the convertible sterling and partly by purchasing dollars worth Rs. 22.8 crores from the International Monetary Fund. But this is a temporary expedient to which recourse cannot be had frequently.

Effects of Devaluation on the Balance of Payments

Some of the repercussions of devaluation of currency on the Balance of Payments may be analysed. Our imports from Dollar areas cost us more in rupees by about a third. This increase in prices of imported goods would have normally, according to the classic law of demand, checked the volume of our imports. But the nature of imported goods is such that most of them cannot be dispensed with except at the cost of our lives or future development. True it is that we have already imported our food requirements from these areas for 1949. This may give us temporary relief. But we will need to import food in 1950, 1951 and even after that because so many practical difficulties make us doubt our abilities to be self-sufficient in food even after 1951. Our exports to dollar areas will increase, because the dollar will now be more atractive than the rupee or sterling. But this depends on our export potential and the propensity to import of the dollar areas themselves. Both these factors are limited in scope. If we are to repay our loans to the International Monetary Fund in dollars, we will have to pay more in rupees. And our sterling balances will also depreciate in terms of the dollar. The Eastern Economist has calculated that devaluation will mean a net less of Rs. 28 crores in 1950 in our Balance of Payments. Although it is difficult to predict the loss with mathematical precision, it is certain that devaluation will effect our Balance of Payments. Devaluation is itself a symptom of weakness in the position of the latter. This requires our attention to be focussed more urgently on the more deep-rooted causes of such weakness.

Conclusion

Restoration of our Balance of *Payments* or strictly speaking, to convert it into a Balance of *Receipts* is, therefore, our immediate task. Increase in exports and a reduction in imports are the only means of achieving this objective. It is a healthy sign that our national Government, though late, have realised the gravity of the situation. They appointed an Export Promotion Committee in July last and have agreed to implement their recommendations submitted recently. Some of these such as increasing importance to exportable and other cash crops, curbing speculative activity in and hoarding of exportable commodities, standardisation and quality control of goods for export purposes, abolition of sales tax over exports, refund of import duty on goods re-exported and of income-tax on a percentage of profits from the export trade are full of immense potentialities. The whole country should be export-conscious. Our industry and agriculture should be export-minded and export-worth as well. The high level of prices is having an adverse effect on the export of commodities like oilseeds, cotton textiles, jute manufactures, sugar. The need of bringing about a fall in prices also receives an added emphasis. On the import side, the principal item is foodgrains. The Food Commissioner for India recently outlined a plan for increasing food production by 44 lakh tons by the end of 1951. It aims at self-sufficiency in food after 1951. The nation's attention was drawn to the food problem by our illustrious Prime Minister. In an impassioned broadcast appeal he has called upon every Indian to fight like a determined soldier on the food front. Nation-wide concerted effort is bound to have some effect. Happily the food plan also lays stress on austerity and prevention of waste and increasing reliance on subsidiary food.

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THE KASHMIR ISSUE AND THE UNITED NATIONS

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,
Professor of Public Affairs, New York University; Lecturer on History and Civilization of India and World Politics, Columbia University

The peace of the world depends in a very great degree on co-operation between the United States and the democratic forces of Asia. Since India's attainment of sovereign status, she has assumed the leadership of the peoples of Asia by championing their right to freedom and independence. Although it is generally assumed that India will remain neutral in the rivalry between the power blocs, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru has made it clear that India's position is not isolationist and that she will always uphold the cause of justice and freedom and side against tyranny.

In this evolving co-operation between India and the free world the Kashmir issue contains within itself grave potentialities. The continuance of conflict between Pakistan and India over Kashmir not only will weaken India and Pakistan but also might develop into a serious threat to world peace. A detailed presentation of the history of this conflict, and the issues at stake, should therefore be useful to students of international affairs.

I

The area of the state of Kashmir is 84,471 square miles, the largest of all Indian Princely States. It is bounded on the north by Afghanistan, China and Russia; on the West and South by Pakistan, and extreme south-east and east by India. This geographical position of Kashmir has a tremendous strategical significance for the defense of India. According to the census of 1941, the State of Jammu and Kashmir had a population of 4,021,616; of whom 77.11 per cent was Moslem, 20 per cent Hindu, 1.6 per cent Sikh, the rest comprising Buddhist and other religious faiths. The State was ruled autocratically by a Hindu Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, assisted by ministers, without any popular representation.[1]

On June 3, 1947, the British government announced its plan for partition of India, proclaiming that, with the transfer of power from the Crown to the two future dominions, the paramountcy of the Crown over the Indian States would cease to exist. By the Independence of India Act, on August 15, 1947, India and Pakistan came into existence as *dominions* within the British Commonwealth. By the same Act it was provided that the Princely States of India, which did not enjoy sovereign rights, were freed from the suzerainty of His Majesty while keeping alive any agreements relating to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs, and other similar matters. But in one of the Cabinet Mission's statements in 1946, it was stated that when paramountcy or suzerainty lapsed, the Indian States could either accede or seek some other form of relationship.[2] The government of Kashmir, headed by the Hindu Maharajah, the official Chief Executive of the State, was undecided about acceding to either of the dominions. On behalf of the State of Kashmir, he sent telegrams to India and Pakistan, asking them to enter into a Standstill Agreement with Kashmir.

The Standstill Agreement included provisions according to which certain services in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, such as posts, telegraphs and railways, which had, prior to August 15, 1947, been administered by India, were henceforth to be administered by Pakistan, as these services formed part of the administrative machinery of Pakistan.

Between August 15 and the end of October 1947, Pakistan, in its determination to force the accession of Kashmir, used every kind of pressure, including blockade, on the government of Jammu and Kashmir. Essential supplies, which had to reach Kashmir through Pakistan, were prevented from reaching that state and considerable pressure was brought to bear on Kashmir to accede to Pakistan. In October 1947, Moslem tribesmen from the frontiers of Kashmir, and some from the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, invaded Kashmir. These invaders, commonly classed as raiders, were equipped with arms and ammunition from Pakistan by Pakistani officials as well as nationals and by some of the local Moslem population of Kashmir, fired with Pan-Islamic zeal. The story of the advance of the invaders into Kashmir is a bloody one of pillage, destruction, rape and abduction of women and children, and massacre of the civil population—specially Hindus—who tried to defend their hearth and home.

II

What was the internal situation of the state of

1 See a pamphlet issued by the Pakistan Embassy, Washington, D. C.

2 All but three Princely States signed the instruments of accession and they became parts of either India or Pakistan. The states which did not accede to either of the dominions were Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir. It is not the province of this paper to discuss the Hyderabad and Junagadh issues. However, I wish to point out that I have discussed the status of Hyderabad in an article in the January 1949 issue of the *Journal of International Law*, Washington, D. C. In Junagadh the ruler, who was a Moslem, left the state long before any action was contemplated by the government of India. After his flight, there was a complete breakdown of the state administration and the government of India was approached for assistance in restoring law and order by the Prime Minister of the state who was a nominee of the ruler himself and had been left in charge of the state by the ruler. A plebiscite was held in the state as soon as the situation became normal; and an overwhelming majority, in fact with practical unanimity, favored accession to India.

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Kashmir and Jammu before the invasion? Prior to the Independence of India Act of August 15, 1947, the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir were profoundly influenced by the Indian nationalist movement, led by the Indian National Congress party which was essentially democratic and secular in character. As Kashmir was under the despotic rule of a Hindu prince and the majority of the population was Moslem, at first there came into existence in 1922 a political body known as the *Moslem Conference* under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah. In June 1939 at a special session of that Conference it was resolved, "From this day the name of the Moslem Conference is changed to the National Conference and all those who believe in the objective of a responsible and democratic government in the State can become members irrespective of any caste, creed or religion." The National Conference collaborated with the All-India National Congress party. Here it should be borne in mind that this party was a staunch supporter of the "States People's Congress," the democratic movement in the Indian Princely States, striving for freedom of the people and responsible government.

The All-Jammu-Kashmir National Conference held its first session in October 1939. It adopted a resolution which was described as the "national demand." "This resolution advocated responsible government, joint electorates [not communal electorates] based on adult franchise with seats reserved for the minorities and legislative control of expenditure in most of the important departments of the Government." The reactionary Hindu ruler of Kashmir, like most of the Indian princes who were opposed to the Indian nationalist movement and favored the British government against the All-India National Congress, was bitterly opposed to the National Conference and its leader, Sheikh Abdullah, who was repeatedly imprisoned on various charges of disturbing peace and order. In 1946, Sheikh Abdullah started "Quit Kashmir," the movement which was a counterpart of the demand of the Indian National Congress for the British to "Quit India." He was arrested and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. On this occasion Pandit Nehru went to Kashmir to defend him.

Thus at the time of the invasion of Kashmir in 1947 by the so-called raiders, there were three distinct political forces operating in the state: (a) the Maharajah and the conservative elements wishing to carry on the autocratic rule and autonomous existence of the state, (b) the Pan-Islamist group within the state which wished separation of Kashmir from India and its incorporation in Pakistan, and (c) the powerful popular party of the National Conference, led by an Indian Nationalist Moslem, a native of Kashmir, working for the cause of responsible government in the state and co-operating with the All-India National Congress toward the end that Kashmir stay within the fold of India.

III

By permitting the frontier tribesmen to pass through its territory, Pakistan became a party to the invasion of Kashmir in 1947.

Major Khurshid Anvar, Pakistani Deputy Commander of the unofficial Moslem League National Guards, led an expedition from Pakistan to seize the Kashmir Valley and Srinagar, the capital.[3]

At first the Maharajah of Kashmir appealed to Pakistan not to aid the invaders; but as Pakistan was behind the invasion, the appeal was fruitless. This act of aggression by Pakistan abrogated the Standstill Agreement. Then, on October 26, 1947, Kashmir sent an urgent appeal to India for military assistance. The government of India, under the then existing treaties between Kashmir and the British government of India, was obliged — as the legal heir of the British government[4] — to defend Kashmir against any invasion. Furthermore, the Maharajah sent a formal request to India to allow Kashmir to accede to the Indian Union or Dominion of India. This appeal for military help and accession to India was not merely a move by the autocratic Maharajah, but was supported by the National Conference of Kashmir under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah who had by that time been freed from prison by the Maharajah, since the latter hoped thus to secure popular support to oppose the Pakistani invasion of Kashmir.

India, in order to meet its treaty obligations and in conformity with the Indian Independence Act accepted the request for military aid and accession of Kashmir. It should be kept in mind that in the India Independence Act, there was no provision for an Indian Princely State to hold any plebiscite before applying for accession to either the dominion of India or Pakistan. But India under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, advised by Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor-General of India, while accepting the petition of accession, made it clear that after Kashmir was freed from invaders, its people should decide their future by recognized, democratic methods, such as the plebiscite. Thus, the proposal for a plebiscite in Kashmir was a unilateral act of the government of India. Actually, from the legal viewpoint, Kashmir became a part of the dominion of India from the very moment its appeal for accession was accepted.

During the course of the defense of Kashmir by the joint action of Indian and Kashmiri forces, it became evident that Pakistan was the real invader and the raiders were mere subsidiary forces. India

3. Phillips Talbot, "Kashmir and Hydrabad," in *World Politics*, vol. I, No. 3, April 1949, p. 329.

4 For the legal analysis of the point see "The Status of Hyderabad" in the *Journal of International Law*, January 1949.

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repeatedly drew the attention of Pakistan to its involvement in the attack on Kashmir—and thus on India. Pakistan evaded the issue and brought counter-charges of Hindu atrocities against the Moslems of Kashmir, which later proved to be utterly unfounded.[5] Under normal circumstances India might have taken strong military aition against Pakistan and driven the invaders out of the country—a course which would be permissible according to international law. But India was determined to avoid an open conflict with Pakistan and took steps aimed at solving the problem peacefully.

On January 1, 1948, India, invoking Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations, lodged a complaint against Pakistan's aggression against India through the invasion of Kashmir. The complaint contained a review of the situation in Kashmir from September 1947 on, including Kashmir's appeal to India for assistance and accession. It gave specific details of how arms and ammunition had been supplied to the invading forces by Pakistan and set forth the following conclusions : (a) that the invaders are allowed transit across Pakistan, (b) that they are allowed to use Pakistan territory as a base of operation, (c) that they include Pakistan nationals, (d) that they draw much of their military equipment, transportation and supplies (including petrol) from Pakistan, and (e) that Pakistan officers are training, guiding and otherwise actively helping them.[6]

The Pakistan government, instead of answering the specific charges of aggression, filed countercharges against the government of India on January 15, 1948. This would imply that Pakistan could not answer the Indian charges, and a guilty conscience led it to accuse India of worse actions, thus removing itself from the possibility of being censured for aggression and violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Pakistan also invoked Article 35 of the Charter and charged India with breach of international agreements, incitement of revolution, "numerous attacks on Pakistan territory," and an "extensive campaign of genocide." "The object of the various acts of aggression by India against Pakistan is the destruction of the State of Pakistan."[7]

Both Pakistan and India agreed, however, that a plebiscite should be held in Kashmir to determine the issue. Pakistan set the following conditions :

A free plebiscite can be held only when all those who have during the last few months entered the State territory from outside, whether members of the armed forces or private have been cleared out of the State, and peaceful conditions have been restored under a responsible, representative and impartial administration. Even then care must be taken that all those that have been forced or compelled to leave the State since the middle of August 1947 are restored to their homes as it is apprehended that in the Jammu province and elsewhere whole areas have been cleared of the Moslem population.

India entered one reservation: that a number of Indian troops should remain in order to preserve peaceful conditions for the plebiscite.

Regarding the return of the people who were forced to leave Kashmir, the contention of Pakistan that the Moslem population was cleared out of certain areas was not proved beyond doubt. According to the statistics quoted by the Pakistan and Indian Delegation, it became clear that the proportion of Moslems in the population had risen from 77 per cent in 1941 to 95 per cent in 1948. From these figures it was conclusive that more Hindus than Moslems were forced to leave Kashmir, while a large number of Moslems from Pakistan entered.

IV

The first action by the Security Council, after considerable discussion, was the adoption of a resolution presented by Belgium to the effect that both parties — India and Pakistan — should take all measures calculated to improve the situation and refrain from taking any action that might aggravate conditions.[9]

On January 28, 1948 the Council adopted another Belgian resolution which, among other things, established a Commission composed of representatives of three members of the United Nations, one to be selected by India, one by Pakistan, and the other by the first two. The Commission should proceed to the spot immediately and keep the Security Council informed of its activities and of the development of the situation. The Commission was charged to investigate the claims of both India and Pakistan.[10]

Here it should be mentioned that, after the invasion of Kashmir, a pro-Pakistani Moslem government—the Azad Kashmir or Free Kashmir—was established in the occupied part of the country. This government, with the arms and ammunition and military leaders supplied by Pakistan, developed a well-equipped armed militia of considerable strength—at least thirty-two battalions.

During the debates before the Security Council, the Pakistani delegation placed special emphasis on the point of view that the Kashmir question could not be dealt with piecemeal but that the whole issue, including their charges against India, must be considered. With the support of the British delegation and others, the views of the Pakistani delegation prevailed. It is interesting to note that Dr. Tsiang of China remarked :

5 U. N. Document S/629, January 5, 1948.
6 U. N. Document S/628, January 1, 1948, p. 4.
7 U. N. Document S/646, January 15, 1948, pp. 8-9.
8 U. N. Document S/646, January 15, 1948.
9 U. N. Document S/651, January 17, 1948.
10 U. N. Document S/654, January 28, 1948.

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"It is obvious that the key to the problem lies in the plebiscite. If the principle of a free and impartial plebiscite for deciding the all-important question of the accession of Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be accepted, much of the incentive to violence and the use of force would be removed."[11]

Thus, instead of considering India's complaint against Pakistan, the Security Council centered its attention on the holding of a plebiscite. There was prolonged debate on a resolution, sponsored by Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, the United Kingdom and the United States, regarding the steps to be taken to bring about the solution of the question of Kashmir by plebiscite.[12] Although both India and Pakistan registered their opposition to the resolution, it was adopted on April 21, 1948.

During this debate and discussion, the Indian delegation was forced to recognize the anti-Indian position of Great Britain, when Mr. Noel-Baker repeatedly referred to the Indian Army in Kashmir as an army of occupation. Sir Gopalswamy Ayyangar asserted the legality of India's defense of its own territory by its army and said : "That Army is there in pursuance of legitimate duties cast upon it by the constitutional position which India holds in Kashmir."[13]

By the time the debate was over and the resolution was adopted, it was becoming clear that the Security Council was not considering India's complaint against Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir ; but was more interested in determining the validity of India's actions in Kashmir and in studying the charges against India brought by Pakistan. On June 3, 1948, the Security Council directed the Commission in Kashmir to study Pakistan's charges concerning the accession of Junagadh to the Union of India, genocide and the breach of agreement between India and Pakistan. This was a little too much for India to concede. There was tremendous agitation in India indicating distrust in the United Nations Commission. For a time there was a feeling that India would withdraw the whole issue from the United Nations. Mr. Nehru finally informed the Council that India could not acquiesce in this extension of the scope of the Commission and could not promise co-operation. In the *New York Times* of June 16, 1948, Mr. Robert Trumbull reported that "Dispatches from Kashmir make it clear that the pro-Indian Government of Sheikh Abdullah is now unwilling to accept even an impartial plebiscite."

V

The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan arrived in India on July 7, 1948. In the meantime, the Indian Army was effectively checking the advance of the invaders. According to the Pakistan authorities, the Indian forces were dangerously nearing the Pakistan border, and if this march of the Indian Army was not checked, it would become a serious menace to the security of Pakistan. Therefore, the Pakistan government, to keep its hold in certain parts of Kashmir and to check the possible march of Indian forces into Pakistan, sent a large Pakistan army into Kashmir. Although Pakistan was bound by the resolution of the Security Council to inform the Council immediately of "any material change in the situation," it did not conform to this ruling.

During the summer of 1948, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, after investigation, became convinced that not only had Pakistan connived with the raiders whom it supplied with arms and ammunition and officers, but "Pakistan's Army General Staff exercised over-all command of regular and irregular Azad forces." This was confirmed by the admission of Pakistan government officials. Thus, the Kashmir dispute was virtually Pakistan's war against India, while the two dominions were officially at peace with each other.[14]

After studying the situation in Kashmir and carefully consulting the authorities of India and Pakistan, the United Nations Commission on August 13, 1948 adopted a resolution calling for a cease-fire agreement between India and Pakistan,[15] to precede the plebiscite.

It was agreed that before the plebiscite was held, the following things must be effected :

> As the presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council, the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from that State.
>
> The Government of Pakistan will use its best endeavour to secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purpose of fighting.
>
> Pending a final solution, the territory evacuated by the Pakistan troops, will be administered by the local authorities under the surveillance of the Commission.

In a letter of August 20, 1948, Mr. Nehru, on behalf of the Government of India, accepted the resolution as his government understood it. Pakistan, however, accepted the resolution with reservations which "the commission was forced to conclude were tantamount to a refusal."[16] The report of the Com-

11 U. N. Document S|P.V. 237, January 29, 1948.

12 For the text of the resolution, see U. N. Document S|726, April 22, 1948.

13 U. N. Document S|P.V. 285, April 19, 1948, p. 15.

14 Talbot, in *World Politics*, April 1949, pp. 330-331.

15 For the full text of the resolution, see U. N. Document S|995, August 13, 1948.

16 U. N. Document S|1100, November 22, 1948.

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mission places the whole blame for its failure to accomplish its work on Pakistan's doorstep.

While the United Nations Commission on Kashmir was trying to carry out its mission, the people's government in Kashmir, headed by Sheikh Abdullah, brought about many social and political reforms, limiting the authority of the Maharajah and distributing land among peasants. It was becoming stronger in authority and more popular with the people of Kashmir. This was demonstrated by the fact that in October 1948 an extraordinary convention of the National Conference, attended by 250 delegates representing Moslems, Hindus and Sikhs from all parts of Jammu and Kashmir, voted unanimously in favor of the permanent accession of Kashmir to India.[17]

While the United Nations General Assembly was holding its sessions in Paris, the United Nations Commission on Kashmir met representatives of India and Pakistan and succeeded in having them accepted a proposal which amounted to a re-affirmation of the cease-fire agreement of August 13, 1948. They also agreed upon general principles regarding the plebiscite. "Both the governments of Pakistan and India announced their agreement to order a cease-fire effective one minute before midnight, January 1, 1949."[18]

The Secretary-General, on the request of the Commission, sent military advisers to observe the cease-fire. After further correspondence between the Commission and the dominions, the Commission, on January 5, 1949, unanimously adopted a resolution supplementing the Commission's Resolution of August 13, 1948.[19] On January 15, 1949, the Commanders of the Armies of the two dominions met and agreed to an exchange of prisoners in Kashmir. On February 23, the first Kumaon Regiment (Indian troops) was withdrawn from Jammu and Kashmir. On March 22, 1949, the Secretary-General of the United Nations announced the appointment of Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, as United Nations Plebiscite Administrator in Jammu and Kashmir. On April 15, the Commission presented the dominions with proposals for a full truce agreement. These proposals represented an "adjustment of viewpoints within the framework of commitments already entered into."[20]

Up to this point, there was reason for optimism regarding a peaceful solution of the Kashmir issue by the United Nations. But this high hope failed to materialize because of the attitude of Pakistan which virtually refused to carry out the agreements regarded as definite pre-requisites for a plebiscite.

VI

The differences of opinion between Pakistan and India with regard to implementation of the truce and fulfillment of the conditions for holding a plebiscite have been summarized by the United Nations as follows: "The Government of Pakistan envisaged an unconditional cease-fire, leading to a final settlement, whereas the Government of India was reluctant to consider conditions for such a settlement until Pakistan troops and nationals who had entered the State for the purpose of fighting were withdrawn." Furthermore, satisfactory solution of two other problems—"provisions for administration and defense of sparsely populated and mountainous regions of the north and the question of disarming and disbanding Azad Kashmir forces" — was regarded by the government of India as essential for the implementation of the truce, leading to a plebiscite.

To solve these disagreements the United Nations Commission at first proposed a joint conference, and then, in September 1949, asked the two governments to submit their differences to arbitration on the following terms:

1. The two Governments agree that
   (a) they will submit to arbitration the differences existing between them concerning all questions raised by them regarding the implementation of Part II of the Resolution of August 13, 1948, the arbitrator to decide these questions according to equity and his decisions to be binding for both parties;
   (b) that arbitration will terminate once the truce terms are decided upon;
   (c) that Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz be arbitrator;
   (d) *that the procedure for arbitration will be worked out subsequently*;
   (e) that since the procedure of arbitration will be limited to the conclusion of the truce the Commission will continue in the exercise of its functions.

Upon the arbitral decision the Commission will undertake the tasks assigned to it under the truce and under the Resolution of January 5, 1949.

With reference to paragraph 1(d) above, the Commission considers that it would be inappropriate in advance of the approval by the parties of the proposed course of action and the person of the arbitrator, to seek to define the exact procedure to be followed.[22]

Pakistan was ready to accept these terms, but India raised various questions. It wished to know in advance precisely what issues would be arbitrated. It stated definitely that it would not agree to arbitrate the issues regarding the disbanding and disarming of the Azad Kashmir forces and also regarding the

17 Alice Thorner, "The Kashmir Conflict," *The Middle East Journal*, vol. III, No. 2, April 1949, p. 175.

18 U. N. Document S/1196, January 10, 1949.

19 *Ibid.*

20 U. S. *Department of State Bulletin*, vol. XX, No. 512, April 24, 1949, p. 519.

21 United Nations Press Release Kash/79, September 23, 1949.

22 United Nations Press Release Kash/77, September 10, 1949.

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administration of north Kashmir and the withdrawal of Pakistan forces which had already been agreed upon in a resolution of August 13, 1948. The position of the government of India was in accord with the procedures of international law regarding arbitration.[23]

VII

The spirit underlying the Pakistan government's attitude on the Kashmir issue has been well expressed by Khan Abdul Quiyam Khan, Premier of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. While addressing a public meeting in Hyderabad (Sind) on September 19, 1949, he said, "Pakistan will not be complete without Kashmir and it is the duty of every Pakistani to be prepared to get it."[24]

Meanwhile, on or about August 30, 1949, President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee, through formal notes to Pakistan and India, had suggested that the Kashmir issue should be settled by arbitration by a high and impartial personage appointed by the United Nations—Admiral Nimitz. Reaction in India against this proposal was sharp and instantaneous. Mr. Nehru, reflecting public opinion, in a speech delivered at Allahabad on September 4, 1949, declared that the Anglo-American proposition was virtually *unwarranted intervention.*

During the All-Jammu-Kashmir Conference held at Srinagar on September 24, 1949, the position of the government of India and also that of the government of Kashmir were made clear by speeches of Pandit Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah. Mr. Nehru in a speech emphasized the following points :

1. The government of India's acceptance of a plebiscite was not an offer to Pakistan or any organization, but it was to the people of Kashmir, in spite of the fact that the Kashmir government's accession to the government of India was indisputably correct from legal and constitutional points of view.

2. The future of Kashmir should be decided by her own people. This should be the case, even if Pakistan was not involved in the issue. "Long before the raiders came we said Kashmir should decide her own future. We might have explained to them the advantages of joining India, but we could not think of any pressure being put to force the issue in our favor."

3. Referring to statements in the foreign press that acceptance of partition by India implied acceptance of Mr. Jinnah's two-nation theory, Pandit Nehru said :

> This is a surprising argument. At no time in India have we accepted the two-nation theory, nor will we accept it. Why did we agree to partition ? To avoid conflict, disorder and postponement of achievement of freedom. We agreed to let the matter be settled by the elected representatives in the provincial Assemblies concerned, although it would have been better if the issue had been decided by popular vote. What we accepted was the popular verdict as expressed by the elected representatives and not the two-nation theory. If we had accepted this theory, 40,000,000 Moslems would have become aliens in India.

4. While praising the United Nations, Mr. Nehru expressed his surprise that it has not given any answer to the single issue put before it. He said: "They have done their best and they are still trying their best. What is not clear to me is why they did not focus their attention on the single question we put before them and why they did not express their views on it."[25] Mr. Nehru was obviously referring to the question: "Was Pakistan an aggressor or not ?"

Speaking not for India as a whole but specifically for Kashmir of which he is Prime Minister, Sheikh Abdullah, addressing the delegates of the conference, said :

> We do not want to shut our eyes to realities and forget history itself. We do not want to repeat Munich in Kashmir. We frankly feel that arbitration means nothing else but appeasement of the aggressor. The fate of Czechoslovakia at the hands of Hitler stands as a warning against all solutions which seek to satisfy the wrongdoer by yielding more and more.
>
> If the nations of the world, who command the power of decision in the Security Council today, do not feel confident themselves to be able to enforce what is right and just, it would be a matter of great pity indeed. President Truman and Mr. Attlee can surely hold Pakistan to the commitments of the cease-fire agreement which fundamentally involves the recognition and extension of sovereignty of the Jammu and Kashmir Government over areas occupied by Pakistan through aggression. On the contrary, arbitration would mean escaping from reality and bargain. We cannot play with the destiny of four million people. We alone can decide our future. After all, what have we to be afraid of when our cause is just and right and why should we be asked to accept "out of court" settlement ?[26]

Pakistani propaganda in Britain and the United States has consistently followed the line that, as India was partitioned on the ground of the religious issue raised by the Pan-Islamists of India, Kashmir, in

23 United Nations Press Release Kash|80, September 23, 1949. "In the government of India's view, the process of consultation with the two governments to determine the points of reference to arbitration should precede, and not follow, acceptance of the proposal for arbitration. Since whether or not arbitration takes place will depend upon agreement between the two governments upon the points to be referred to arbitration, this would be the more logical and appropriate course. It is also in conformity with the accepted procedure in respect to arbitration. The government of India do not feel called upon at this stage to comment upon the choice of an arbitrator. *The stage for that will be after the points for arbitration have been precisely defined and accepted by the Governments of India and Pakistan.*" Italics are mine.—T. D.

24 The *Statesman* (Overseas Air Mail Edition), September 24, 1949.

25 The *Statesman* (Overseas Air Mail Edition), Calcutta, October 1, 1949.

26 The *Statesman* (Overseas Air Mail Edition), Calcutta, October 1, 1949.

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which more than 90 per cent of the population is Moslem, should logically be part of the Moslem state of Pakistan. Mr. Nehru, after his return to India from Britain and the United States, took pains to refute this so-called "two-nation theory." At a press conference in New Delhi on November 16, 1949, he said in answer to questions regarding American misunderstanding of the Kashmir question :

> Among those who are supposed to know there was not very much misunderstanding. Maybe some facts were not known to them, but generally the facts were known. Among the general public, of course, there was any amount of misunderstanding about many matters.
>
> One such misunderstanding, not only in the United States but also in other parts of the world, was that the partition of India was viewed as if the Moslems and non-Moslems of India had been completely separated on a religious basis, that is to say, as an outcome of the old Moslem League's or Mr. Jinnah's theory of two nations. So far as we are concerned, we never accepted that theory; we repudiated it throughout.[27]

On December 17, 1949, the Security Council of the United Nations met and again took up the Kashmir issue and considered the report of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan.

> The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan reported through its chairman, Bernado Samper of Colombia, that three outstanding issues remained unsettled, namely: The withdrawal of troops from Kashmir as the condition for a free and impartial plebiscite; disposal of Azad [free] Kashmir forces in the Western part of the State; and the administration and defense of the northern areas.

Mr. Arne Sunde of Norway expressed the view that open debate on the Kashmir issue might not solve the problem, and might well have just the opposite effect. He suggested that General A. G. L. McNaughton of Canada, the Chairman of the Security Council, be appointed to carry on private and informal conversations with both the parties (India and Pakistan) in order to find "a mutually satisfactory basis for dealing with the Kashmir problem."[28]

It is most significant that a minority report was submitted to the United Nations on December 17, 1949 by the Czechoslovak Delegation to the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan. The Czechoslovak Delegation put itself on record as having co-operated with the work of the Commission and as presenting its views in a separate report because "it wishes to throw light on those phases of the Commission's mediation efforts where the majority report does not state clearly the reasons of the failure."[29]

The minority report contends, first of all, that by proposing arbitration the Commission overstepped its competence, as stated in the Resolution of August 13, 1948. The arbitration proposal, the report asserts, was British-inspired. Otherwise, a secret memorandum on the subject would not have been in possession of the British High Commissioners at Karachi and New Delhi before it was given to the governments of India and Pakistan. Further, long before the Commission recommended arbitration by Admiral Nimitz, the American members of the Commission and authorities at Lake Success advocated such arbitration—a fact which emphasizes the lack of independence of the Commission.

Because of the Commission's failure to implement the Resolution of August 13, 1948, the minority report charges, Pakistan was given seven months to equip a "formidable force" of thirty-two battalions in the Azad Kashmir army.

General McNaughton tried his best to solve the Kashmir dispute by suggesting synchronized withdrawal of Indian and Pakistan forces from Kashmir. In rejecting the McNaughton proposal, India reiterated its original contentions that, since the accession of Kashmir to India, Kashmir had become a part of Indian territory, for the defense of which Indian forces are responsible, and that Pakistan's invading forces, accordingly, must leave Kashmir unconditionally and the Azad forces be disarmed and disbanded before any steps for conducting a plebiscite be taken. Thus General McNaughton's mediation failed, and the issue again came before the Security Council.

In a lengthy argument before the Security Council, February 7 to 10, 1950, Sir Zaffarullah Khan presented Pakistan's case regarding Kashmir and held that Kashmir's accession to India was not valid because the majority of the population was Moslem and the country adjoins Pakistan. Furthermore, he declared :

> The possession of Kashmir can do nothing to the economy of India nor to the strategic security of India. On the other hand, it is vital for Pakistan. . . . If Kashmir should accede to India, Pakistan might as well, from both the economic and strategic point of view, become a feudatory of India or cease to exist as an independent sovereign state.[30]

It becomes evident that the real motive behind Pakistan's action in Kashmir is to use every possible means to prevent the state of Kashmir from becoming a part of India. Accession or no accession, Pakistan wants to annex Kashmir for "strategic reasons."

The chief representative of India, by quoting certain statements of Sir Zaffarullah Khan, pointed out that only a few days before the invasion of

27 The *Statesman* (Overseas Air Mail Edition), Calcutta, November 19, 1949, p. 1.

28 *New York Times*, December 18, 1949.

29 U. N. Document S/1430/Add. 3, December 16, 1949.

30 S/PV. 464, February 9, 1950, p. 10.

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Kashmir by a large Pakistani force, General Gracie, the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, who is a British general, on April 20, 1948 recommended this act of aggression. The reasons behind this recommendation can be understood from the following passage of General Gracie's memorandum: "An easy victory of the Indian Army in any of the above-mentioned sectors, particularly in the Muzaffarbad area, is almost certain to arouse the anger of the tribesmen against Pakistan for its failure to render them *more direct assistance and might well cause them to turn against Pakistan.*"[31]

Commenting on the above, Sir B. N. Rau pointedly said:

> I invite special attention to the words *"more direct assistance."* This is a most damaging admission proving that in spite of the protestations of the representative of Pakistan, here Pakistan was in fact rendering the Tribesmen, even before 20 April 1948, some kind of assistance, direct or indirect. The Commander-in-Chief was recommending that the assistance should take a more direct form. This is conclusive proof that India's complaint to the Security Council in January 1948 was completely true.[32]

The logical conclusions to be drawn from Pakistan's contentions are: (1) a Moslem state for Pan-Islamic reasons can demand incorporation of a portion or all of an adjoining state; (2) a strong Power, on the ground of supposed national security or rectification of the borders, can invade a neighboring state and annex it, ignoring any opposition from the United Nations which is, according to its Charter, bound to check an aggressor nation.

The Security Council, after careful deliberation, has come to the conclusion that the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan has failed to solve the Kashmir issue. It has now recommended that an individual should be appointed to mediate between Pakistan and India so that both countries would agree to withdraw their forces within five months, and then the issue of whether Kashmir be part of India or Pakistan be settled by plebiscite.

In its first major action after the Soviet walk-out, the Security Council, by eight votes to Yugoslav and Indian abstentions, adopted a resolution calling for demilitarization of Kashmir by August 14, and appointment of a single United Nations mediator to help prepare for a plebiscite on affiliation with India or Pakistan. On April 12, 1950, a United Nations mediator for Kashmir was selected by the Security Council. Sir Owen Dixon, Justice of the High Court of Australia, was elected by a vote of 8 to 0, with Yugoslavia and India abstaining and Russia absent.

The United Nations has failed thus far to solve the Kashmir issue. It can only be hoped that a peaceful solution based upon justice and law will be the ultimate outcome.*

Columbia University
April 16, 1950.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
32 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

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THE PRESIDENT OF THE INDIA REPUBLIC

By Principal SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A., F.R. Hist. Soc. (Lond.), F.R.A.S. (Lond.)

The Government of India today is a republic and has a President at its head. The first President was elected under 'transitory provisions' by the members of the Constituent Assembly. His successors however will be elected by members of the legislatures of the States and of the Union. He will then be a representative of the 'popular will' acting through a double process of election; the voters electing the members of the legislatures who in their turn elect the President.

Though the republic has a President, the system of Government in the Union or in the States will not be presidential but parliamentry. The President is chief of a parliamentry state but not chief of the government.' Here the Indian constitution follows the French pattern. The French too have a President who neither reigns nor governs but is a pale image of the English king. In India, as in France, the government is carried on in the name of the President by the Ministers holding office during pleasure of the President. Democratic experience has it that in order to make democratic government possible, a fifth wheel of the coach of government unconnected with the four wheels on which the coach rides is necessary. The king fills that place in England with great success, his governors-general in the various dominions try to answer the need obviously not so successfully. Countries repudiating monarchical form of government have had to create an office answering the same purpose which the king in England does. The French President was the first such answer. The Indian President follows suit.

Like the constitutional monarch, the President, "is no atrophied member of the body politic, but an important part with useful and vital functions to discharge."

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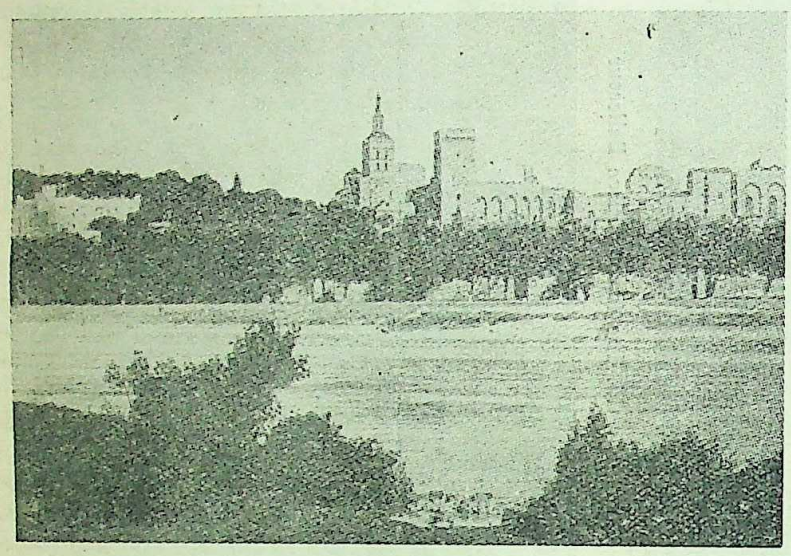
a long journey. This is a very ancient city, noted for its picturesque situation as well as for industrial and commercial importance. From the Basilique (Church) on the Fourviere Hill on the West, an excellent panorama of the town is obtained with



21. Avignon

numberless domes, spires, steeples and churches. Two rivers, the placid Soane and the gushing Rhone, pass through the town and meet a little below the city. The Croix Rousse Hill, the home of the famous silk weavers of Lyons, lies to the north and affords another excellent view of the town. To the east is also seen Mt. Blanc, the highest peak of the Alps, only about 100 miles away. The Palais Du Justice with the Basilique at the distance and a bridge on the foreground can be seen in Fig. 15. The famous Place Ballecour, Hotel De Ville (town hall, as seen from the West and East) besides other notable buildings are worth a visit. Remains of an old Roman Theatre and an aqueduct are shown in Fig. 18.

Lyons is famous for its silk industry, not only in France but all over the world. Through the courtesy of H. M. Consul, Mr. F. O. Meara, for whom I had a letter, I visited the Silk Weaving School, Silk Union, and the Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Charreton, the Secretary of the Chamber, took me to the Musee Du Tissue and the conditioning house and I was favoured with letters to Ucel and the Trans Silk Throwing Factories. I noticed with great interest that the town has honoured, with a statue, M. Jacquard whose contribution to the weaving world is of very great importance. Even village weavers of Bengal will be found to use the Jacquard looms in great numbers.

On the way south, a visit was paid to the Silk Throwing Factory at Ucel (near Aubennes) and later, Avignon was reached. The place and the surrounding country bear indelible marks of interesting early Roman and medieval times.

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A GREAT COLLECTOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART MUSEUMS IN THE UNITED STATES

The Pierpont Morgan Library's Anniversary Exhibit

By ROLAND L. REDMOND,
President, Metropolitan Museum of Art

When John Pierpont Morgan, Sr., died in Rome, Italy, in 1913, the news of his death was carried throughout the world because of his outstanding influence in international banking, American industry, and the collecting of works of art. So forcefully had he impressed his personality on his contemporaries that many people felt that his death marked the end of an era. Little did anyone realize that these feelings were prophetic.

Morgan's life was co-extensive with that extraordinary period of industrial expansion and international stability, the Victorian Age. He was born in Hartford, in the east coast State of Connecticut, the year Queen Victoria came to the British throne, and he survived her by 12 years. Throughout his life, world currencies were governed by the gold standard. While there were wars during this period, they were internal; the concept of a world war, lasting for years and involving many nations, seemed remote indeed when Morgan died, and yet, within a year and a half, the first one had commenced. March 1913 was the end of an era, although few were able to appreciate it.

It is always difficult to discuss a single phase of a man's life. It is particularly difficult in the case of Morgan who played an important part in so many different fields of activity and who had so many diversified interests. On the other hand, we cannot study Morgan's great contribution to the development

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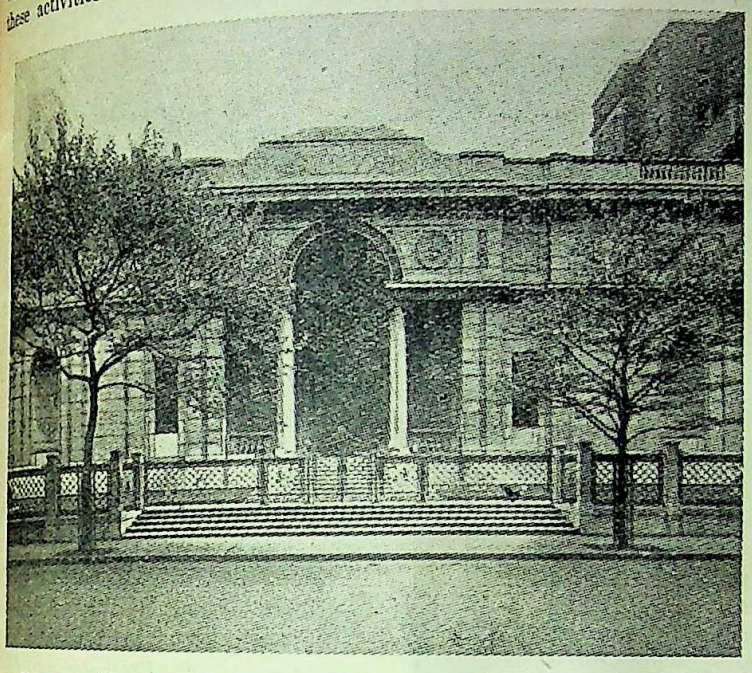
of art museums in the United States, or understand the purpose of his extraordinary collections of art, without considering the background against which these activities developed. Let us, therefore, look at



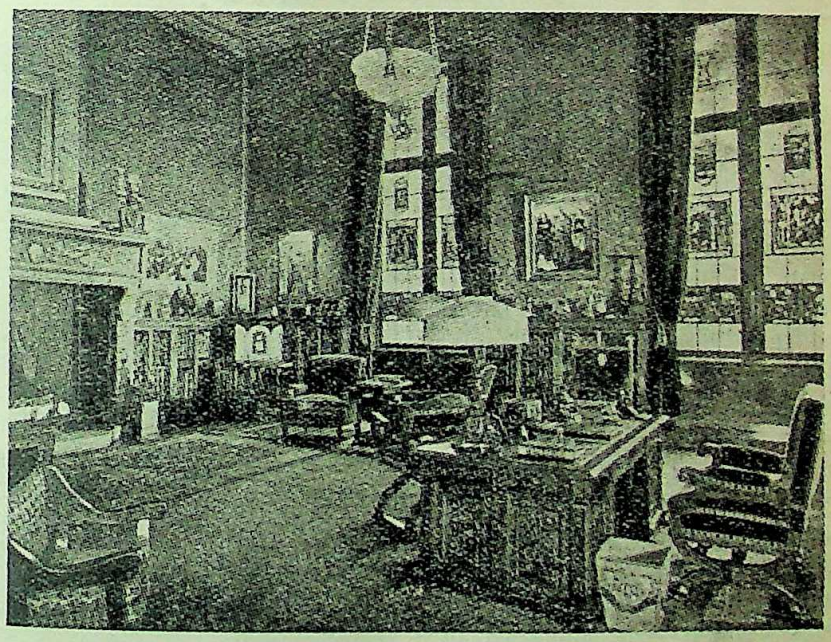
Exterior view of the Morgan Library in New York, which houses one of the finest art collections in U.S.A.

the picture of the United States as it must have appeared to Morgan when he returned from Europe in 1857, as a young man of 20, to begin his business career.

At that time America was in the process of growing from a number of States on the Atlantic seaboard, largely dependent upon shipping, to a continental nation. It was a period in which the expansion of agricultural products in the hitherto untapped western plains was being matched by the extensive utilization of forests and mineral resources, and the development of all sorts of industry. This great upsurge of activity brought wealth to many but leisure to few. The American of 1857 was essentially a hard-working man, intensely proud of the rapid strides which his country was making, a little brash and self-satisfied, and to a large extent dependent on Europe for his cultural and scientific ideas.

In a society of this nature, the appreciation of works of art was essentially a private and not a public function. There were a few societies which occasionally owned or exhibited works of art, but institutions devoted solely to the exhibition of art were almost unknown. There were private collectors, but most of them were individuals who bought books for their libraries, paintings and sculpture for the decoration of their houses, without any systematic purpose. There were of course, some notable exceptions, but in general, it was not until 1870 that the United States became art conscious.

The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston was organized in 1869, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City in 1870, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1875. These dates of foundtaion are significant, but we should not exaggerate their importance because the early growth of art museum in the United States was a slow and uneven process. It is impossible to determine how long this period would have continued if Morgan had not dramatized the importance of art by his great activities as a collector. It was only when a man who had been so outstandingly successful in business throw his



A view of the West room of the famed Morgan Library in New York showing paintings and objects of art

tremendous energy into the collection of art that the American public began to appreciate that works of art were important. No single date can be selected, but it is fair to say that from approximately 1890 until his death Morgan was the outstanding art-collector in the world.

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"Cabinet government presupposes some central impartial figure at its head which at certain times and for certain purposes supplements and aids the other more active but partizan agencies."

Like the constitutional monarch again,

"It is a symbol of national unity, a formal instrument of ratification—an instrument for occasionally warning ministers against the abuse of party spirit."

Under the Indian constitution the President has immense powers. He appoints the Prime Minister and other members of the Council of Ministers. He appoints the Advocate-General of India and fixes his salary. All executive action is taken in the name of the President. The Union Parliament consists of the President, the Council of States and the House of the People. He nominates 12 members to the Council of States to represent literature, science, art and social services. He summons the Houses, and prorogues and dissolves them. He addresses the Union legislature when it meets for the first time in a session and can send messages to the either house of the legislature when it is in session. Before entering on their office the legislators make an oath or affirmation before the President or some nominee of his. If it is ever objected to that a member of the legislature has become disqualified for continuing as a member of the Union legislature, the President decides the question. He summons the two Houses to meet in a joint sitting to resolve their differences and disagreements. All bills passed by the legislature are presented to the President for his assent. He can return a bill for reconsideration to the legislature, but if it is passed again, he gives assent to it. If he does not return a bill for reconsideration, he can either assent thereto or announce that he withholds his assent. He passes ordinances when Parliament is not in session. He causes to be laid before both the Houses of legislature the annual statement of income and expenditure. No demand for grant is made except on his recommendation. He similarly recommends demands for supplementary or excess grants to the legislature. He may refuse assent to an Appropriation Bill incorporating the grants voted or charged to the Consolidated Fund. The rules of procedure with regard to the joint sittings and communication between the two Houses are made by the President.

The President appoints the Chief Justice and other judges of the Supreme Court. They hold office during good behaviour. But the President may remove a judge if an address for such removal is passed by both Houses of legislature. He appoints an officiating Chief Justice if the Chief Justice cannot perform the duties of his office. The President may consent to the summoning of a High Court Judge to complete the quorum of the Supreme Court or may even permit the re-call to duty of a retired judge of the Supreme Court. He may short-circuit litigation by asking the Supreme Court to give its opinion on a question of fact or of law. He can require the Supreme Court to recruit all outsiders to its establishment through the Union Public Service Commission.

The President appoints the Comptroller and Auditor General. The Comptroller-General submits his report on the accounts of the Union to the President who has it laid before both the Houses of the legislature. The President nominates the Chairman and members of the Union Public Service Commission. When they submit their annual report indicating, among other things, where in making appointments or otherwise their advice was not followed by the Government of the Union, the President asks the Ministry for its reasons and has the report along with the explanatory memorandum laid before Parliament. He can remove a member of a Public Service Commission for infirmity of body or mind. If a member of a Commission is accused of misbehaviour, the President refers the complaint for investigation to the Supreme Court. He may suspend the member during the course of the enquiry. If the Supreme Court reports adversely, the President may order the removal from office of the offending members.

In case there is a dispute about the use of waterways between two or more states, the President appoints a waterways commission to advise him and decides the dispute in accordance with the report of the Commission.

In the states, the President appoints the Governor who holds office during the pleasure of the President for a period not exceeding five years. If a Governor cannot act, the President makes necessary provision for the discharge of the functions of the Governor in the State. Certain classes of provincial bills require the assent of the President before they can become law.

The President appoints the judges of the High Court and fixes their number. He transfers judges from one High Court to another.

The President entrusts to the governments of the states or to its officers power to perform functions on behalf of the Union. He may provide for the maintenance of armed forces in any part of 'princely India.' He nominates the members of the Inter-States Council. He appoints the Chairman and members of the Finance Commission and has their recommendations placed before each House of Parliament. If the legislature of a state feels that some restriction on the freedom of trade, commerce or intercourse with or within a state are necessary, it can impose them, only with the previous sanction of the President. He can request the Finance Commission in 1955 to report on the working of export or import duties levied by a state forming a part of princely India till 1957 and on its report may terminate or modify such duties.

The President appoints the Chief Election Commissioner. If he thinks it necessary he may appoint an Election Commission under the chairmanship of the Chief Election Officer and consisting of as many commissioners as the President may think necessary.

The President may nominate two Anglo-Indians to be members of the House of People if he thinks they are not adequately represented there. He appoints a Special Officer for scheduled castes and tribunals. The Special Officer reports to the President on the working of the safeguards provided for scheduled castes and tribes. His report, the President causes to be laid before Parliament. The President may appoint a commission to investigate

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the condition of socially and educationally backward classes to make recommendations for the amelioration of their conditions. The President shall get a memorandum prepared on the action taken on the report and shall have both the report and the memorandum laid before Parliament. The President may notify the Scheduled castes or Tribes.

The President may order the use of Hindi along with English for such official purposes as he thinks necessary. He appoints a commission in 1955 and another in 1960 to report on the progressive use of Hindi. The President may direct that a language spoken by a substantial section of the population be also recognized throughout the state concerned for specified purposes.

The President may proclaim emergency if he is satisfied that the security of India or any part thereof or the financial stability of the country is threatened or that the Government of a state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.

The President gives credentials to every ambassador or diplomatic agent. Ambassadors of all the foreign powers are accredited to him.

He exercises the prerogative of mercy and can grant pardon to any person guilty of an offence against the laws of the Union or sentenced to capital punishment on any count.

The President is Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the republic in times of peace as well of war.

All public servants serving the Union hold office during his pleasure.

This is a formidable list. But most of these functions are performed by him either as a symbol of national unity or as a formal instrument of ratification. Most of the non-political appointments that run in his name are made by him in these two capacities. They ratify formally a decision taken by the real executive, the Council of Ministers, and run in his name only because whereas the Ministers represent a part the President represents the entire nation and is a convenient symbol of national unity. Even when appointments are made by party chiefs it is an advantage that the highest officers in the judiciary and the administration should derive their commission from a non-partizan source. He is thus a useful disguise. It is not contemplated in the constitution that he should be acting on his own. The constitution vests in him the right to make regulations for providing for the due authentication of his orders. Such rules provide really the reverse of what they formally set out. The authentication does not provide that a minister who anthenticates a presidential order, thereby certifies that the said order was in reality issued by the President. Like the English doctrine of seals it provides that the order made was really determined upon by the real executive, the Council of Ministers. The minister who authenticates it does so as a token of the fact that the order was really made by the Council of Ministers who now palms it off as the order of the President.

There are certain other functions which come to be performed by the President as 'a central impartial figure at the head of the government supplementing and aiding the other more active but partizan agencies.' Such for example would be his right to dissolve the legislature or appoint a Prime Minister. Ordinarily a dissolution is a prerogative of the cabinet but occasions may occur when the President may have to warn the ministers against the abuse of party spirit. He may refuse a dissolution holding the demand frivolous, made by a government that had already lost its majority in the House soon after election and that had no prospect of winning the election. From warning he may therefore proceed to action stopping the running riot of a partizan spirit. Similarly the President will have usually a Prime Minister ready made for him in the leader of the majority party. But sometimes there may be rifts within the party, at other times, party may have become so demoralized by a large period of sterile opposition as to make the selection of a party leader difficult. Or a coalition may raise issues of leaderships which it may be possible only for an 'impartial central figure' to solve.

The relations between the President and the Council of Ministers have, however, been a little complicated by the borrowings in the Indian Constitution of certain features of presidential government from the United States. The English King does not send messages to Parliament. His ministers are there as his servants and the law has it that they are carrying out his commands therein. Nor does he return bills for reconsideration by the House. Both would imply king's lack of confidence in his ministers; the legislature acted as it did under the guidance of the Ministers. To compel the legislature to re-think a measure implies, to a much larger extent, the revision of their policy by the Ministers. If the President becomes convinced of the futility of the measures of his ministers, he can dismiss them straight away rather than put them under the indignity of being told by implication that they are incapable of leading the country and therefore the President has taken charge of the administration. Nor has the French constitution any such provision. In the United States, the President is the head of the executive branch alone, presidential messages and returning bills for reconsideration are his only two formal contacts with the legislature. As the real Indian executive is a part of the legislature, neither sending messages nor the return of the bills would work for harmony in the government. But any sensible President can easily overcome this defect by refusing to exercise this power. The power given to the President to appeal to the Prime Minister against the decision of a colleague may make for lack of harmony among the ministers. No Cabinet would disavow an act of one of its members even when the act were without their authorization. If ever such a reference comes to be considered by the cabinet, it would happen only when a colleague lost the confidence of the Prime Minister. Once again it would be much better in such a case if the Prime Minister took action in his own rather than give the feeling that he was compelled to do so in deference to the views of the President. Honesty and frankness among cabinet col-

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leagues alone can lead to the successful working of a responsible government.

The appointment by the President of Governors in States may raise the question on whose advice is the President expected to make such appointments. Some critics have it that the Governors should be appointed by the President on the advice of the Council of Ministers of the State concerned rather than on the advice of the federal council of Ministers. Howsoever attractive this may look on paper it is not likely to work. A new Governor may have to be appointed in a state before a Council of Ministers is sworn in. No province can be without a Governor when government-making is in progress. Further, the Indian constitution envisages that the Governor should act on behalf of the President. This would become impossible if the Governor were not a nominee of the President.

The President is not a convenient rubber-stamp only to be used as the Ministers would like him to be used. He possesses 'vital powers' which he alone can discharge. These include the right to warn the Ministers against the dangers of the policy they may be following. To do so effectively he is kept informed about the progress of administrative policy. As he can warn the ministers, he can encourage them as well when such encouragement is necessary. As in England, these two functions may lead to the President's attempting to bring the Opposition and the Government together in an attempt to find a solution for an apparent constitutional deadlock. If as in France, ministries come to depend on the ever-changing combinations of parties or political groups, the President's power of making ministries may become vital and his role as a negotiator between opposing groups may bring him more prestige.

The President presides at important national functions and answers several social calls where the presence of the head of the State lends dignity to the occasion.

The President's power of proclaiming an emergency seems to lay too great a burden on an individual. But even though the constitution does not say so explicitly, it is likely that no President would take on his own shoulders the enormous burden of deciding when the peace or tranquillity of the country is in danger by internal disturbance or external threat, if the solvency or the financial credit of the country is at stake, or if a vital threat to the means of communications of food supplies exists. These are all matters which the head of the government rather than the head of the state can decide. The decision however needs run in the name of the President for on such occasions it is necessary that national unity rather than the division of public opinion be emphasized. The question of taking over the government of a state in case of the breakdown of the machinery of constitutional government raises another issue. The Union Ministry forms the usual constitutional advisers of the President. But the Government in a state is carried on by the Governor and a Provincial Ministry. A breakdown will not imply that the Governor is not playing his allotted role in the administration or is abusing his powers. The remedy against this lies in re-calling the governor or ordering his impeachment. A breakdown of the constitutional machinery would imply that a ministry capable of inspiring confidence and having a more or less stable majority at its back in the legislature cannot be formed. It may also imply that the dissolution of the existing legislature and the election of a new house or houses does not hold out a promise of better things. Of course, the administration may break down on account of rampant corruption or nepotism. Such an emergency would in all cases be a judgement on the ministry of the state concerned. The President cannot therefore be expected to call for its advice on the question. He can act only on the advice of his Union council of ministers.

The recent dismissal of a Judge of the High Court of Mysore for infirmity of mind or body presumably on the advice of the Chief Justice of Mysore backed by the Government of Mysore has roused fears that such a power may be open to abuse. The promised enquiry into the question by the Chief Justice of India may however allay these fears and also provide for a more appropriate use of this power. If it does not, the position of all civil servants would become extremely precarious.

India is experimenting in troubled waters. The history of the formal heads of the government in parliamentary democracies has been far from happy. In France strong Presidents have tried to create crisis but have discovered in the end that they could not oppose the will of the legislature without heading for a revolution in which they had little chances of winning. In Germany Hindenburg became a dupe of the Nazi revolution which ultimately sealed his fate as well. In both cases there was a violent abuse of normal constitutional procedure. Like the Frenchmen of the Third Republic and Germans of the Weimar Republic we lack constitutional experience and the existence of a political conscience capable of enabling us to muddle through a crisis as the English have usually done so far. But there is no alternative to Presidency. If India had not been declared a republic, we would have still needed a head of the state. Calling him a Governor-General would not have made the matters any easier. We would still have had to find a man and having found him to face all the questions which President raises. President sounds better as the name of head of the state; it avoids giving offence to a section which otherwise would have gathered opposition to the constitution.

The relations of the President of the republic as the President of the national organization of the political party in power may raise delicate issues. These are not primarily concerned with the office of the President but are general issues of the relations between a party and its ministry. It is likely however that, as in Great Britain, party leaders outside the ranks of the government may soon reconcile themselves to be a shadow of their former offices. If they do not

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Jacobism, as in the United States, may create its attendant evils threatening the working of the democratic institutions in the country.

Presidency would be only what Presidents will make of it by their personality. But the best of Presidents cannot make himself more than the chief of the state though as such he may render invaluable services to the country. But if the French formula of 'voting for the most stupid', ever becomes popular in India, Presidency may be shorn of much of its glory and degenerate into an 'inert corpse' that some declare it to be in parliamentry France.

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A PEEP BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

By Principal S. N. AGARWAL

Even before I left Delhi, I had tried very hard to obtain the necessary visa for the U.S.S.R. An approach to the Russian Embassy through the Government of India was not at all found to be helpful. Under the circumstances, I decided to approach the Russian officers directly through the Travel Agency. On filling up the required application form which was in the nature of a long questionnaire, the Russian Consul wanted me and my wife to submit detailed biographies together with the complete set of books which I had written. This order was also complied with, although quite reluctantly. But I would suggest that those friends who require an occasion to write their autobiographies could easily get one by sending an application to the Soviet Embassy for a visa.

The Russian authorities at Delhi assured me that our application would be considered sympathetically, although the ultimate decision lay in the hands of Moscow. They asked for a copy of our itinerary of the world tour and promised to send the reply as early as possible, if possible by cable. And so we kept on enquiring throughout the tour at different centres of the Russian Embassy, first in Washington, then in London and subsequently at Paris, Berne, Berlin, Prague and Rome. But to no avail. The Russian Consuls would neither say "yes" nor "no". So one has to wait endlessly, for the reply never comes. Only hundred per cent 'safe' persons are allowed to cross the Iron Curtain.

Although it was, after all, not possible to visit the U.S.S.R., we were fortunate in being able to obtain the visa for Czechoslovakia which is now completely behind the Iron Curtain. The existing Government at Prague is still called a Coalition or National government, but the fact remains that it is fully in the hands of the Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Klement Gottwald, the President of the Republic. In every office, public institution or even a shop, one would almost inevitably notice the twin photographs of Stalin and Gottwald on the walls side by side. All the book-shops are full of "red" literature; the picture houses and theatres can display hardly anything that is not red. The price of evincing any difference with the "red" regime is persecution, imprisonment and finally death.

Ever since the enactment of the new Constitution of May 9, 1948, the Communist Government in Czechoslovakia has been systematically following its "red" policy with an iron hand. All the palaces and castles of dukes and millionaires have been confiscated, or in the Communist phraseology, 'nationalised': they have been handed over either to Trade Unions, or to the Writers' Associations or are being used as Government offices, Art Galleries or Museums. All the important factories in the countries have been 'nationalised' without any compensation whatever. The big shops are being taken over gradually according to a definite schedule. The capitalists and moneyed persons have no place in social life; many of them have escaped to the neighbouring countries, leaving all their immoveable property behind. To give a pathetic example, the person who was working as a chauffeur of the Indian Ambassador in Prague, was in the previous regime a successful businessman possessing seven or eight cars himself. As they say, even walls have ears, and if you talk ill of Communists even in your private room the "Reds" would suddenly come down on you the next morning. But, I must admit, I was allowed to talk quite freely in Czechoslovakia and my public lectures in Prague, despite the summer vacations, were quite well attended. I discussed Capitalism, Communism and Gandhism without any fear or favour and even the officers of the Government showed great interest in Indian culture, particularly the Gandhian ideals.

Whatever we might say against the Communists, we have to admit the fact that they are very systematic and thorough in their work and administration. As soon as they capture power, their set programme is launched immediately on all fronts. They are specially careful in overhauling the entire educational system from top to bottom. After the Gottwald regime the children of Czechoslovakia receive a

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"unified education" in State schools and technical institutions. All the schools are run directly by the State ; there is no room for private institutions. The curriculum is uniform, the text-books are prescribed by the Department of Education ; no variations of any sort are permitted. I could see how text-books on even mathematics and science were being censored by the Education Ministry with dark and black ink. It was evident that Communist regime did not like to take any risks. I was informed that about 8,000 young students had been thrown out of schools and colleges because they were supposed to belong to the bourgeois class. About 100 professors had been 'chucked off' for the same reason. "Political education," which is another name for Communism, has been made compulsory for all students and even professors besides the writers, novelists, artists and editors.

The policy of economic planning was being enthusiastically implemented in the form of a Five-Year Plan which was being displayed in the form of posters at almost every street-corner. The aim of the Plan was "to raise the standard of living of all sections of the working population." The means to achieve this objective lay in "raising the productivity of labour." The consequences of the Plan will be "the restriction of remaining capitalist elements and their elimination from all sectors of national economy." The Plan made it clear to all the people that "to accept American loans means, in effect, to become a vassal of American capital, and of American capitalists." Therefore, the only path open to them was "to finance the expansion of our economy with our own labour, our own financial resources, that is, our own savings, and sacrifices."

As regards the organization of labour, on May 16, 1946, the United Trade Union Organization Act was issued under which the Czechoslovakian working people were to have one, unified Trade Union without any rivals. The function of this Organization was "to guide its members in such a way as to enable them best to fulfil their tasks in the people's democracy and to ensure to workers a share in the construction and management of cultural and social facilities." It was claimed that 75 per cent of all employed persons in the country were associated in the Unified Trade Union movement. The Government claims to have wiped out the curse of unemployment and abolished the sight of beggars or tramps. I was given to understand that, in the beginning, the workers in industry were very enthusiastic about the new Communist regime because they received a number of facilities in the factories in addition to a certain amount of share in profits and the management. But, gradually, a brake had naturally to be applied to their unlimited demands because the new Government had to lower costs of production in order to be able to compete in the international markets. At present, the Secretary-General of the Trade Unions is also the Minister for Labour so that he, as the Trade Union leader, would forward no proposals to the Government for acceptance about the urgent need and propriety of which he himself was not fully convinced. According to the Act it is illegal to go on a strike ; any indiscipline is rigorously dealt with by the police and the military. Despite all these strict provisions in the industrial organization of the country, it is very significant to know that the volume of production in the nationalised industries had a tendency to go down; the cost of production was slowly going up. The plans of International trade, therefore, were being seriously dislocated and this was a source of constant headache to the Gottwald Government. Recently, a number of state managers of factories had to be turned out as corrupt and incompetent.

Communism, in this manner, ultimately leads to totalitarianism and regimentation of the masses in order to survive. The profit motive in industry is replaced by the fear-complex and individual freedom or initiative evaporates into thin air. It is difficult to answer the question whether the ordinary people in Czechoslovakia were satisfied with the existing Government. In fact, nobody is prepared to speak out his mind to anybody else for fear of being persecuted and harassed. So the Communist regime has turned into a huge steam-roller relentlessly crushing down all elements of opposition.

The above is a peep behind the iron curtain. Although we could not pierce the curtain, we had the real satisfaction of witnessing Communism in action in this land of the Czechs. I have no love for the capitalistic system ; it is a monstrous economic organization in which there is respect for money and not for man. But, I frankly admit that the Communist system based on violence and extreme regimentation is also not worthy of respect and admiration. Between the two 'isms' Mahatma Gandhi's ideology of decentralization and bread-labour offers the most satisfactory solution of our present-day economic ills.

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PARIS TO AVIGNON

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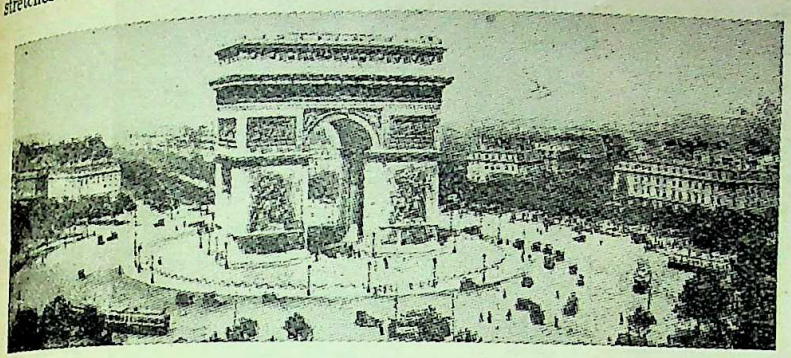
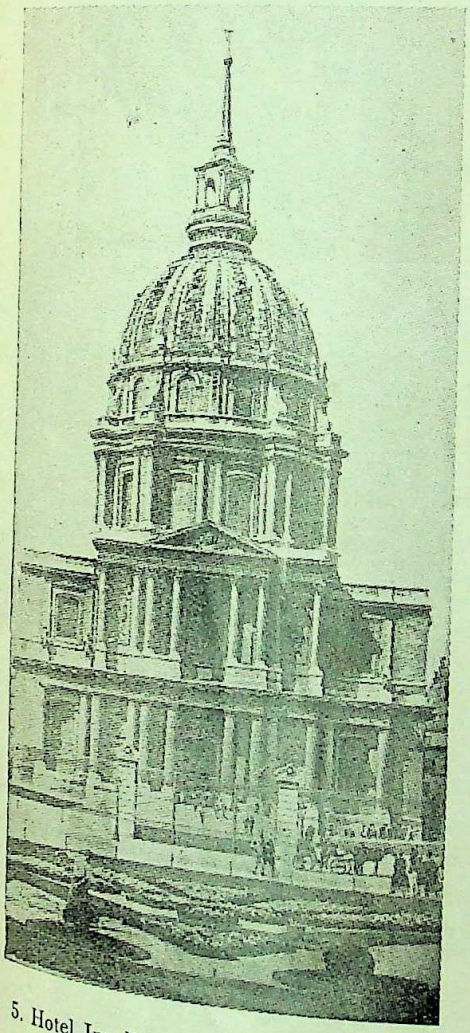
By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.SC., (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

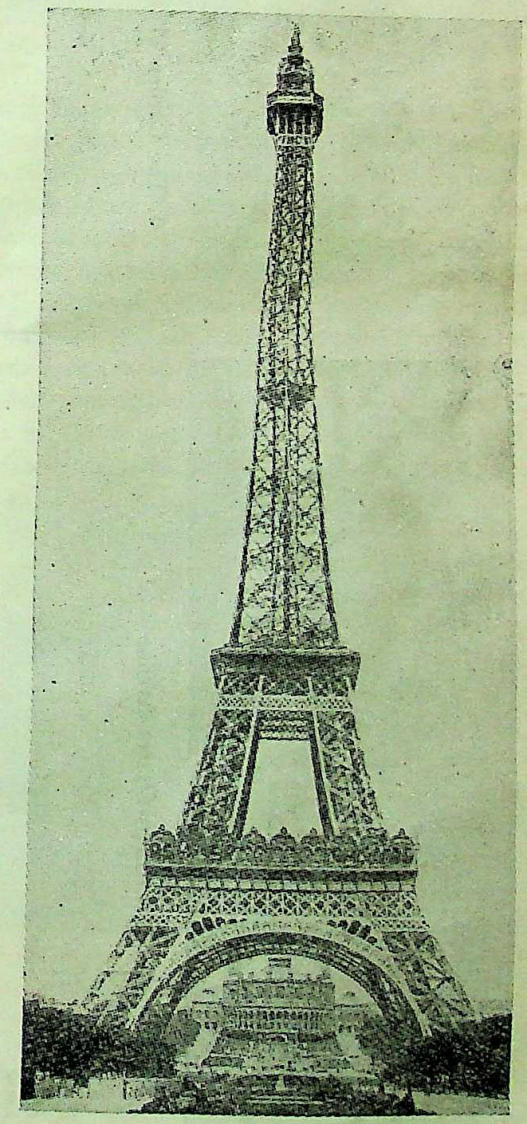
The main avenue with historical associations, in Paris, stretches from the North-East corner of the City and and Champs Elysees. The Tuileries Garden, the biggest in Paris with the triumphal Arch of Carrousel in the middle and the Louvre (the original home of the French Monarchs, now a museum) Palace lie further into the same line, but crossing the Concord Bridge on the Seine to the right, Hotel Invalides (Napoleon's tomb), close under the shadow of the Eiffel Tower (a wonder of the world) is passed in going southwards of the town. Living in a hotel in Port Malliot, near Verdun Place, this fairly direct route to get out of the City was chosen so as to have a last look at these important land-marks.



1. Etoile Place and Triumphal Arch



5. Hotel Invalides (Napoleon's tomb)



6. Eiffel Tower

Includes four round-abouts—Verdun Place, Etoile Place (where 12 avenues converge to the central Arch De Triomphe of Napoleon, Rond Point, and Place De La Concorde, joined by Avenue De La Grand Armee

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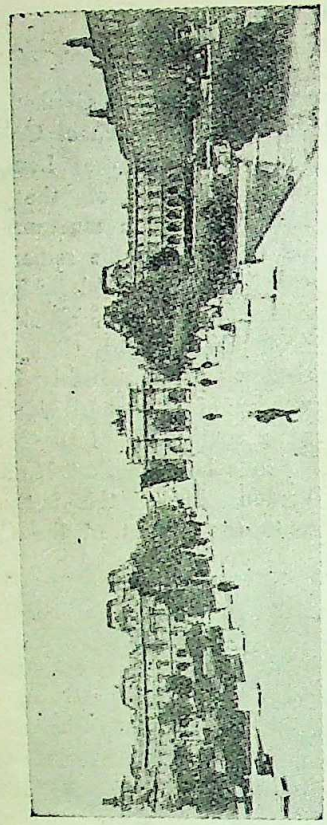
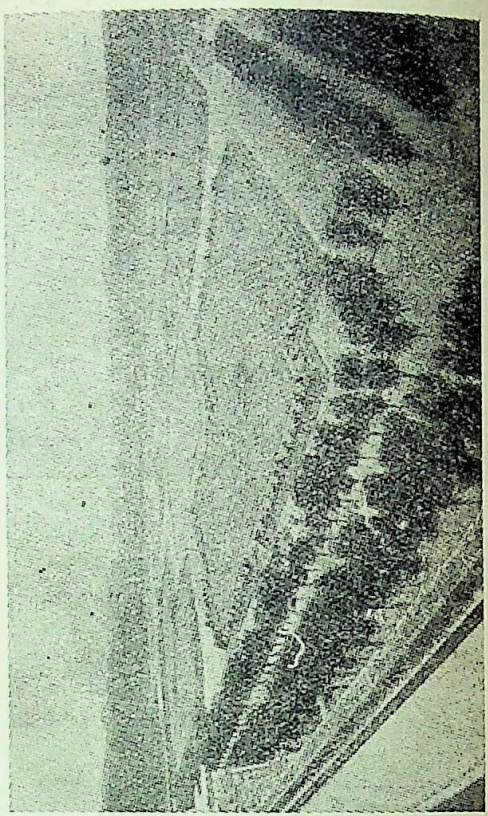
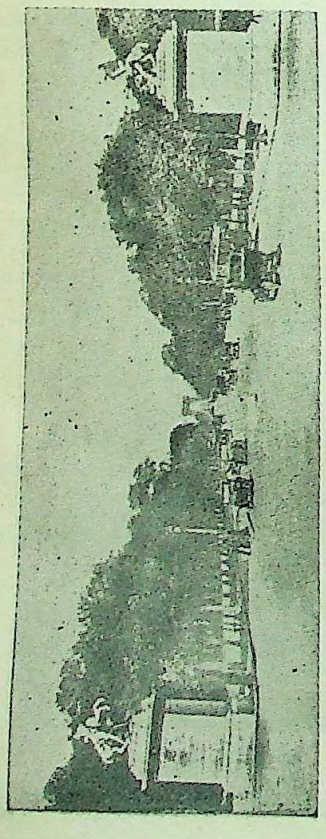


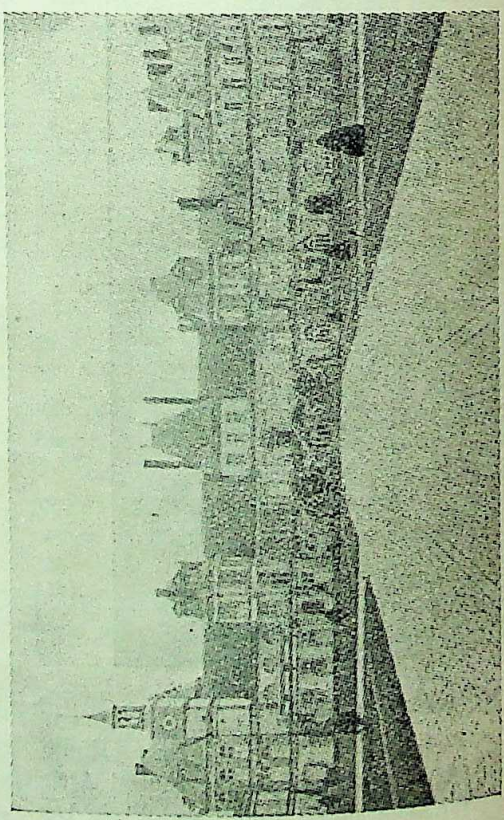
4. The Garden of Tuileries and the Triumphal Arch of Carrousel, Paris



8. Main Garden, Paris



3. Champs-Elysees Avenue



7. Facade of the Palace and horse-shoe steps

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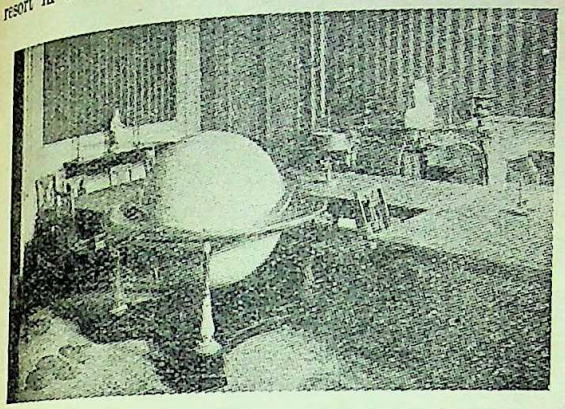
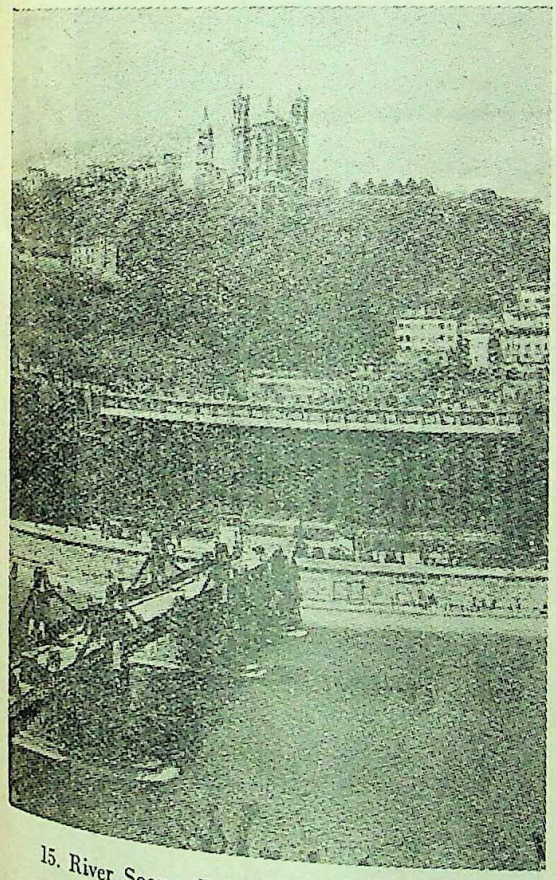
Running through the agricultural country of the valley of the Seine, the magnificent forests of Fontainebleau are entered and Barbizon, a summer resort in the forest, the home of artists and painters

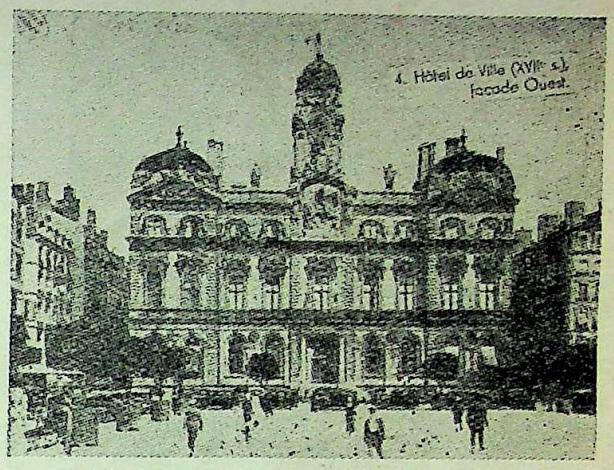


13. Topographical study—private apartments of Napoleon III



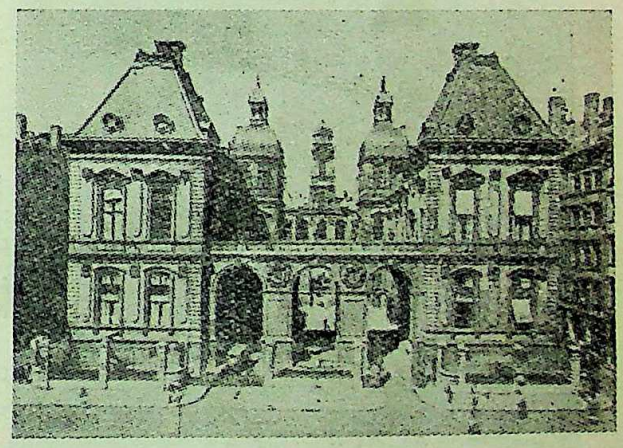
15. River Soane, Palais du Justice and the Basilique, Lyons

of the school of the same name is passed, before the Palace of Fontainebleau is reached. Originally a Castle during the Middle Ages, it was remodelled by several monarchs and is intimately connected with the national history, not only written on the stones of the Castle, but also told by the inner decorations, such as the furniture, hangings, paintings of many successive centuries. Surrounded by spacious courts (including the Farewell Court, originally the White Horse Court, where Napoleon bade adieu to his famous Guards) and



17(a). The west facade of the Hotel de Ville

magnificent gardens, the majestic Palace contains a Chapel, many Galleries, State Rooms, Drawing Rooms, Boudoirs, Bed Chambers associated with famous French Monarchs like Francis I, Louises XIII to XVI, Henries II to IV, Charles IX, Napoleon, etc., and noted queens, Maries Theresa, Antoinette, Louisa, Josephine and a host of others. Napoleon's relics are the most prominent of all. His throne, his bed, the small mahogany table on which he wrote his abdication letter, the pen with which he wrote it, the big tables on which he used to draw plans of his campaigns, the room of pathetic memory, where he contemplated



17(b). The east facade of the Hotel de Ville

suicide, forsaken by everybody. There is also the room, in which Pope Pius VII stayed twice, once invited to crown Napoleon and later as a prisoner. These are of immense interest to the students of history.

Through the agricultural countries and river valleys and occasional plateaus, Lyons is reached after

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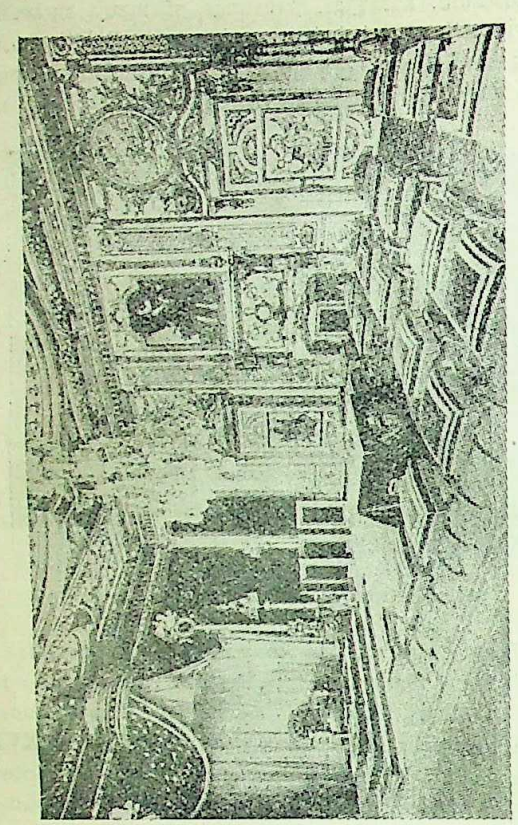
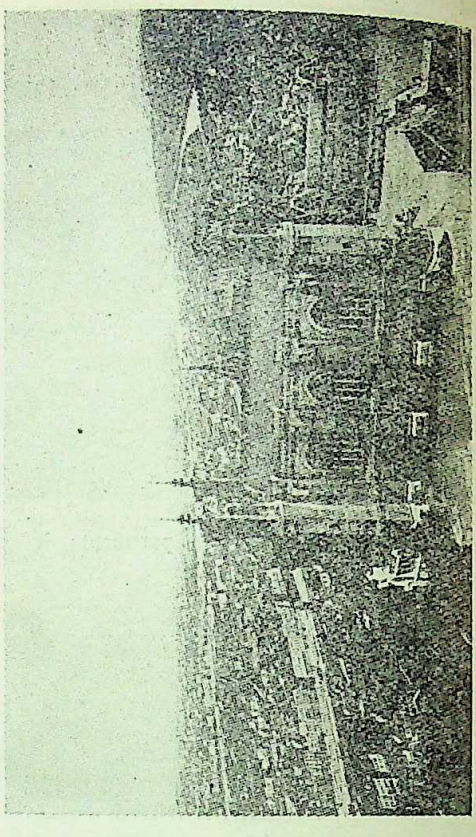
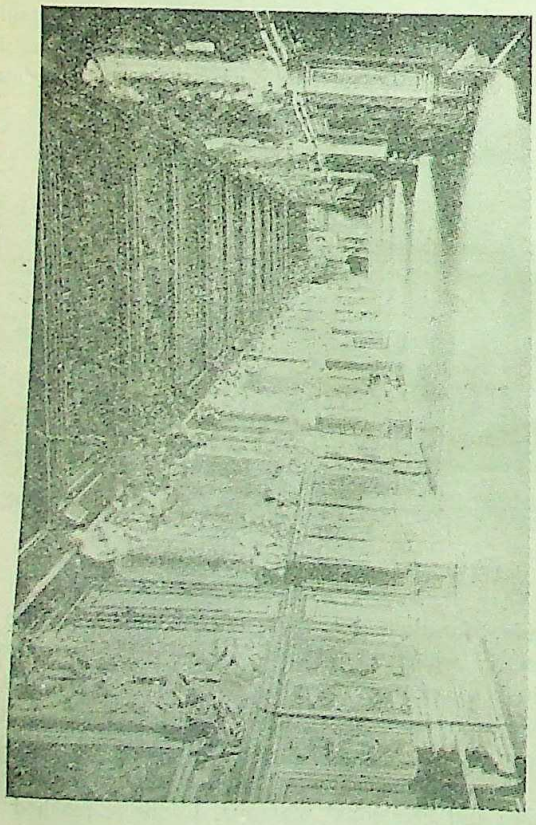


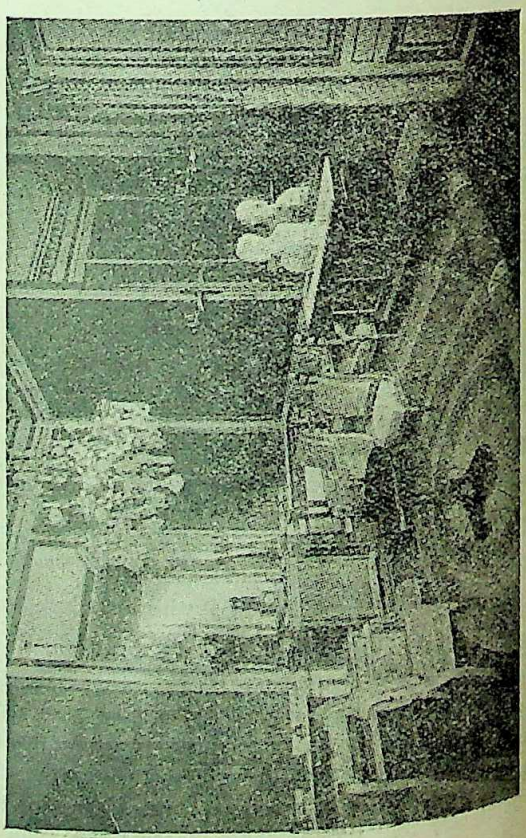
10. Napoleon I's Chamber of the Throne



14. The Basilique (Church) on the Fourviere Hill and the confluence of the Soane and the Rhone a little below the City of Lyons



9. Francis I's Gallery



12. Abdication study, in which Napoleon I signed his abdication on 6th April, 1814

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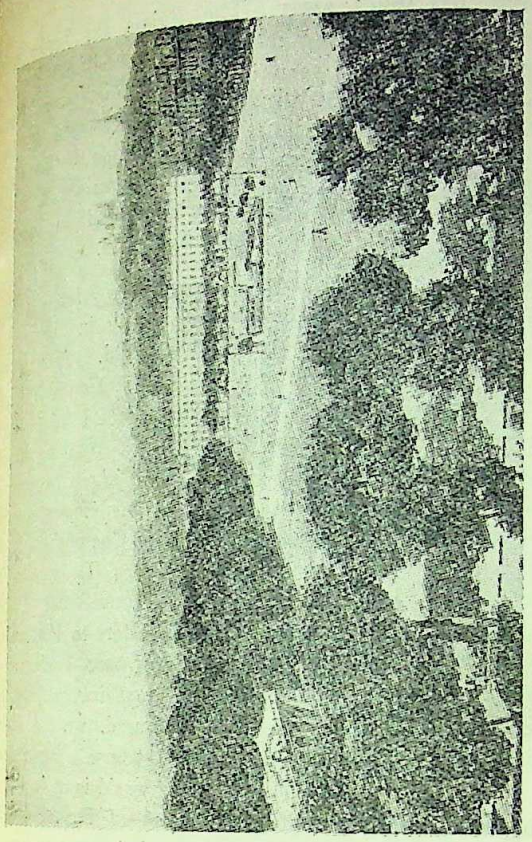
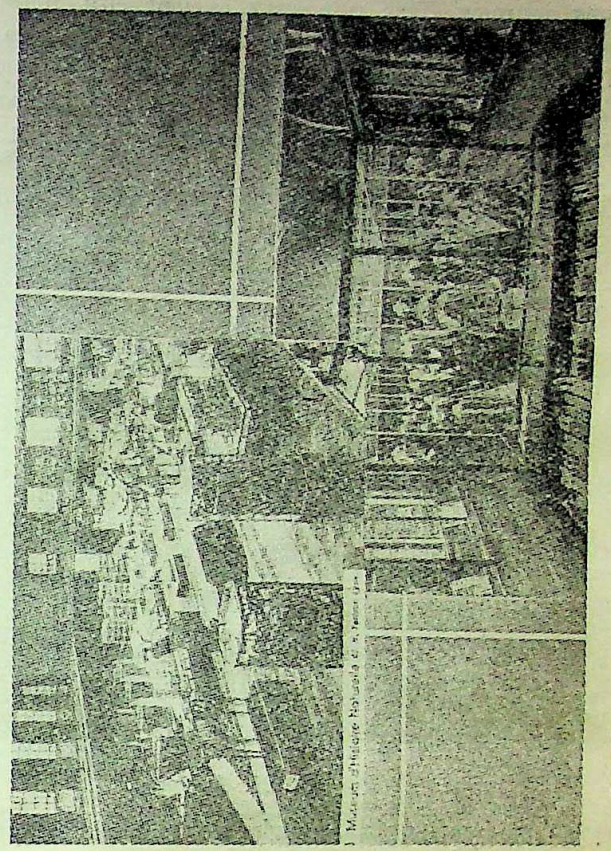
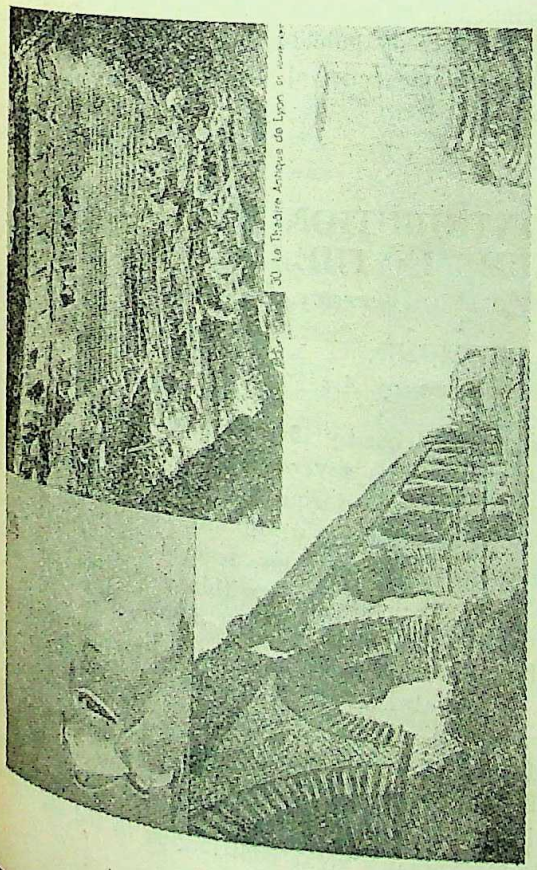


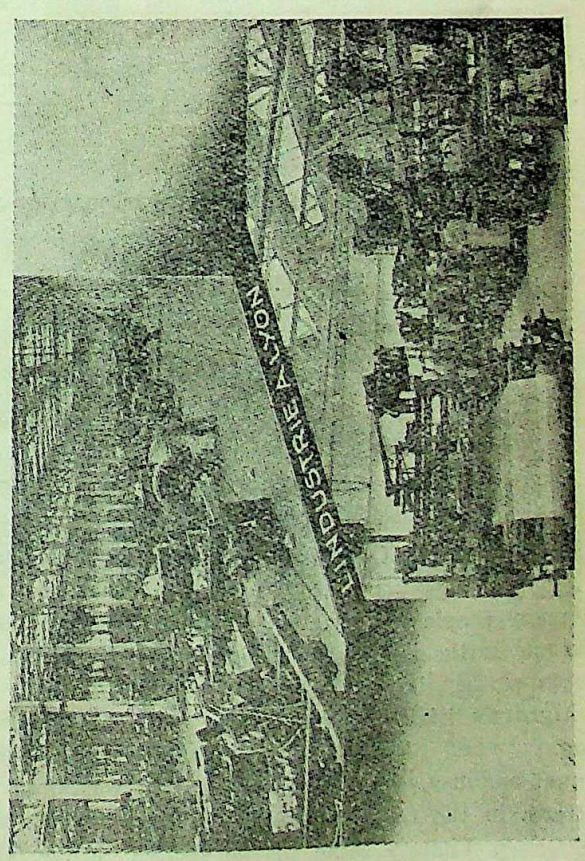
14. The Basilique (Church) on the Fourviere Hill and the confluence of the Soane and the Rhone a little below the City of Lyons



16. The famous Place Bellecour



18. A Roman Aqueduct and an Ancient Theatre, Lyons



19. The automobile factory and the Silk Weaving School, Lyons

20. The museum of Natural History and Musee du Tissue, Lyons

12. Abdication study, in which Napoleon I signed his abdication on 6th April, 1814

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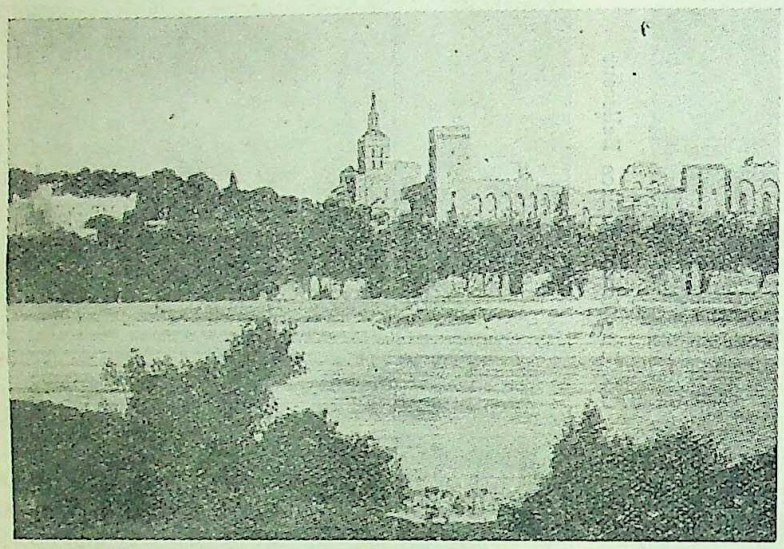
a long journey. This is a very ancient city, noted for its picturesque situation as well as for industrial and commercial importance. From the Basilique (Church) on the Fourviere Hill on the West, an excellent panorama of the town is obtained with



21. Avignon

numberless domes, spires, steeples and churches. Two rivers, the placid Soane and the gushing Rhone, pass through the town and meet a little below the city. The Croix Rousse Hill, the home of the famous silk weavers of Lyons, lies to the north and affords another excellent view of the town. To the east is also seen Mt. Blanc, the highest peak of the Alps, only about 100 miles away. The Palais Du Justice with the Basilique at the distance and a bridge on the foreground can be seen in Fig. 15. The famous Place Ballecour, Hotel De Ville (town hall, as seen from the West and East) besides other notable buildings are worth a visit. Remains of an old Roman Theatre and an aqueduct are shown in Fig. 18.

Lyons is famous for its silk industry, not only in France but all over the world. Through the courtesy of H. M. Consul, Mr. P. O. Meara, for whom I had a letter, I visited the Silk Weaving School, Silk Union, and the Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Charreton, the Secretary of the Chamber, took me to the Musee Du Tissue and the conditioning house and I was favoured with letters to Ucel and A. Trans Silk Throwing Factories. I noticed with great interest that the town has honoured, with a statue, M. Jacquard whose contribution to the weaving world is of very great importance. Even village weavers of Bengal will be found to use the Jacquard looms in great numbers.

On the way south, a visit was paid to the Silk Throwing Factory at Ucel (near Aubennes) and later, Avignon was reached. The place and the surrounding country bear indelible marks of interesting early Roman and medieval times.

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A GREAT COLLECTOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART MUSEUMS IN THE UNITED STATES

The Pierpont Morgan Library's Anniversary Exhibit

By ROLAND L. REDMOND,
President, Metropolitan Museum of Art

When John Pierpont Morgan, Sr., died in Rome, Italy, in 1913, the news of his death was carried throughout the world because of his outstanding influence in international banking, American industry, and the collecting of works of art. So forcefully had he impressed his personality on his contemporaries that many people felt that his death marked the end of an era. Little did anyone realize that these feelings were prophetic.

Morgan's life was co-extensive with that extraordinary period of industrial expansion and international stability, the Victorian Age. He was born in Hartford, in the east coast State of Connecticut, the year Queen Victoria came to the British throne, and he survived her by 12 years. Throughout his life, world currencies were governed by the gold standard. While there were wars during this period, they were internal; the concept of a world war, lasting for years and involving many nations, seemed remote indeed when Morgan died, and yet, within a year and a half, the first one had commenced. March 1913 was the end of an era, although few were able to appreciate it.

It is always difficult to discuss a single phase of a man's life. It is particularly difficult in the case of Morgan who played an important part in so many different fields of activity and who had so many diversified interests. On the other hand, we cannot study Morgan's great contribution to the development

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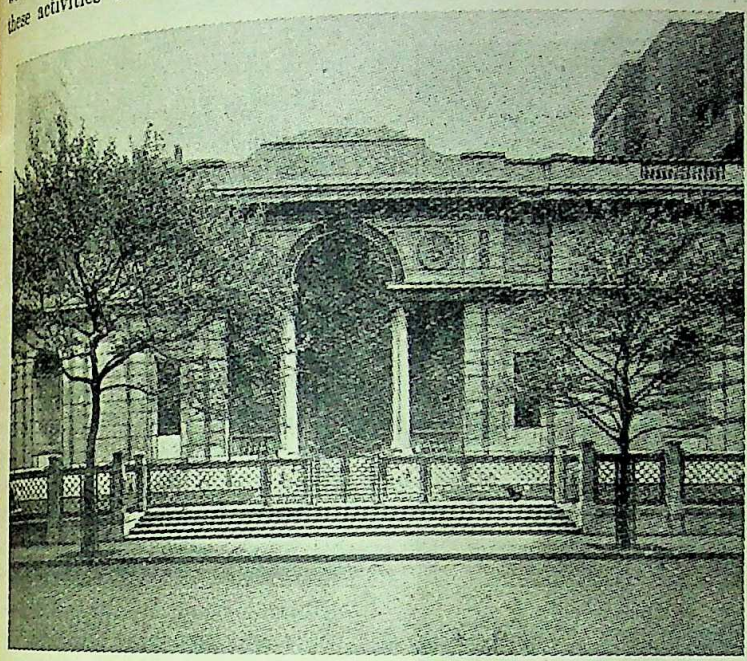
of art museums in the United States, or understand the purpose of his extraordinary collections of art, without considering the background against which these activities developed. Let us, therefore, look at



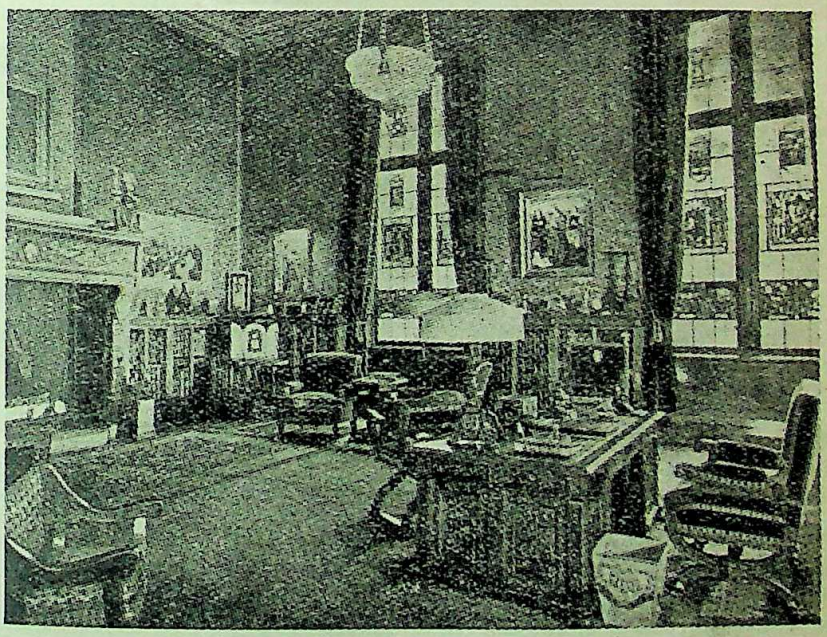
Exterior view of the Morgan Library in New York, which houses one of the finest art collections in U.S.A.

the picture of the United States as it must have appeared to Morgan when he returned from Europe in 1857, as a young man of 20, to begin his business career.

At that time America was in the process of growing from a number of States on the Atlantic seaboard, largely dependent upon shipping, to a continental nation. It was a period in which the expansion of agricultural products in the hitherto untapped western plains was being matched by the extensive utilization of forests and mineral resources, and the development of all sorts of industry. This great upsurge of activity brought wealth to many but leisure to few. The American of 1857 was essentially a hard-working man, intensely proud of the rapid strides which his country was making, a little brash and self-satisfied, and to a large extent dependent on Europe for his cultural and scientific ideas.

In a society of this nature, the appreciation of works of art was essentially a private and not a public function. There were a few societies which occasionally owned or exhibited works of art, but institutions devoted solely to the exhibition of art were almost unknown. There were private collectors, but most of them were individuals who bought books for their libraries, paintings and sculpture for the decoration of their houses, without any systematic purpose. There were of course, some notable exceptions, but in general, it was not until 1870 that the United States became art conscious.

The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston was organized in 1869, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City in 1870, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1875. These dates of foundtaion are significant, but we should not exaggerate their importance because the early growth of art museum in the United States was a slow and uneven process. It is impossible to determine how long this period would have continued if Morgan had not dramatized the importance of art by his great activities as a collector. It was only when a man who had been so outstandingly successful in business throw his



A view of the West room of the famed Morgan Library in New York showing paintings and objects of art

tremendous energy into the collection of art that the American public began to appreciate that works of art were important. No single date can be selected, but it is fair to say that from approximately 1890 until his death Morgan was the outstanding art-collector in the world.

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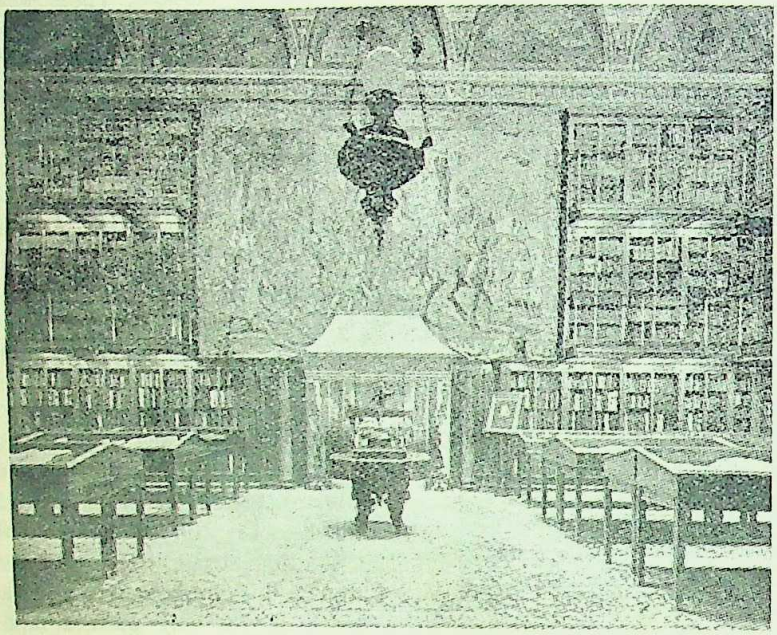
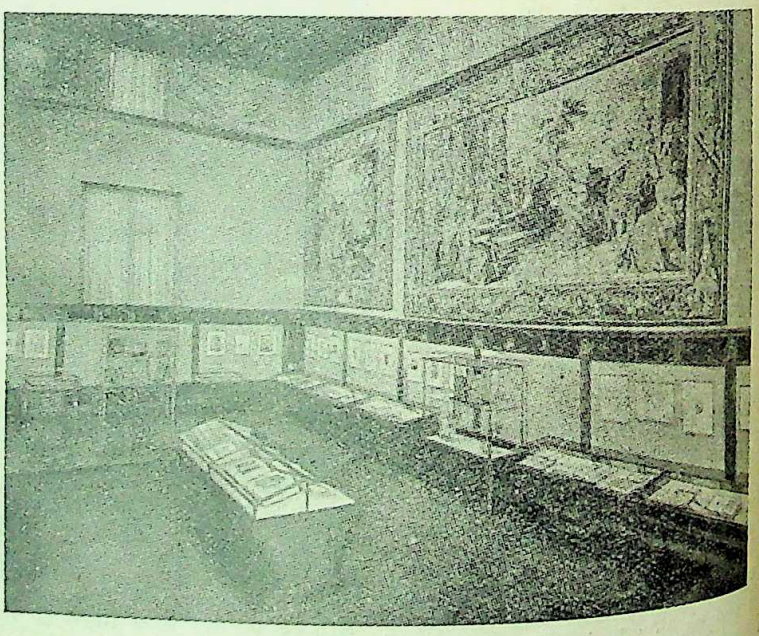
To list the famous collections or works of art that he acquired in this period would be exhausting, but to get a general idea of the extraordinary size and diversity of his collections, one may read the summary which appears in the inheritance tax proceedings of his estate as filed in the courts of New York. The principal items are as follows: ivories, carved wood, marble, terra cotta, stone, Renaissance bronze, ancient bronzes, early enamels, objects in glass, metal, stone, Limoges enamels, faience (majolica), silver objects, and ancient jewelry; books, manuscripts, and prints; paintings, tapestries, rugs, furniture, snuff boxes, art objects, and so forth; Chinese porcelains; glass, bronzes, statuary, Roman and Byzantine jewelry, carvings in wood and ivory, and so forth; Dresden porcelains; miniatures, drawings and sketches; jewels and jewelry; French porcelains; watches. In the aggregate these collections were appraised in 1913 at $20,421,000.



The Morgan Library's East room contains one of the finest collections of rare books and manuscripts in U.S.A.



The Exhibition room of the Morgan Library

But this is not the whole story because there were many other works of art which were not technically part of Morgan's collections. These included the paintings and objects of art in his house and library in New York City, in his house in London, and at his English country estate. The English assets were not even appraised. However, we know his London house contained the famous panels by the eighteenth century French painter Fragonard, now in the Frick Collection in New York City. His library contained Ghirlandaio's portrait of Giovanna Tornabuoni and several other important Italian Renaissance paintings.

There is little in Morgan's family or educational background that suggests an unusual interest in art. His father, Junius S. Morgan, came of early American stock and was brought up in Springheld, in the State of Massachusetts. He lived for a number of years in Hartford and Boston, and moved to London in the 1850's. Young J. P. Morgan attended elementary school in the city of Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, went to secondary school in Boston, and completed his education, after his family moved to Europe, by attending a private school at Vevey, Switzerland, and spending 2 years at the University of Gottingen in Germany. His scholastic record was not unusually distinguished but his extraordinary interest in mathematics, and the ease and rapidity with which he seemed to grasp and solve mathematical problems, led to the offer of an instructorship at Gottingen, which he declined. The only early evidence of an interest in collecting were some autographs

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principally of church dignitaries. It is also probable that while he was at Gottingen he collected fragments of stained glass. This latter collection remained in old fashioned horsehair trunks until about 1905.

At that time the new library which Mr. Morgan was building in New York City was being completed and the large windows in the east and west rooms seemed too severe with plain glass. Various expedients were suggested to soften the intense light and finally Morgan remembered the collection of stained glass he had made in his youth and directed that the old trunks be opened. In them were found most of the stained glass that is still in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Aside from these tenuous indications of an early interest in art, there was the influence of his father who, having resided in England for nearly 40 years, was undoubtedly familiar with the great private collections of England.

Morgan was devoted to his father and their relationship was unusually close. It seems probable, therefore, that his father's appreciation of the fine furniture and family portraits belonging to his English friends and the fact that his father later acquired a number of pictures principally of the English school, may have awakened Morgan's interest in art. His father's example does not explain, however, the all-inclusive and massive collections made by his son and it is significant that Junius S. Morgan died in 1890 at the very opening of the great period of his son's collecting.

To his contemporaries, Morgan's purpose in collecting was an insoluble mystery. The purchase of whole collections of Italian or mediaeval art, of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman objects, of Chinese porcelains, and of French decorative arts seemed insane because clearly they could never be used to adorn a family home. Not only were the most diverse objects purchased but the very method of buying seemed wrong. There was no attempt at concealment; quite the contrary, many of the principal purchases were announced publicly and every dealer throughout the world knew that Morgan always had time to look at important works. His zest for collecting and willingness to pay prices which at the time many people thought fantastic led some to believe that his collecting was a form of conspicuous spending.

But Morgan had a definite public purpose in mind and he deliberately adopted a method which would allow him to amass, in a remarkably few years, collections which otherwise could not have been brought together in decades. He was literally besieged by dealers offering their wares. His trips to Europe were fantastic progresses in which he would spend days in the principal cities viewing art treasures and deciding whether he would buy or not. His judgments were made with great rapidity and while he never pretended to any special skill or knowledge, he had an instinctive sense of what was superlatively good and he was not interested in anything else. Naturally, he made mistakes, but he had devoted and able assistants. In any event, the quality of Morgan's collections attest his judgment and the soundness of his method.

Morgan's purpose was not understood by his contemporaries because it was never disclosed during his life. In his will, which was executed less than 3 months before his death, he stated it in simple and direct language: "I have been greatly interested for many years in gathering my collections of paintings, miniatures, porcelains, and other works of art, and it has been my desire and intention to make some suitable disposition of them or of such portions of them as I might determine, which would render them permanently available for the instruction and pleasure of the American people. . . ."

The obligation imposed by this will was carried out magnificently. Pending the settlement of Morgan's estate, major parts of these great collections were loaned to the Metropolitan Museum and placed on public exhibition. As soon as the legal formalities were completed, J. P. Morgan, Jr. gave to the Wadsworth Atheneum, in the city of Hartford, a magnificent selection of works of art and to the Metropolitan Museum the great collections which for many years were exhibited in the Morgan Wing.

Originally, the gift to the Metropolitan Museum was subject to the condition that all the Morgan collections be kept intact and exhibited as a unit for 50 years. This condition gradually became restrictive. Recognizing this fact, J. P. Morgan, Jr., voluntarily waived all conditions not long before his death, and he took this step to carry out his father's intention that these works of art should be fully available for the instruction and pleasure of the American people. In the same spirit of carrying out his father's purpose, J. P. Morgan, Jr., in 1924, gave to trustees, for the benefit of the public, his father's library and its contents, including many important additions which Morgan, Jr. had made to these collections in the decade following his father's death.

This public gift, widely known as the Pierpont Morgan Library, simultaneously celebrated the conclusion of the library's first independent quarter-century and paid honor to its first director, Belle de Costa Greene, who retired in 1948 after having begun as the elder Morgan's personal librarian in 1905. This anniversary exhibition was designed to illustrate the greatest of the acquisitions of the library in these past 25 years. One can advisedly say "greatest," for this was in effect a selection of selections—those which Miss Greene made in the first place to assure the library each time of an acquisition of outstanding merit. Divided into several categories that represented

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as many divisions of the library's collecting activity, the primary artistic interest of the exhibition was of course, in its magnificent array of illuminated manuscripts, drawings, and prints. Yet somehow each of these was actually enriched and the visitor's pleasure in them strengthened by the more bibliophilic sections of early and later printed books, bookbindings, and authors' manuscripts displayed in showcases and on glass-covered tables.

To do more than thus merely suggest the sense of learning and delight which awaits the visitor to the library is obviously impossible. It does suggest, however, that the Morgan library is "a collection of materials essential to any study of modern man." This is the splendid instrument that has been built into towering scale from the days when his library was simply one more department of the vastly varied acquisitive force of the most richly buying collector. Its existence today is perhaps first a tribute to the genuine culture which was at the basis of the first Morgan's collecting. More than that, however, it is owed to the quiet, sensitive taste and intellect of his son, who wisely concentrated on the pleasure that could come from books and their associations and to the brilliant woman who was the active director in every sense of the word.

The story of Morgan's collections is only part of the service he rendered to American museums and the appreciation of art in the United States. The example he set was contagious. Many men and women began collecting works of art and donating them to public institutions. The attendance at museums grew rapidly and an interest in art was no longer considered the earmark of the dilettante. Men of the greatest prominence were honored to be elected as trustees of museums. Many others supported the growing museums with generous gifts and sometimes great legacies were received from persons who had never indicated any great interest in art during their lives.

The rapid growth of art museums was not confined to any single section of the country, but spread rapidly throughout the nation, so that today there is hardly a major city in the United States which does not boast of an institution devoted primarily to the encouragement of art.—From *Art News*.

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SARDA HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECT

A Unique Engineering Achievement

By NARENDRA M. MUKHERJEE, M.A.

The Sarda Hydro-electric Project entered its vital phase with the foundation laying of its power house by the Chief Minister, U.P. Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. It was a solemn and simple ceremony amidst a famed scenic background and attended by a large and distinguished gathering.

The Sarda Hydro-electric Project is one of the top priority schemes which the Uttar Pradesh Government are trying to have completed as per its revised schedule. The main Power House is being built at Lohia Head, eight miles from the Canal Headworks at Banbassa almost on the borders of the Nepal and is situated amidst picturesque surroundings. It will be the biggest Hydro-electric Power Station, so far built in these Provinces and will be of massive concrete structure. The foundations of the Power House are being laid at a depth of almost 65 feet below the normal spring level of the area. The foundation raft alone will consist of about 2.5 lakhs cubic feet, of heavily reinforced concrete, while the whole power house may consume as much as 15 lakhs cubic feet of reinforced cement concrete. Such heavy foundations cannot be laid except in absolute dry conditions. The problem therefore baffled our engineers for some time but they have manfully struggled with nature and have now depressed the water table to the desired extent. The construction programme on Sarda Power House is, therefore, passing through an important engineering phase.

A problem of this nature had not been tackled before in this country. Scores of tube wells were built round the foundation pit of the area and continuous draw-off of water from the sub-soil has enabled the builders to cause the required depression in the water table at the power house site. The base concrete to the foundation raft has been laid. From an Engineering point of view, this is an achievement of unequalled significance, as in the *tarai* tract where the sub-soil supplies are in abundance, and where the spring level is high, so much depression in the water table was indeed difficult to attain. The physical and natural features of the area had rendered the task more difficult. The tract is highly malarious and the means of communication is poor. No work was therefore possible for about five months in a year. In fact during these previous years, as also, on the construction of Sarda Canal Head Works at Banbassa there had been a regular break-off of activities during the monsoon months. It was, however, felt that this work could not suffer such break-offs, as ground gained

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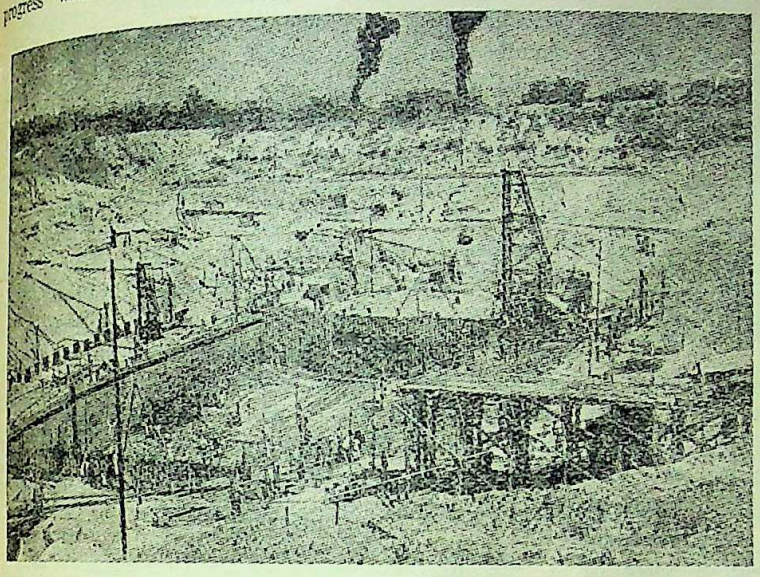
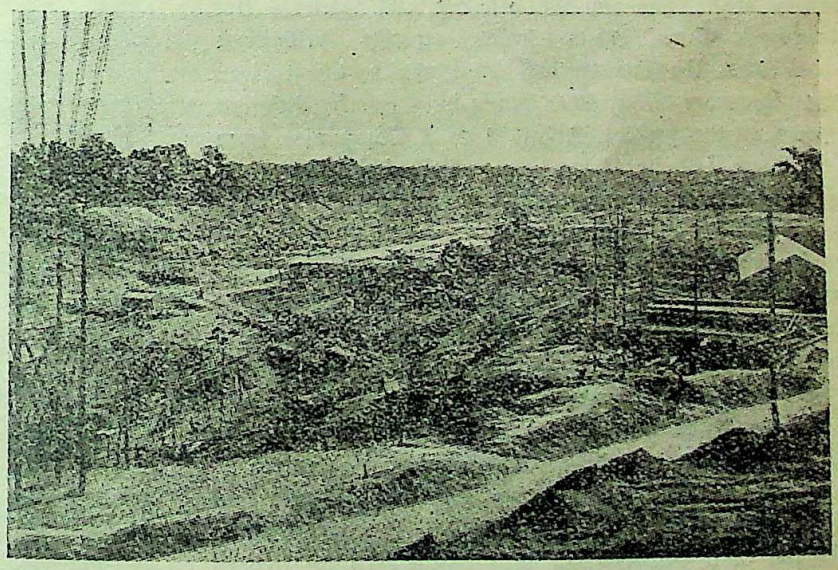
during fair weather, was totally lost during rains. An all-out effort was therefore organised during the past year and was kept up despite treacherous weather conditions at the site of work. In fact, the work was done throughout the rainy season and not only the progress was maintained, but a real headway was made during the so-called slack season. It is a commendable performance on the part of the organisers of this unprecedented struggle with nature. And what they have accomplished with their limited means and materials is easily comparable with the best achievements of the engineers of the Western world.



A view of the Foundation Pit. Reinforcement being placed in position within 40 feet deep iron curtain type coffer dam made of R.S. Joists

In the layman's language the technique of the job consists of providing such operational rings of pumping units at different stages and different depths all round the foundation pit as will suck out all sub-surface water coming into the pit area—thus rendering the pit to the required depth perfectly dry. It is understood that the strata conditions at the site had accidentally turned out to be very complicated and progress was hampered at various stages of the work on that account. A thoughtful planning on the part of our engineers, a systematic operation of the limited means and materials at hand, and above all, a determined will to crack even the hardest nuts have enabled them to break the back of the sub-soil water. In fact, the underground water current has sagged at the site of work as a horse bends low to take the rider on.

The construction site of Sarda Power House makes up a magnificent arena of activity which looks particularly picturesque at night when the whole area is flood-lit. In the foundation pit at a depth of almost 65 feet below the spring level, there are construction equipments of varying types employed to accomplish various jobs. Forty feet deep universal sheet piles consisting of rolled sheet joints have been driven all round the proposed foundation raft to provide an iron curtain type coffer dam. Tractor and scrapper units are engaged on the excavation of earth and to dispose it of, at far-off ends, entailing a lift of about 100 feet or so. Borings of the wells are being done with mechanical operated boring rigs and with hand-operated boring equipments. Scores of tube wells are sucking out water from the sub-soil and are discharging it in a contour drain leading it off into a natural drainage few miles away through a seepage trench built along the tail race alignment. A two feet gauge light railway line along with its own locomotives and wagons feeds the work site with materials and meets all sundry local transport needs. Brisk preparations are at present in hand for laying the foundation raft. Steel in thousands of tons has been placed in position for providing reinforcement to the raft which will



A view of Tail Race Escape under construction

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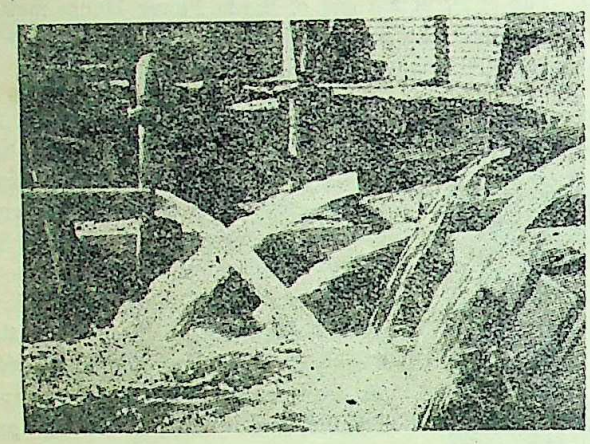
be one solid block of reinforced cement concrete, measuring approximately 200 feet by 100 feet and varying in thickness from 16 feet to 6 feet.



Many tube wells pour in an intermediary sumps for second stage lift

Sarda Hydel Scheme had suffered a sad set-back, owing to dislocation caused in the work during the post-Independence disturbances. It has since regained the lost ground considerably. At present, a view of the work site reflects an energetic note of activity and shows up a co-ordinated and efficient executive control all through. In fact, the atmosphere at Lohia Head looks as though permeated with a missionary zeal. The job is both big and intricate but its organizational set-up seems equally promising. Apart from the engineering equipments of various types there are about 5000 hands busy on the different aspects of the project. About 3 to 4 Companies from Gorakhpur Labour Corps are engaged in this work and the contractors seem to have brought labour from as far as Maharashtra.

It is understood that an order for Tubro-alternators and other equipments required for the scheme costing over a crore of rupees is under execution with Messrs. English Electric Company Limited, England. A part of the equipment has already arrived at the site of the work and it is expected that the manufacturers will be able to co-ordinate the supply of equipment as the work on the main power station progresses and that the erection of the machines will be carried along side the civil construction thus leading to an overall completion of the scheme by 1953 or so.

The construction of the tail race of this Hydro-electric station is also a work of great magnitude. It entails construction of almost 12 miles of new canal capable of carrying a discharge of about 9500 cubic feet of water per second, in heavy digging along with its many bridges, regulators, and escapes. A few miles of this canal are proposed to be lined with lightly reinforced cement concrete, as the soil in this area is considered to be treacherous in respect of conservation of water during its passage across it apart from the consideration of the structual safety of the banks made therefrom in some reaches. The extent of earthwork to be done in the power channel is about 35 crores cubic feet, which counts in terms of an ordinary roadway section to the construction of about 2000 miles of *katcha* road.

The scheme when completed, will place in our hands firm power to an extent of 23,000 kilowatts, while the installed generation capacity of the power station will be 41,400 kilowatts. It will serve the regions comprising of Kumaun, Rohilkhand and Oudh and will bring about phenomenal change in the industrial and agricultural development of Uttar Pradesh. The surplus energy, if any, will be fed into the existing Ganges Canal Hydro-electric Grid which serves the western districts, and where presently a keen demand exists for electric power which makes life difficult for the administration in charge of Ganges Hydro-electric Grid. The scheme is bound to contribute greatly in our "Grow More Food" drive as a considerable part of this energy is likely to be used for irrigation and agricultural purposes.

The Chief Engineer Shri P. C. Agarwal, (Centre) discussing construction details at site with Shri L. P. Bhargava, Superintending Engineer (left) and Shri Baleshwar Nath, Executive Engineer (right)

The work on the scheme is being carried out under the direction of Shri P. C. Agarwal, Chief Engineer and under the superintendence of Shri L. P. Bhargava, Superintending Engineer. The executive control of

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organization of the work is in charge of Shri Baleshwar Nath, Executive Engineer. They are all distinguished Roorkee engineers. The work is distributed among a team of young and energetic engineers, who too all hail from Roorkee and who all seem keen to do the job, despite all climatic and locational handicaps of the situation. A laboratory has been established at site of work and field tests pertaining to various constructional details are carried out there. Of late, the Government have increased the engineer strength of the organization by another division and a separate designs organization to cope with the increased work load and to add expediency to the execution of the scheme.

As the Chief Minister poured the first bucket of concrete, over a maze of steel net-work truly within a steel fortification at such a depth, as had been conquered inch after inch by the engineers in their two years' hard struggle with nature, there was cheering all round. The picturesque setting of the occasion will indeed stay long in the memory of the persons, who assembled in that wilderness to witness the ceremony. And it was interesting to hear an Engineer remark, "All that you see here today will have been encased in the concrete, and will have been submerged deep under water. When the power house will have been completed, it will be difficult to assess and appreciate the effort that had to be mobilised to secure for its such deep foundation."

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EXPANSION OF THE CALCUTTA TEA MARKET

By INDU BHUSAN GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

Introduction

Tea now constitutes the most important item in India's foreign trade, nearly 75 per cent of the country's total production being available for export purposes. India's total production of tea is now placed at about 575 million pounds, of which about 400 million pounds are exported from the country per annum on an average. The total value of exports of tea (including green tea) from India amounted to Rs. 35.1 crores in 1946-47, Rs. 55.3 crores in 1947-48 and Rs. 64.2 crores in 1948-49. The Industry earned Rs. 78.63 crores worth of foreign exchange for the country during the calendar year 1949, including Rs. 10.5 crores of hard currency. Of India's average exports during the years 1942 to 1948, the United Kingdom has absorbed nearly 70 per cent per annum, the U.S.A. about 10 per cent, Canada nearly 5 per cent, Australia and New Zealand 4 per cent and the Middle East (including Egypt and Red Sea Ports) about 3 per cent, the balance being shipped to other areas. Exports by land frontier routes, amounting to about 4 to 5 million pounds per annum, are mostly directed to Iran, Afghanistan, Western Pakistan, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan.

As an indispensable source of revenue to the Government, an earner of over Rs. 60 crores worth of foreign exchange and an employer of over a million workers, the Indian Tea Industry has assumed a position of vital importance to the country's economy. According to the Government statistics for 1945-46, about 645 Joint Stock Companies were engaged in the Tea Industry in India during that year with a paid-up capital of Rs. 50.6 crores. Besides investment by Joint Stock Companies, a large number of private owners are also engaged in the Industry, but accurate estimate of the capital invested in private enterprise is not available. Apart from the considerable amount of foreign exchange earned for the country every year, the Tea Industry also contributes largely to the Central and Provincial Revenues. The following table will indicate the sources and the approximate amount of revenues earned :

	Central	*Provincial*
Export Duty	Rs. 10 crores	—
Excise Duty	Rs. 3 crores	—
Import Duty on Tea Chests	Rs. 42.5 lakhs*	—
Income-tax and Super-tax	Rs. 3 crores	—
Tea Cess	Rs. 57 lakhs**	—
Agricultural Income-tax	—	Rs. 2 crores
Land Revenue	—	Rs. 26.5 lakhs
Forest Revenue	—	Rs. 25 lakhs
Local Cess	—	Rs. 3 to 4 lakhs

*The amount relates to 1948-49 collections.

**The figure represents collection during 1948-49. The amount is spent exclusively for meeting the expenses of the Central Tea Board and for tea propaganda in India and abroad.

Source : The Collector of Customs, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, The Indian Tea Association and Indian Tea Planters' Association.

The present area under tea in India is estimated at 763,000 acres, of which nearly 76 per cent lies in North East India (Assam and West Bengal). South India (chiefly Madras, Travancore, Mysore, Cochin and Coorg) accounts for 19 per cent of the total acreage, while 3 to 4 per cent lies in the minor producing areas in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and East Punjab. Taking India as a whole, approximately 60 per cent of the acreage now

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under tea is owned by interests in the United Kingdom. The area under tea in Pakistan is estimated at 74,112 acres. The total permissible acreages under the International Tea Agreement are 775,700 acres and 76,700 acres for India and Pakistan, respectively. The total annual production of tea in India is now estimated at 575 million pounds, of which North-East India contributes over 80 per cent, and South India about 18 per cent. Pakistan's annual production amounts to about 43 to 45 million pounds. Black tea comprises 98 to 99 per cent of India's total production, the average production of green tea being 5 to 6 million pounds.

The Port of Calcutta handles over 80 per cent of India's total export trade in tea. In fact, the entire North-East India crop passes through Calcutta, although only 40 to 41 per cent of the crop is now auctioned in the Calcutta market, the balance being disposed of through direct purchase arrangements with the British Ministry of Food, ex-factory sales and by direct sales to out-markets. India happens to be the largest producer of tea in the world and the Tea Industry provides one of India's most important commodities for export. In view of the Government's anxiety to develop Calcutta into a world centre for Indian tea and to step up exports, particularly to hard currency areas, it is desirable to examine the possibility of expansion of the Calcutta Tea Market with a view to auctioning in course of time the total North-East India crop. It is felt that continuance of the Bulk Purchase contracts with the British Ministry of Food and the resultant withdrawal of the major portion of the crop from the free auctions in Calcutta is not promoting the best interest of the Industry and the country's economy.

Disposal of tea through Calcutta Auctions

Although the first public auction of tea on the Calcutta market was held as far back as on the 26th May, 1841, and regular weekly auctions were organised in Calcutta towards the end of the nineteenth century, the bulk of the Indian tea was auctioned in London until the beginning of the Second World War when a Tea Control organisation was set up in India to operate the Bulk Purchase Scheme and latterly the Block Purchase Scheme. The following table will indicate the average quantities of North Indian tea disposed of through Calcutta every season during the period 1935-36 to 1938-39 :

(Average of seasons 1935-36 to 1938-39)

	In million lbs.
Direct shipment to U.K. for auction in London ..	.. 205.1
Direct shipment to other markets ..	.. 0.1
Sold in Calcutta Auctions ..	.. 122.9
Ex-factory sales ..	.. 14.3
Total	342.4

Source : *Indian Tea Association.*

The above table shows clearly that direct shipment to the London Auctions accounted for 62 per cent of the tea despatched to Calcutta from the estates. Shipment teas were cleared through Calcutta in approximately one week's time, while "Calcutta sold" teas remained in the Port Warehouses for six weeks on an average.

On the declaration of War in 1939, the U.K. Ministry of Food took over the control of all stocks of tea in the country and all subsequent arrivals. A Tea Control organisation was set up in India in October, 1939, and all tea for export to the U.K. was purchased on behalf of His Majesty's Government by the Tea Controller for India who entered into contracts with the producing estates after calling for offers. This Bulk Purchase arrangement by the U.K. Ministry of Food is still continuing, under which a predetermined quantity of tea at a fixed price is shipped direct to London every year without being auctioned in Calcutta.

The following table shows the actual quantities of tea shipped to the U.K. under the Bulk Purchase contracts since 1940 :

Year	*Million.lbs.*
1940	.. 326.4
1941	.. 287.1
1942	.. 337.4
1943	.. 266.3
1944	.. 240.1
1945	.. 248.9
1946	.. 278.3*
1947	.. 275.2*
1948	.. 281.4
1949	.. 226.9**

*Includes Auction-bought tea
**Incomplete.

Source : Tea Controller for India.

The scope of the Indian Tea Control organisation underwent considerable expansion in 1942, consequent on the introduction of arrangements for the supply of tea not only to the U.K. but also to all other countries of the world excepting Axis Powers. The Scheme came into operation from the 15th of September, 1942, from which date the Tea Controller for India, on behalf of the British Ministry of Food, became responsible for the purchase of the whole of India's exportable surplus of tea and its shipment to the several countries according to the quotas allotted to them by the Combined Food Board. Teas for the U.K. were shipped direct to that country for allocation to distributors in London, while teas for shipment to out-markets were valued by a panel of brokers in Calcutta on the basis of each estate's contract price. Under this Scheme private exports of tea from India were prohibited. This ban was, however, lifted from the 1st of January, 1947, but the U.K. Ministry of Food continued to obtain its tea requirements through Bulk Purchase Scheme, under which the Tea Controller for India was responsible for the purchase from the contracting estates (under a system of annual tenders) of the tea supplies required by that Government. From 1948 there was a separate contract with producers in Pakistan.

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From 1942 to 1946 the Port of Chittagong was closed for the shipment of tea and over this period the North Indian crop increased to about 132 per cent of its pre-war total, all of which had to pass through the Calcutta Port. Auction sales of tea for consumption in India were held regularly throughout the war and this period was one of rapid expansion of tea drinking in India. The over-all percentage of tea handled through Calcutta increased further since the latter part of 1947 due to the fact that following the partitioning of Bengal about 70 million pounds of Indian tea, which would normally have been shipped through Chittagong, were diverted to Calcutta for shipment partly to the United Kingdom and partly to out-markets. During the last two years the North Indian crop has shown a further substantial increase and the total crop produced in 1949 is estimated at about 480 million pounds, as against 462 million pounds in 1948. This coupled with the decrease in the quantity shipped to the United Kingdom has resulted in larger supplies to out-markets. The average disposal through Calcutta Auctions in the pre-war period amounted to about 122 million pounds, while the quantity has now increased to about 200 million pounds, or approximately 41 per cent of the total crop.

Volume of tea passing through Calcutta

The Railways and the Steamship Companies provide the transport of tea from the gardens to Calcutta. At present, three Railways, namely, the Assam Railway, the Oudh and Tirhut Railway and the East Indian Railway are operating in the transport of tea from the estates in Assam and North Bengal to Calcutta. The new Assam Rail Link has connected Assam with the rest of India directly through Indian territory, and the entire rail-borne teas are now being moved over this Link. It should, however, be mentioned that the capacity of the new Link is limited, and it does not meet the transport requirement of the Tea Industry satisfactorily. With the existing transhipment facilities at Manihariighat and Sakrigalighat across the river Ganges and under the present scarcity of wagons, about 70 Metre-Gauge wagon-loads of goods can be moved over the new Link per day from Assam to Calcutta. Furthermore, the use of this Link involves detour of a longer distance than that *via* the old route through Eastern Pakistan, and has resulted in increased freight charges between Calcutta and the major tea districts in Assam and North Bengal.

As regards river transport, Messrs. McNeil and Barry Limited is responsible for handling almost the entire river-borne traffic. Carriers by the river route have to ply through Pakistan waters, but the river-borne teas are now coming to Calcutta without much interference from the Pakistan authorities.

In the pre-war days nearly 71 per cent of the total volume of tea traffic was river-borne. The major portion of the North-East India crop still continues to be carried by the river route; on an average nearly 60 per cent of the total traffic is river-borne, the actual percentage in 1948-49 being 64 per cent. The average total arrivals of tea in Calcutta during the period 1934-35 to 1938-39 amounted to 2.36 million chests, while the post-war average exceeds 4 million chests, the actual figure for 1948-49 being 4.56 million chests. The following table will clearly indicate the position :

Arrivals of Tea in Calcutta
(Chests)

Seasons	Arrivals by Rail	Arrivals by River	Total
1938-39 ..	700,036	1,838,990	2,539,026
1945-46 ..	2,206,866	1,991,723	4,198,589
1946-47 ..	1,549,206	1,882,385	3,431,591
1947-48 ..	1,424,875	2,673,495	4,098,370
1948-49 ..	1,625,101	2,935,232	4,560,333

Source : Traffic Manager, Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta.

Warehousing of tea in the Port of Calcutta

Provision of adequate facilities for the storage of tea pending sale is probably the most important aspect of marketing, as certain essential operations involved in the marketing of tea, such as, cataloguing, sampling, inspection, blending, re-packing, etc., are all carried out in the Warehouses. The space available at present in the Port of Calcutta for warehousing proper is 813,215 square feet, while transit accommodation of 200,000 square feet is available for river-borne teas and 121,406 square feet for rail-borne teas. In addition, 290,000 square feet is allotted to buyers for storage of sold teas. Details of the existing Warehouse accommodation are shown below :

	Warehousing Space Proper (Square Feet)
Tea Warehouse	264,804
No. 3 King George's Dock ..	134,750
Hide Road Warehouse ..	204,201
TAU Shed	44,550
ETA Shed	44,550
'F' Shed	30,090
'E' Shed	30,090
'D' Shed	30,090
'C' Shed	30,090
Total ..	813,215

	Transit Accommodation
For River-borne Teas—	
Tea Transit Sheds	144,000
No. 3 King George's Dock ..	56,000
Total ..	200,000
For Rail-borne Teas—	
Tea Warehouse	24,673
Hide Road Warehouse ..	65,883
'M' Shed, Kantapukur ..	30,850
Total ..	121,406
Total Transit Accommodation ..	321,406 sq. ft.
Additional Space allotted to buyers for sold teas ..	290,000 sq. ft.

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Source : Traffic Manager, Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta.

The main warehouses for the storage of teas for sale in the Calcutta Auction are Hide Road Warehouse for rail-borne arrivals and the Tea Warehouse for river-borne arrivals. To these, in the last two years have been added sheds in Kantapukur for additional storage of rail-borne teas and No. 3 Shed King George's Dock for river-borne teas. The total storage capacity in terms of chests available at present is estimated as follows :

Tea Warehouse	..	144,000 chests
Hide Road Warehouse	..	144,000 ,,
Kantapukur Sheds	..	130,000 ,,
No. 3 King George's Dock	..	79,000 ,,
Total	..	497,000 ,,

Source : *Monthly Tea Sale Review* for December, 1948, published by Messrs. Carritt Moran and Company, Limited, Calcutta.

The period of residence of teas in the Warehouses before disposal in the Calcutta Auction is approximately six weeks, while teas shipped direct to the U.K. under special arrangements require Warehouse space for an average period of two weeks only. The peak tea production period in North-East India is from July to October, during which time approximately 16 per cent of the crop is manufactured in each month. As already stated, nearly 4.5 million chests pass through Calcutta every year, and 16 per cent of this quantity or approximately 720,000 chests require to be warehoused in Calcutta at one time during the peak of the season. As tea should be sent down from the garden to the Warehouse immediately after manufacture in order to prevent deterioration in quality, the peak period of the season rather than the calendar year must dictate the rate of flow to the Warehouse and the storage space required. The maximum storage capacity available under existing system of stacking chests in the warehouses to a height of five feet is 497,000 chests.

In the pre-war period only 35 per cent of the North-East India crop was auctioned in Calcutta, while direct shipment to London Auctions accounted for 62%. and the balance was disposed of by direct sales to out-markets or through ex-factory sales. At present, nearly 55 per cent of the crop is shipped direct to London against M.O.F. contracts, while not more than 41 per cent or 200 million pounds are auctioned in Calcutta, and the balance is disposed of through ex-factory sales or by direct shipment to out-markets. Under the present conditions of Bulk Purchase by the British Ministry of Food and the inspection of only 25 per cent of Sale Teas (category "C") and 30 per cent of Rupee U.K. Teas and with no inspection of Sterling U.K. Teas, the available warehousing accommodation in the Port of Calcutta has been found adequate, although there have been occasional congestions due to certain emergencies. The position will, however, be entirely different under increased auction poundage and the resumption of 100 per cent inspection of teas.

Marketing of the entire North-East India Crop in Calcutta

It is believed that the declared intention of the Government of India is to develop Calcutta into a world centre for Indian tea and to auction the entire North-East India crop in the Calcutta market. The pre-war system of consigning Indian teas to London Auction and the existing method of disposing of major portion of the crop under Bulk Purchase contracts with the British Ministry of Food have deprived India of earning foreign exchange direct and of developing proper contacts with important consuming markets abroad. The need for dollars is so great at the moment that the Government of India have become anxious to step up exports of Indian commodities to America, and tea constitutes one of India's major items of export to that country. The system of Bulk Purchase, instituted as a very successful means of maintaining supplies during the war, is considered to have outlived its usefulness. A large section of both the buying and selling interests is in favour of establishing a free market under which producers would be free to sell their tea as and where they find it most profitable and buyers would get their exact requirements. Bulk Purchase has discouraged the production of better quality teas, since such teas are sold at average prices and the existence of an assured market has offered no special inducement to produce quality teas. Serious complaints have been received from the British Ministry of Food in regard to the poor quality of teas delivered and the short-fall in deliveries against both the 1948 and 1949 contracts. Due to high prices realised for good quality teas in the Calcutta Auctions consequent on the strength of the out-market demand, there has been a considerable diversion of teas to the Auctions which should have been supplied to the British Ministry of Food. The attraction of the direct purchase arrangements, from the point of view of the British Ministry of Food as well as of the Indian Tea Industry, has been diminished. Bulk purchases no longer assure the supply of a more or less definite quantity of tea to the British Ministry of Food. The gradual strengthening of the out-market demand and high prices realised at Auctions have, to a great extent, nullified the advantage enjoyed by the Indian Tea Industry under Bulk Purchase in having an assured outlet for its production at a somewhat fixed level of prices.

The marketing of the entire North-East India crop in Calcutta is largely bound up with the provision of additional warehousing space and adequate marketing facilities or technical services rendered by the Tea Brokers, such as, tasting, valuing, sampling, inspection, dock organisation, holding of auctions, etc. The extent of additional warehousing space required and the possibility of its being made available to the trade has now to be examined. The scope of expansion of the technical marketing facilities, in the event of increased quantity of tea being placed on the Calcutta market, should also be discussed.

Taking the present crop of North-East India at 475 million lbs. it is calculated that nearly 450 million lbs.

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Napoleon bids adieu to his famous Imperial Guards at Fontainebleau
(Painting at Musee de Versailles)

Concorde Place, Paris

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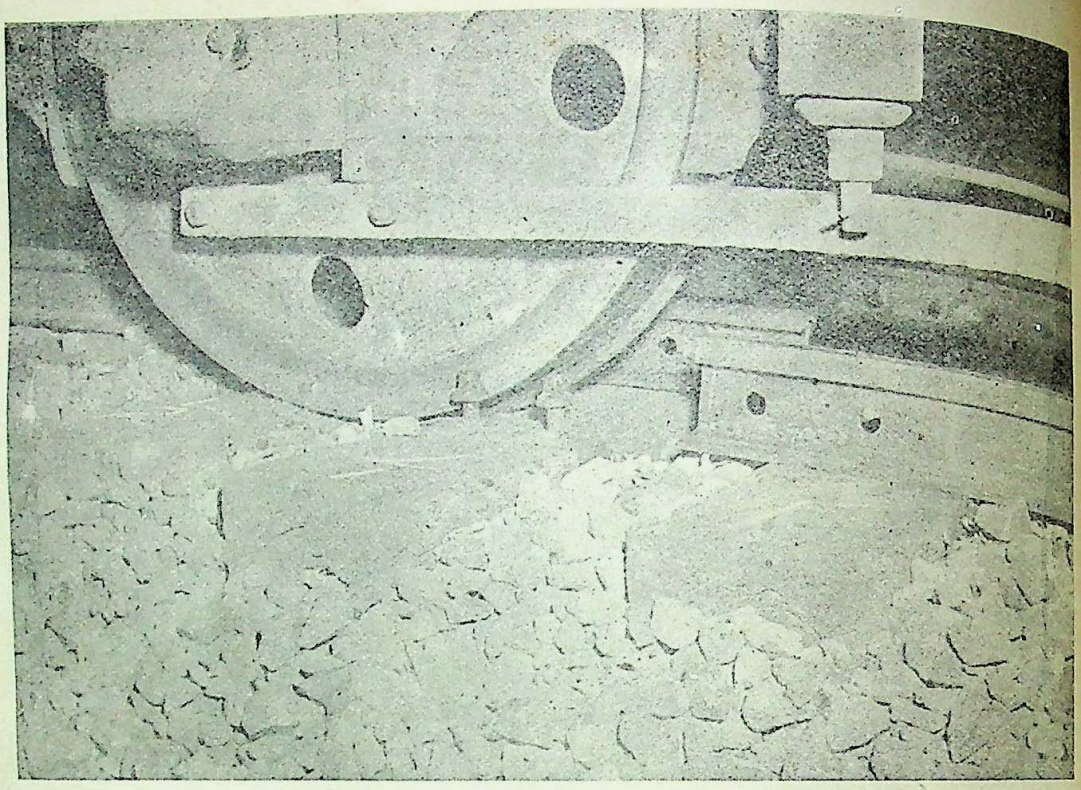
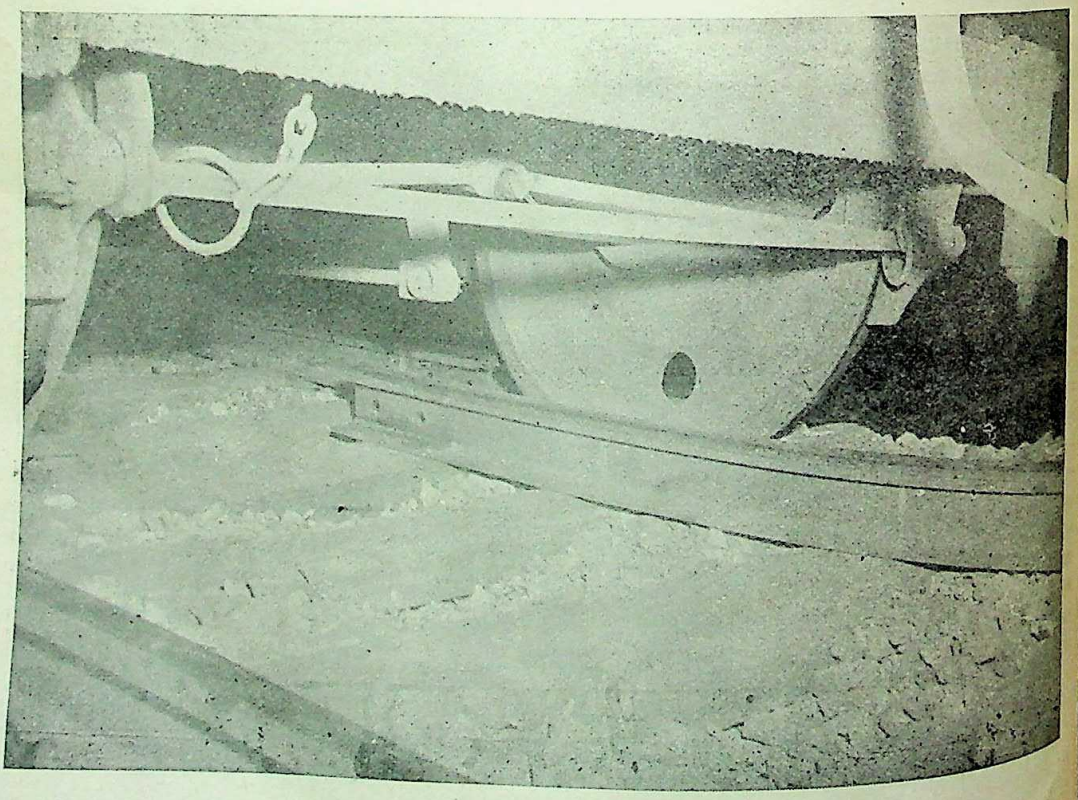


Note loosened coach screws and absence of fish plates, also undamaged rail lines and sleepers



Note undamaged bolt-holes and undamaged track

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or approximately 4.5 million chests will be available for sale in Calcutta every season, excluding about 30 million lbs. to be disposed of through ex-factory sales and by direct sales to overseas markets. It has already been explained that nearly 16 per cent of the available supply will require to be warehoused in Calcutta at one time during the peak of the season. On this basis, accommodation has to be provided for about 72,000,000 lbs. or approximately 720,000 chests for a period of 6 weeks. On the safer basis of storage for 6½ weeks to cover certain emergencies and calculating the space required for each chest at 2 square feet to permit of optimum warehousing, a total area of about 2 million square feet will be necessary to accommodate the marketable supply. The space available at present for warehousing proper is only 813,215 square feet. It is thus clear that if the entire North-East India crop is to be auctioned in Calcutta, in the event of termination of the contractual arrangements with the British Ministry of Food, an additional accommodation of about 1.1 million square feet has to be provided. A considerable amount of money will be needed to finance the scheme to provide additional warehouses and construction of the new structures will take at least 5 to 7 years to complete, even if the work is undertaken with all earnestness and priority is accorded to supply of all necessary raw materials. Before any decision can be taken with regard to the auctioning of the entire North-East India crop in Calcutta, the Government of India must take steps to provide and finance the construction of additional warehouses. Unless the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta agree to finance the scheme themselves, the Government of India should be prepared to grant them sufficient loan on favourable terms or must guarantee a reasonable return on any capital outlay that may be made by the Port Commissioners.

At the instance of the Tea Trade, the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta drew up certain tentative plans in 1946 for the construction of additional warehouses. These plans envisaged the provision of a total area of 225,200 square feet. The Port Commissioners indicated at that time that if they were to meet the expenses of providing the additional space, interest-free loan from the Government would be required. The Port Commissioners also insisted on a guarantee from the Trade of a continued reasonable outturn on the capital expended. The Trade was unable to give such a guarantee and the proposals were given no further consideration. It is, however, understood that the Ad Hoc Committee on Tea appointed by the Government of India have investigated into the matter and will submit their final recommendations in respect of the provision of additional warehousing accommodation some time this year. It is also understood that the aforesaid Committee have gone into the question of increased mechanisation of the operations involved in the Tea Transit Sheds and Warehouses.

Apart from the question of providing more than double the existing warehousing space to permit of optimum condition of tea warehousing, it would also be necessary to expand the technical services rendered by Brokers to approximately the same extent if the entire North-East India crop is to be auctioned in Calcutta. The training of skilled personnel for the work involved in both the Brokers' and Buyers' organisation, will take no less time than the construction of the Warehouses. At present, there are four European tea-broking firms in Calcutta, and one small Indian firm has come into the field very recently. The broking aspect of the tea trade has virtually remained a monopoly with the four European firms. It is, however, assuring to learn that the Government of India have accepted a scheme recommended by the Ad Hoc Committee on Tea in their Interim Report for training Indians in the technique of tea tasting, valuing, sampling, etc. Under this scheme, the four European brokers will each select three Indian apprentices by 1951, and in the course of the next three years, which will be the period of training, there will be a total recruitment of 12 apprentices by the four broking firms. Apart from the long-term objective of developing Calcutta into a world centre for Indian tea, the immediate association of Indians in a larger measure with the technical side of the tea trade is considered most appropriate.

It will be some years before the Calcutta tea market can be expanded to the extent desired by the Government of India. Meanwhile, if the Bulk Purchase arrangement with the British Ministry of Food continues, it would be desirable to make an immediate start with the development of the Calcutta market by placing on the local auctions an additional 50 million pounds of tea every year and reducing correspondingly the quantities supplied under Bulk Purchases. There is a large body of opinion supporting the view that the established channels of trade should not be suddenly disrupted and no hasty decision should be taken, which might prejudice the interest of Indian tea in the U.K. market, that absorbs nearly 70 per cent of India's total exportable surplus. The idea of gradually increasing the quantity of tea to be placed on the Calcutta auctions appears quite sensible, as it will provide valuable pointers to difficulties that are likely to arise when Calcutta is required to handle a still larger volume of the trade. In the event of early termination of the contractual arrangements with the British Ministry of Food, it may be necessary to consign specified quantities of tea to the London Auctions until Calcutta is equipped to handle the entire North-East India crop.*

* The views expressed in the article are those of the author and do not reflect the opinion of the organisation with which he is connected.

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MUSE OF HISTORY THROUGH AGES

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By Prof. KALIKARANJAN QANUNGO, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D.,
Head of the Department and Professor of History, University of Lucknow

The cynical old Dr. Johnson caught history and historians between the horns of a dilemma by enunciating his dictum thus :

The historian tells either what is false or what is true. In the former case he is no historian; in the latter he has no opportunity for displaying his abilities, for truth is one, and all who tell the truth must tell it alike.

Lord Macaulay attempted to reply to this charge, and suggested a way out of the horns of this dilemma. Unfortunately, the race of Johnson is not yet extinct; nor historians by their achievements have been able to remove the scepticism of the layman.

The War of Nations to-day is a totalitarian war to be fought by scientists, philosophers, economists and historians and mill-hands ranged behind the armament of a nation or groups of nations. There is no escape even for those who ascend above the zone of storm and common turmoil and meditate on the Philosophy of History and assume the role of interpreter of the Spirit of History.

Macaulay's Confession

No two historians tell the same thing about the same event though all of them claim to be scientific in their methods. This difference and diversity bewilder the man of abstract reasoning, that admits of no diversity, nor degrees in assessing truth. No historian should ever pretend to have discovered the truth or given the whole truth.

Macaulay had, centuries ago, made this frank confession, and the greatest truth a historian can discover for himself is to admit like pious Arab historians, "God knows truth best!" in everything and always. There is no answer, however, to those who rule out God from human affairs.

The Muse of History through ages according to Time and Terrain has changed her garb and character though not her function. Out of the mist of myth she emerged into light and behind the smoke-screen of propaganda of Ism-s, creeds and militant nations she will hide herself perhaps in bewilderment on the cross-road. In the infancy of mankind History was three-fourths poetry and imagination and a romance in the age of man's adolescence.

Herodotus amuses and fires juvenile imagination, Thucydides explodes myths and leaves a lesson behind, and Tacitus warns civilization against under-estimating the vigour and virtues of barbarism. Aristotle made History bear its first fruit, Political Philosophy, which was perhaps the proverbial Aina-i-Iskandari or the Magic Mirror given by God to Alexander who saw, therein, things of the world reflected and coming events cast their shadows.

Ancient Orient and History

The Ancient Orient had its own conception of History and mode of presentation. It is said that though the Hindus have the word Itihas in the Aryan vocabulary, they had no history. The Mahabharat and the Puranas pass for history caught in the cobweb of religion, ethics and sectarian propaganda. Hindus begin their History with the bursting of the Egg of Brahma, and Muslims with Baba Adam ; and both in Islam and Hinduism History is considered a branch of study subsidiary to religion. But there was a practical secular purpose in the undercurrent of the history of the Orient.

The problem that faces India today, namely, the evolution of a secular State out of the conflicting communal elements, a synthetic culture out of a legacy of rooted fanaticism and mutually repellant moral factors, to instil a sense of oneness and kinship into India's heterogeneous peoples, to create a new nation by throwing everything old into the melting pot—perhaps received its first solution, however crude, in the Mahabharat as history.

Ancients' Pious Fraud

The ancients practised either a pious fraud or gave currency to the innermost feeling of oneness that pervaded the masses of India. The great solvent of colour and racial prejudice and differences of religion, culture and moral standards was the genealogy of the children of the legendary Yayati according to which all the then known races from the Hindukush to the Cape Comorin are made first cousins. The aboriginal races like Nishadas and Shabaras sprang according to the Mahabharat from the pores of hairs on the body of the Divine Cow (Surabhi) in the hermitage of Rishi Vashishta to protect her and the innocent Rishi from the grasping clutches of the impious warrior caste drunk mad with the monopoly of power. If so, how is it that the high caste worshipper of the quadruped progeny of Surabhi today hold the black bipeds who sprang from her as defenders of Dharma as unclean and untouchable ? Once again what our ancients believed, in ignorance of Ethnology, Modern India shall have to accept the same without questioning under the clarion call of the oppressed humanity out for vengeance. The Semitic counterpart of Aryan Yayati is Abraham from whose children all the peoples of Africa and Asia, white, black and yellow are said to have sprung.

Unlike the Hindus the Muslims have created the richest and most diversified historical literature in the world, ancient or medieval, barring that of unexplored China. Besides, Islam and not Christianity was the heir of the legacy of the learning of heathen Greece during the Middle Ages. Islam was the bridge and plank between the Orient and the Occident. Islamic culture and civilization was verily modern in comparison with the other contemporary cultures and civilizations of the world. With Damascus as the first seat of the Arab Empire under the Umayyads Islam looked for and received light from the West through the Hellenism of the prostrate Byzantine Empire. With the transfer of the seat of the Caliphate to Baghdad Islam made as it were a right about turn towards the Middle and the Far East, and her civilization and culture drew sap from the buried civilizations of Assyria and Babylonia of yore, and of decadent Iran and India and even of distant China. However, the main spring of Islamic civilization continued to be Greek in

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the realm of Medicine, Philosophy, Mathematics, Music and Astronomy. It is said that Emperor Constantine had imprisoned Plato and Aristotle with other masters of Heathen learning in a monastery of Spain for the future safety of Christianity and the Church ; because he rightly suspected that a creed based on justification by faith and an ecclesiastical hierarchy founded on authority had much to fear from profane Logic and unchained reason. Aristotle is said to have had appeared to Caliph Mamun, son of Harun-al-Rashid, and in order to oblige Mamun that the locks of the imprisoned treasures of Greek learning were broken and camel-loads of manuscripts were sent to Baghdad. To the Muslim goes the credit of conservation and propagation of Greek learning and of first antiquarian research into the history and ancient learning of Egypt, Iran and Hindustan from which the Arabs drew liberally to replenish their empty stores of many a branch of Science and Art.

History was courtly and aristocratic in character in the East as well as the West during the Middle Ages till far into modern times. The Arabic saying goes : History for kings and warriors, poetry for women and arithmethic for the shopkeeper. Historians degenerated into panegyrists and sycophants in the decadent days of the Abbaside Empire. Once the historian Muskhwani was visited by a friend at his own house, and on being asked what he was busy at, replied: "I am piecing together all the falsehoods on earth to please the fancy of the Sultan." The Sultan was Azduddaula of the Buwayyid dynasty ruling in Iraq, Iran and Mesopotamia as the Mayor of the Palace of the puppet Abbaside Caliph. However, history and historiography rose above the then known standard and scientific level at the hands of Ibn Khaldun, who was the father of Political Philosophy in Islam and outside during the Middle Ages.

The career and character of History in the West in modern times is too swift, too wide and too complex to admit of treatment in a limited space. History, as Macaulay has told us, suffers from all the evils of a dyarchy of literature and science over her realm. Like everything into the world History too has assumed a scientific character definitely. But the result at first was that what history gained in esteem and usefulness it lost in popularity, charm and the power of appeal. It goes without saying that what is not science shall never stand and that which is not literature shall not live. History was democratised and made to breathe a new spirit first in England. There she turned her back on the pageant of defunct royalty and scenes of blood and revelry of the baronial hall, and came down to the countryside and the business thoroughfares. What was formerly a dynastic *History of England* appeared in the role of *History of the English People*.

As regards the treatment of history, the Teuton prefers microscope and analysis whereas the Celt excels in handling the telescope and in brilliant synthesis, though often elusive and superficial. The great historian Croech made a masterly survey of *History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century*. The Prussian School of History created the modern German nation out of peoples of Germany under the heels of Napoleonic occupation. It has left a lesson as well as a warning to those who in India look for a so-called national school of history. This school served an immediate purpose no doubt, but these were no histories but well-written and powerful political pamphlets dying out like a seasonal crop. European nations flourished on the cult of hatred and were taught through history to hate and envy others so that they might each love their country and people better. The Teuton was taught to hate and look down upon the Celt in the nineteenth century, and in the twentieth the Hitlerite School of History along with Philosophy injected a recipe of hatred in the blood of the prostrate German nation after World War No. I. Hitler believed that an injection of artificial barbarism was the only cure of the disease of civilization from German body politic she was suffering then. Such history gave Europe an Attila the Hun, thousand times more powerful and destructive than his archetype. History is no less potent of evil than of good, a double-edged sword that cut both ways. The Soviet Russia is said to be developing a School of History harnessed to the services of the State. Ideas penetrate and conquer where the mightiest army dare not tread. If the German School of History conjured up an Attila, the Soviet School may call back to life the dread Janghiz Khan, whose heritage has come down to Stalin.

To come nearer home to Hindustan, History in our country is still in its Chronicle stage of evolution lagging a century behind the West. Not to speak of Philosophy of History, the history of this sub-continent is only in the making. In the field of Indian history we have no doubt a fairly decent number of men engaged in digging the past. We have Indologists of the front rank, fairly good compilers of biography and brilliant essayists. But these are after all masons and bricklayers lacking the genius of an architect of History. A Lecky or a Fisher India cannot hope to produce in this generation. Those who are engaged in researches in Medieval history belong to "the kettle-drum and trumpet school of history" as William Irvine humorously remarked. Within a smaller canvas Sir Jadunath has attempted with success the history of the decline and fall of the Moghal Empire what Gibbon in grand style and on wider canvas achieved in his Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

Today, History is in a dilemma on the cross-roads of Nationalism and Internationalism. There are other Ism-s also cutting a zigzag course of labyrinth across these highways. Some people have a day-dream of One World, One Government, and they would like to have only one history, the *History of Man* superseding the histories of Englishmen, Frenchmen or the Germans, or that of every other nation or creed. Free India is pledged to the Cult of Love and Peace with all, which it is the duty of the future historians of India to implant on the universal soul of humanity. If History does not rise equal to the occasion, Free India may in despair put a ban on History and the historians as Aurangzeb did when he found that the verdict of history was sure to go against him.

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THE WASTE LAND : AN ATTEMPT AT A COMMENTARY

By M. K. SEN, M.A.

I

THE greatness of a poet is sometimes associated with hardness. Modern times have been investing poetry with an intellectual hedging in, and the appeal to the emotions is encrusted with the need of an intellectual understanding. The danger today is that the great 'writers' are praised at a distance and the common reader gets practically no idea of the poet's appeal in its fullness. This is more true of T. S. Eliot than of any other contemporary poet. It is not open to many of us to derive full enjoyment from such careful and masterly works as the *Cantos* or *The Waste Land*. There are lines in the *Portrait of a Lady* or in *Gerontion* for that matter, which one cannot make head or tail of; but that is because we are impatient and do not want to linger long to appreciate and understand.

In the light of all this, it will not seem strange that even today, T. S. Eliot is oftener adored than appreciated. The writer of this article has been feeling the need of such a key-book to *The Waste Land*, a poem that brought T. S. Eliot into the limelight even when he was just a post-graduate student in Columbia University. Mr. Matthiessen's *Achievement of T. S. Eliot*, has indeed been a great help, but the poem needs further annotation. Many years have elapsed since; the gaps have yet to be filled up. In the forthcoming sections, the writer of this article offers a running commentary on *The Waste Land* for the purpose of making the poem clear to the common reader. There will be no attempt to explain the technique of poetry that Eliot introduced in this poem.

II

It is known that Eliot himself held the view that a writer, in writing himself, writes his time. This was true also of his own poems. In his writings, the hollowness of contemporary European culture, the grounds of emptiness of human relationship and also of feelings, are satirised and exposed. The poor and vulgarised mentality of men is most impressively portrayed in his work, as the following references will show.

The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock (1917) seemed to Mrs. Monro to be as disturbing to English poetry as the murder at Serajevo had been to the peace of Europe in 1914. That was so because Eliot had herein laid bare the foundations of modern urban culture.

"In the room women come and go,
Talking of Michaelangelo."

He apparently wants to indict these women who do not actually understand Michaelangelo's art, yet parade their half-formal conceptions of great artists like him.

In the *Portrait of a Lady*, Eliot draws an unforgettable portrait of the modern lady, whose life has mostly been a social round of parties and irregular contact with things of art and culture. The lady goes to listen to Chopin's music and talks artificially about Chopin in the same pedantic manner as did Lady Politick-would-be in Ben Jonson's *Volpone*. The keynote of the poem is the lady's concept that her life has not been lived as intensely and as sincerely as it ought to have been. Inspite of peaceful evenings at Paris or even of lurid passion, the world has become to her a meaningless and repetitive routine of life :

"Admire the monuments,
Discuss the late events,
Correct watches by the public clocks,
Then sit for half an hour and drink our bocks."

Gerontion tells the same tale. The whole civilisation is compared to an old man in a dry month, waiting for rain. Everywhere the signs of decay and despair are visible :

"My house is a decayed house,
And the Jew squats on the window-sill, the owner,
Spawned in some estaminet of Antwerp,
Blistered in Brussels, patched and peeled in London.
The goat coughs at night in the field overhead,
Rocks, moss, stonecrop, iron, merds.
The woman keeps the kitchen, makes tea,
Sneezes at evenings, poking the peevish gutter."

In the more ambitious poem, *The Waste Land*, the utterly hopeless state of European culture and civilisation has been similarly but more artistically exposed. The connections between the five sections, though not in any sense loose, are, however, rather 'too subtle.' The allusions to anthropology, mythology, and old literature, are familiar only to the advanced reader. Moreover, the signifiacance of many of the allusions cannot be categorically stated and judged. Very few indeed, have been able to understand the rather obscure passages in the poem beyond what is given in the "notes" appended to the poem.

Still, who will not sway their heads this way and that, as they enjoy reading aloud the first few lines of this poem ?

"April is the cruellest month, breeding
Lilacs out of the dead land, etc. . . ."

Or the following lines from the *Burial of the Dead* section of the poem :

"What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow
Out of this stony rubbish? Son of man,
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,
And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no
relief,
And the dry stone no sound of water."

III

THE WASTE LAND

This 'dramatic poem' (if it is not permitted to call it a poetic drama) consists of five different sections, of which the first states the theme, the third brings the theme to a climax, and the fifth brings out the catastrophe, with which the story ends. In this respect, it can be compared to the usual drama of five acts. Again, to which particular class of a drama does *The Waste Land* belong? The Fisher King is undoubtedly distressed. So are his subjects. They are not in a position to enjoy the procession of events which passes before them. Therefore

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one can rightly say that *The Waste Land* is the story of an exceptional calamity befalling civilisation again and again in the course of its days, whenever decadence saps the life of the people and makes them inert. *The Waste Land*, therefore, if it is a drama, is a tragedy.

The Waste Land of the poem is a store-house of breakdown results with symbols borrowed from the myths of the Holy Grail; it is a desolate and sterile country, ruled by an impotent king. In that country crops have ceased to grow and the animals have ceased to reproduce and men and women have become impotent and barren. The potency of the King is restored by the pure knight who goes to the Chapel Perilous to find the lance and the grail and bring them back. Thus far, the poem is connected with the romantic legend. Then it is further complicated by the fact that Tiresias, who has known and suffered everything under the sun, sees through the events that baffle us.

The Waste Land at the back of Eliot's head, is Europe of post-war days. Tiresias is not only timeless but is also a modern man, equipped with a knowledge of Freud and Frazer, of Dante and the Vedas. He sees into the war-stricken world with his little blind eyes. The climax of the tragedy of modern Europe reveals itself in section III, where the evil life of men and women, and the increase of commercial vice, do not succeed in filling up the vacuity of modern life. The aftermath of the war continued to rob men of their noble nature. And the catastrophe of the tragedy comes about in section V, where rains gathered at last from the distant Himalayas. The Waste Land received the rains of mercy—a symbol of divine grace coming at last to save a dried-up civilisation. But the tillers could not utilise the rain, they were not ready to use it and the situation still remained tragic.

The apparently unnecessary involutions of pornographic events in passages, which act as cement to hold the structure of the main poem together, were not done out of a frustration complex. Throughout the poem, we visualise the conflicts of a puritan turned atheist, the horror of vulgarity, and the straining after a religious emotion which may be made to take its place. And the symbolic character of the poem is not merely due to the fact that it is all compact of allusions, and moves between dreams and nightmares, nor even because its exquisite cadences, its mixture of archaisms and modern slang, scholarly chant and conventional ellipses, show the technical influence of the French. It is also bound up with the poet's submission, more evident in his later work, to a religious view of life.

In the *Burial of the Dead* section, the poet starts by saying that the present desolate condition of Europe looms larger in April, the month of rejoicing, than in other months. Further, he says that to him the intolerable burden of the city of London seems to be depressingly unreal. He gives us the painful picture of interminable external pressure which men have to put up with. We hear of factories, heavy-laden with labour. Our mills and factories appear to eject thousands of crushed out individuals each evening out of some dark interior. When the poor fellows go home, some with deformed limbs, some panting for breath, they present a miserable picture of the modern unreal city; we look at it with horror through the eyes of Eliot himself. The modern mind can receive only a heap of broken images, when life is so fragmentary and so unreal. The whole civilisation seems to be without that life-giving water, which is essential for its juvescence. In that barren city, however, there are all sorts of people, good and bad. There are clairvoyants. There are women of the flower-houses. There are men who have lost their integrity. Crowds pass over vast plains and the city really confines none of them. It is not because they are evil by nature, but because morality has lost its value in a world of emotional tension and catastrophe. That is why they sit out in search of intoxicating substitutes.

In a *Game of Chess* we find a vivid narration of talks between charwomen of a certain corner in London. The section starts with a description of one of them sitting on a chair, like Cleopatra sitting majestically "on a burnished throne," and we are ready for some touches of satire. The glitter of her imitation ornaments and false jewels 'dazzle the observers' eyes and the synthetic perfumes "drown the senses in odour." The nightingale, as usual, cries out — but who is to pay heed to her vernal chants? Everybody's ears are filled up with dry and dirty news, too morbid to be enjoyed. Life has become stale and stupid. Low types of gossip follow and we are subjected to some obscure metaphors and statements.

The bar-keeper starts warning the drinkers : "Hurry up, please; it's time." This expression, known to all customers of the bar, who are reminded of the regulation that alcohol cannot be served after a certain hour at night, becomes superb in the hands of Eliot. It comes to imply a warning to the effect that any moment may be the last moment. This fact, coolly remembered, would save us from futile and fatal pleasures.

Then follows a series of Ta-ta, good night, good-night, in quiet succession, suggesting a real parting scene.

In the *Fire Sermon* the poet begins with a description of *the* river Thames that now flows through London. The tone of the description is despairing. The 'nymphs are departed,' suggesting "a banquet-hall deserted," and twice repeated in course of ten lines, strikes the "auditory imagination" of the reader and makes him feel that the age of romantic loveliness is gone.

The poet here makes use of a contrast between the Thames now flowing through a restless megalopolis and his idealised vision of the Thames as it flowed rhythmically in the days of general beauty and prosperity. The contrast is sharply conveyed by the movement of the lines, which again are based on simple colloquial speech.

> "The river's tent is broken; the last fingers of leaf
> Clutch and sink into the wet bank. The wind
> Crosses the brown land, unheard. The nymphs are
> departed.
>
> Sweet Thames, run softly, till I end my song.
> The river bears no empty bottles, sandwich papers,
> Silk handkerchiefs, cardboard boxes, cigarette-ends

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Or other testimony of summer nights. The nymphs
are departed.
And their friends, the loitering heirs of city-directors
Departed, have left no addresses."

Then the self-consuming burning of sterile passion is seen :

"But at my back in a cold blast I hear
The rattle of the bones, and chuckle spread from
ear to ear."

After a few lines we come across the description of the unreal city under the brown fog of a winter noon. Tiresias, the blind seer, sees some evidence of sterile lusts of the city, for which the word 'Fire' stands as a symbol. This Tiresias is a mere 'spectator,' not even a 'character' of the drama. Yet he is the most important of the 'dramatis personae.' For what he sees is the subject of the whole poem.

Now, Tiresias sees the terrible plight of a poor typist girl who has to fill up her sense of inward vacuity by passion and yet fails to do so because no amount of outer excitement can ever remove our spiritual hunger. This typist girl typifies an entire range of crushed spirits who live dull and automatic lives in modern mechanised cities. But ugly and lifeless as a modern city like London has become, there are even now churches and other sacred and beautiful spots in the city itself which continues to inspire one and all.

". . . where the wall
Of Magnus Martyr hold
Inexplicable splendour of Ionian white and gold."

In the 'unreal city' men and women are so obsessed by a sense of sin and of disaster that they would rather plunge into the purgatorial fire and then come out purified after the trial, with blessings from God. But in Section IV (*Death by Water*) these tormented people, before coming to a decision, also contemplate 'death by water,' which Eliot had already indicated, as if by 'premonition.'

In the next and last section (Section V — *What the Thunder Said*), we get an impressive picture of the helpless condition of modern Europe. 'After the torchlight —red on sweaty faces' those who were journeying to Emmaus), after 'the frosty silence in the gardens,' (approaching Chapel Perilous), after 'the agony in stony places' (present decay in modern Eastern Europe), men, who had been living, are now dying. Eliot cannot tolerate the living creatures, who, though conscious of the calamity on their head, are not yet stirred to action.

Then follows a powerful description of rocks and the perilous thirst. The repeated mention of the words rock, water and sand suggest a monotone, which could hardly have been more effectively expressed through any other technique. The tantalising prospects and lack of endeavour, the barrenness and hollowness of the land, lying in an unimaginably helpless state of sterility, are impressively portrayed and they raise the total effect above the level of that of mere 'onomatopoeia.' It is the 'auditory imagination' that is aroused.

"Here is no water but only rock
Rock and no water and the sandy road
The road winding above among the mountains
Which are mountains of rock without water.
If there were water we should stop and drink
Amongst the rock one cannot stop or think,
Sweat is dry and feet are in the sand
If there were only water amongst the rock
Dead mountain mouth of carious teeth that cannot spit.

Here one can neither lie nor stand nor sit
There is not even silence in the mountains,
But red sullen faces sneer and snarl
From doors of mud-cracked houses."

However, an indication is given at the end of this description, that we are not helpless altogether. The poet gives expression to a mystic faith in an unseen entity, who is always standing behind every human being and who is there to befriend him or her in periods of storm and stress. This may be faith in Christ himself :

"Who is the third who walks always beside you?
When I count, there are only you and I together
But when I look ahead up the white road
There is always another one walking beside you
Gliding, wrapt in a brown mantle, hooded,
I do not know whether a man or a woman,
—But who is that on the other side of you?"

The picture of the waste land tallies with the character of desert cities in Palestine, for instance, Jerico (as described in modern books). Also mark the word 'mantle.'

Eliot goes on harping on this theme and tells us that men are themselves responsible for what they now suffer from, and with them suffers the universal mother, she whose 'murmur of maternal lamentation' can be heard by her children on earth:

"What is that sound high in the air?" The poet is able to hear the eternal cry of the "Crying She," (*Krandasi*) and he makes it audible for us also. We know that he had studied Sanskrit at Harvard and had been influenced by Indian Philosophy, and we are not surprised at this Eastern influence on Eliot's writings.

How far Eliot had been influenced by Eastern thought and culture at the time of writing *The Waste Land*, it is difficult to assess at the moment. But this much can safely be recorded that he was pre-occupied at that time with the idea that Western civilisation and culture might soon perish — and in that respect he had something in common with the author of *The Decline of the West*. Spengler tried to establish, with historical examples, that the ancient cultures disappeared in the cyclic manner of nature, according to the laws of growth and death. Eliot writes in *Waste Land* :

"Falling towers
Jerusalem Athens Alexandria
Vienna London
Unreal....."

Eliot seems to conclude that western civilization and culture will probably go the way of all other great civilizations in history.

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Then after a few more lines, which attempt to establish the fact that some patterns of human behaviour in modern times can be traced back to the most primitive ritual and magic practices, the poem breaks with a new atmosphere of birth and victory :

"In this decayed hole among the mountains
In the faint moonlight, the grass is singing,
Over the tumbled graves, about the Chapel."

Only a cock stood on the roof-tree and it gave utterance to a weird cry of 'co co rico co co rico,' as if in sympathetic vibration to the sudden flash of lightning. The limp leaves waited for rain; the bleak clouds gathered on the distant Himavant. A damp gust, the usual prelude to rain, swept the sky. And the jungle crouched, humped in silence. The whole point of these lines lies in the waiting for divine mercy which does rain down at last on the Waste Land. Hence it is seen that Eliot believes in divine benediction which surely descends on us even if we have given up all hope.

But the divine mercy also awaits human co-operation. Unless one is diligent, mere prayer will not make one's land fertile. This idea is developed in the speech that the thunder made before the rains came. "Da-Datta" *i.e.*, 'give.' Humanity should sacrifice something in order to get favourable conditions for progress. It does not matter how much one gives away to one's heirs — that will not help one in any way in spiritual matters. One must dedicate oneself to the service of humanity. By this self-surrender in service, this daring act, we can make ourselves the receptacle for the life-giving waters that rain from above.

The thunder proclaimed — "Da-dayaddhvam" *i.e.*, "sympathise." In the beginning God, the Father, had shown his creatures the way to living an orderly and controlled life. It is now their duty to live a pure life and to enable themselves to be fit for His mercy. It seems as if men and women have forgotten His commandments, now that they are engaged in aggression and savagery. They have forgotten how to turn the key of the closed door of their lives, the door which would have opened the path to spiritual freedom. They are prisoners in their own hearts. But in this chaotic atmosphere everybody should feel sympathy for others, for all of us suffer from the same lack of will-power and truth. The key is there—we must use it. But how to use it?

Then the Thunder says — "Da-damyata," *i.e.*, "control," give, and control yourself. Victory cannot be a consolidated fact, it has to be won anew, preserved by power of human will. The rain has come, but brave and powerful hands must have tilled the soil beforehand, so that the seeds may flourish and green corn lead us to the fulfilment.

Eliot interprets the thunder's mono-syllabic speech and supplies the missing links :

"The boat responded
Gaily, to the hand expert with sail and oar
The sea was calm, your heart would have responded
Gaily, when invited, beating obedient
To controlling hands."

The inhabitants of the Waste Land ought to have responded gaily, they ought to have surrendered themselves to the Divine Power and practised the skilful art of tilling the land. For, as the poet tells us, the boat responds to the expert oarsman and the sea also 'beats obedient to controlling hands.' This is an incentive to the human will to prepare itself for the heavenly benedictions which come to save us from crises. Eliot demands that the boat of our lives be launched on the flood-tides of a new age. This is the message of the poem. This is also in keeping with the main note of faith in English poetry.

The rains came. But the tillers were neither expert nor prepared to make the most of it. There lies the tragedy of the modern world, and there lies also the tragedy of the poem. The narrator of all these events in the *Burial of the Dead* section of the poem, who had made a present of hyacinths to the girl he loved, suffers from pricks of conscience, while he sits upon the shore, fishing—that is to say—neglecting his real duty and pursuing an idle vocation.

"Shall I at least set my lands in order ?" But the real tragedy is that mere brooding does not lead to action. So, decay and degeneration proceed :

"London Bridge is falling down, falling down, falling down. But the poet, however, does not say that all hope is over. On the contrary, the poem suggests that we are perhaps learning our lesson.

IV

From the above analysis it will be clear that Eliot tried to describe in *The Waste Land,* the state of all-round frustration throughout post-war Europe. The incapacity of the modern man has been analysed and dissected to the core. But Eliot is not a mere 'eye-opener' — he offers us a bit of constructive criticism, too. He enjoins that man should work hard in order to turn the Heavenly mercy, which occasionally falls on them of its own accord, to good account. The basic reliance of the poet on Heavenly mercy is also revealed in this poem. One can, therefore, hold that *The Waste Land,* reputed to be a monument of futility, is, in essence, a fountain of faith — a faith in that peace which passeth understanding, which can uproot ennui and boredom from the Waste Land that Europe had become after World War No. 1, and which can be attained by those who can give, sympathise and control. The poem is concerned with human good, and has a mystic faith that with our own effort we shall one day transform this dry life on earth into something akin to our divine nature. The poem is inspired by a positive idealism, a positive belief in the destiny of Europe, nay, even of the world; out of frustration, a new faith has been born, and *The Waste Land* proclaims it.

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COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION

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By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

At the present moment there is talk of primary education being made compulsory for every child in Bengal and other provinces of India. It is a move in the right direction, and, as such, it should be applauded by all means. Education is the birth-right of every man and woman. So the sooner the scheme is implemented, the better. It is a great pity that after about 200 years of the British rule, the percentage of literate persons in our country is so small, only 10 per cent of the whole population of India being literate. So far we have been used to laying all the blame at the door of the foreign rulers of our country for whatever befell us. But now that India has shaken off her foreign yoke and has realised her long-cherished dream of freedom, the present national government should be up and doing to launch a serious campaign against the abject ignorance and illiteracy that are rampant throughout the country. It is a paramount duty that every national government owes to the people of its country. No programme of national uplift will be complete unless the present scheme of compulsory primary education is included in it. The illiteracy of the masses is an evil that is eating into the very vitals of our society. All efforts to bring about the social and political regeneration of the country are foredoomed to failure, unless and until this evil is stamped out. To quote Bertrand Russell—"The existence of ignorant masses in a population is a danger to the community; when a considerable percentage are illiterate, the whole machinery of Government has to take account of the fact. Democracy in its modern form would be quite impossible in a nation where many cannot read". The implementation of the scheme of compulsory primary education should therefore be placed at the forefront of the educational programme of the day. It is the state alone which can insist on each child being provided with the minimum of knowledge. So the responsibility of educating the masses should devolve on those who have been entrusted with the administration of the country. In the provinces of India, where the bulk of the population is still steeped in ignorance and superstition of the grossest order, the average parent hardly believes in education. It is too much to expect that the illiterate and ignorant parents will be alive to the reponsibility of educating their children, as they seldom appreciate the need of it. On the contrary, the government is likely to meet with a good deal of opposition from them at the beginning in case it wants to make primary education compulsory for every child. Agriculture constitutes the main occupation and means of livelihood of about 80 per cent of the population of India. The people of this class would much rather have their sons help them in their own agricultural pursuits than go to school, where the activities the latter have to participate in are totally unrelated to those of their every-day life. It is, therefore, quite in the nature of things that such purely bookish and literary education as is being imparted at the average primary school at the present time will hardly appeal to the masses, who generally think that no useful purpose is likely to be served by sending their boys and girls to school. On the contrary, they will probably prefer engaging their children in fields and kitchens, where the latter are expected to be far more useful. If primary education is made compulsory for every child by the State, as has been proposed, these guardians will perhaps be compelled to send their wards to school. But at the beginning they will do so very grudgingly. So first and foremost public opinion should be educated. A good deal of extensive propaganda is to be carried on for the purpose in the rural areas of the provinces. If the parents are made to realise that the primary schools are really aiming at turning out useful members of society and that the instruction that is being imparted at these will ultimately redound to their own advantage, they cannot but be impressed with the necessity and importance of educating their children. If permanent literacy is to be secured, the children's attendance at schools should be enforced for the full period of the primary course. Unless the children are able to finish the primary course, they are likely to relapse into illiteracy as soon as they leave school.

Certain initial difficulties are to be overcome before the scheme of compulsory primary education can be put into operation. We cannot afford to fight shy of them any longer. First of all, the statistics of the children of the school-going age should be collected. These figures need to be as accurate as possible. The task of collecting and compiling them may prove an uphill one at the beginning. This will necessitate a correct educational survey of the rural areas of the provinces. Attempts should always be made to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the influential people of the localities concerned. The officers of the Education Department will do well to undertake the work in collaboration with the local executive officers, who can exert influence upon the local people better.

So far as Bengal is concerned, primary schools are still very few and far between in most of the rural areas of the Province. Unless and until the number of these schools is adequately increased, it is quite impossible to afford ampler educational facilities to the village children. If the expenditure is to be reduced to a minimum, the primary schools should be mainly co-educational. The work of these schools

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should be carried on by mixed teaching staffs, consisting of both male and female teachers. The lowest class of a primary school should always be run by a woman teacher, as women are expected to appreciate the needs of small children far better than men.

In our country, poverty and the incidence of malaria and epidemic diseases render the spread of education among the masses really difficult. All-out effort must be made to ameliorate the conditions obtaining in the rural areas of the provinces at present. Poverty constitutes a serious stumbling block in the way of the progress of education. The uneducated and indigent parents, who are hard put to it to make both ends meet with their small earnings, may feel inclined to look upon the education of their children as a sort of luxury, which they can ill afford, and which can be dispensed with altogether. They may also be obsessed by the fear that school education is likely to beget an aversion for manual labour among their children. On the contrary, if the latter are employed in some jobs which will fetch some money, the addition to the family budget is expected to be far more welcome. But the appalling poverty of the masses cannot be done away with at once. Probably it will not be possible to bring about a better state of things in the years to come. Attempts should be made gradually to raise the standard of living of the average man by bettering the economic condition of the country and to improve the general health of its people, a great majority of whom seem to be quite innocent of all ideas of hygiene and sanitation at the present moment.

All efforts to popularise education in the rural areas of the provinces will prove abortive unless free tuition is provided at the primary schools. The majority of the inhabitants of these areas whose children are expected to profit by this type of education, and are really in need of it, are too poor to afford even very small sums of money by way of the tuition fees of their wards. In many cases, books and writing materials, such as slates, pencils, pens, exercise books, etc., should also be supplied to the poorer pupils, free of cost. Free milk and tiffin, as well as free medical aid, may well be provided, wherever necessary, if funds permit, so that there may be sufficient inducements for the poor parents to send their children to school. The apathy of the poorer section of the rural population towards education may be mainly attributed to poverty. If parental co-operation can be secured, it will be much easier for the government to insist on the compulsory attendance of the children at schools, as otherwise compulsion is likely to be misconstrued and resented by the average man.

In the event of compulsory free primary education being introduced in the provinces, the problem of finances needs also to be solved. The financial implications of the scheme should be carefully considered. The question will naturally arise as to how to meet the enormous expenditure to be involved. There should be a generous response to the appeal for funds in such a good cause, and sufficient money should be forthcoming both from public and private sources. But for unstinted financial help from the government, the implementation of the scheme will not be practicable. Mahatma Gandhi tried to effect a partial solution of the financial problem by evolving a new scheme of basic education, which is popularly known as the Wardha scheme of education. A great believer in self-reliance as he was, he wanted the basic schools to be self-supporting. He has suggested that the educational expenses of the pupils of these schools be met out of the sale-proceeds of the articles produced by themselves. The scheme is still in its experimental stage. So we need not discuss here at length the merits and demerits of the proposition. It is too early now to gauge the results of the experiment. But the possibilities of the scheme as well as the modified scheme generally known as the Sargent's scheme should be carefully investigated.

If primary education is to be popularised in the rural areas of the provinces, instruction must be both useful and aggreeable to those who are concerned with it. Such education as is completely divorced from the practical interests of the children's everyday life cannot be acceptable to the masses. The children of the agriculturists, who form a bulk of the rural population of the country cannot be expected to take kindly to the purely literary education that is imparted at the average primary school of the day. This sort of education is bound to be looked upon with suspicion by the average parent in the rural areas. So nothing short of a thorough overhauling of the present curriculum will help to change the outlook of the rural population on education. The school curriculum must needs be suited and adapted to the real and practical needs of the children for whom it is intended. Hence the necessity and importance of giving a practical bias to the education of the children of our country. Here also Mahatma Gandhi tried to hit the nail on the head with the unerring insight of a seer. In the scheme of education formulated by him, he has laid down some definite lines on which the reconstruction of primary education is to be effected. The aim of basic education, as envisaged by Mahatmaji, has been clearly indicated in the following lines: "Basic education links the children, whether of the cities or the villages to all that is best and lasting in India. It develops both the body and the mind and keeps the child rooted to the soil with a glorious vision of future in the realisation of which

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he or she begins to take his or her share from the very commencement of his or her career in school." The Wardha scheme of education provides a seven-year course for the children from the age of 7 to 14. All the information is to be imparted through the medium of such basic crafts as are closely related to the occupations of the locality in which the children live. Education will thus be craft-centric, and a co-ordination of the school work and the activities of the children's everyday life will be brought about in this manner. This will go a long way towards giving a practical bias to the education of our children who will be trained to self-reliance and will be taught the dignity of labour. They will therefore seldom feel inclined to look down upon manual labour. The idea underlying the scheme seems to be a very sound one, inasmuch as it presupposes the psychological principle of "learning by doing." The creative instincts of the children can thus be appealed to. The aim of modern education is not to inhabit the natural instincts of the pupils, but to promote the harmonious development of them on the right lines. The children's physical, moral and intellectual powers and potentialities must be brought into play in and through education. Besides, as they are very fond of work, they always want to do something or other. They feel bored and inclined to be inattentive, if they have to be the mere passive recipients of the information imparted by the teacher. They need to be agreeably occupied throughout the lessons and to be allowed to participate actively in them so that their attention may not flag.

The question of providing free and compulsory primary education naturally leads us to that of securing an adequate number of teachers of the right type for the purpose. An increase in the number of schools will necessitate the appointment of a much bigger number of teachers to run them. But at the present moment teaching seems to be anything but lucrative, the emoluments of the teachers—specially the primary school teachers—being so poor and inadequate. Unless more attractive salaries can be offered, the right type of teachers will hardly be available. The primary school teachers are so poorly paid that they really find it hard to keep their body and soul together with the small pittance which they receive as their monthly salaries. Now-a-days we can not employ menials even on such poor salaries as are ordinarily given to the primary school teachers. These half-starved and ill-paid teachers can hardly be expected to pay undivided attention to the work entrusted to them and to throw themselves, heart and soul, into it. They are very often compelled to supplement their income by taking up private tuitions and other odd jobs, out of school hours. An adequate number of the teachers of the right type seems to be the crying need of the day. Until and unless the problem of securing a sufficient number of qualified and efficient teachers is solved, no educational reform worth the name, can be brought about in our country. An adequate number of training schools should also be started with a view to training a sufficient number of teachers in the new methods of teaching. All possible educational facilities should be afforded to the trainees, so as to enable them to equip themselves properly for their vocation with the minimum of expenditure. It is incumbent on the teachers to look upon their work as their mission in life, inasmuch as it is they who are the builders of the nation.

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BACKGROUND TO KOREA IN COLD WAR

By Prof. SHER SINGH GUPTA, B.Sc., M.A.

Apparently insignificant in point of its physical dimensions, Korea occupies a position of strategic importance in the geography of Far Eastern countries. As such, its significance in the Eastern zone as a cross-road of Far East and a potential trouble spot in that part of the Asiatic continent is great. Having served as a focal point of racial and inter-state conflicts of the 13th, the 16th, and the early part of the 20th century, this small tortoise-shaped corner peninsula threatens to provide the bloodiest of battle-grounds to Russian and American armies whose politicians have dragged it into the arena of their power-grabbing rivalry. If ever, it is here that the trial of brute strength between the contending forces for world domination will take place. Hence the towering importance of Korea in the Russo-U.S. cold war.

A Short History

The Korean peninsula is peopled by 23 million souls. For the last 35 years beginning from the year 1910, the country had been under the dictatorial control of Japanese imperialists. As such, it had to undergo all manner of exploitations which are characteristic of all countries occupied by colonial powers. In those days of its domination by the Japanese, Korea was the nursing home of a large number of feudal lords who were helpfully subservient to their Japanese overlords in carrying out the orders of the latter. Like the Indian princes of the pre-Independence Indian era, these anachronistic elements did all they could to help perpetuate Japanese rule at the bidding of their foreign masters. Like all other colonial powers Japan took full advantage of the presence of

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these feudal remnants of the old Korean institution of chieftainship of the preceding centuries. She, as an occupying power, exploited the fact of the political immaturity and educational backwardness of the rank-and-file of the Korean people by creating a spirit of factionalism in the masses and by fostering disruptive and fissiparous tendencies among the people. In this way she succeeded in perpetuating a despotic rule over the ignorant Korean people through the agency of a systematic policy of 'divide and rule' which Japan developed into an elaborate and well-fashioned political creed which later persuaded that country to aspire for domination over the whole of Asia. During the whole period of Japanese rule the Korean industry and agriculture was mainly designed to subserve Japanese interests and hence both were kept strictly under the Japanese thumb whose technicians operated the main dynamos installed in the various national factories. The result was that there could not be any very large-scale growth of indigenous industry manned by native technicians in Korea during the last four decades or so. Educationally speaking, the peninsula is very backward and the percentage of literacy there is in no way higher than that in India.

Effect of Last War

The last world war and Japan's attack in the Pacific brought Korea into prominence as a strategic base for military operations in the Far East. As such, it was chosen to act as a spring-board for aerial attacks on the Japanese homeland after the latter had been dislodged from the Peninsula in 1945. The Allies found it a useful projection into the Pacific Ocean from where to launch a three-pronged attack by navy, land and air on the veteran enemy. In August 1945, the Red Army of Russia entered North Korea and the American yankees followed suit a month after and occupied the Southern part of the country. Little did anybody then know that Korea will become a pawn in the game of U.S.-Russian power-politics and ideological warfare, leading to an incessant war-of-nerves in the years to come.

In Cold War

It was exactly after the occupation of the country by the armies of Russia and America that Korea became progressively involved in the cold war going on between East and West so much so that today it can be considered as the nerve-centre of this wasteful activity in the Far East. The reason for Korea becoming such a cockpit of contending world forces was, and is, its critical location from where Russia could check Japanese movements in Asia and America could control Russian expansion towards the East by effectively controlling Korean problem which can be intelligently understood.

Russo-American Occupation Dispute

Immediately after the occupation of the Korean homeland by the armies of Russia and America the question of its administration and the constitution of the administering authority inevitably leaped into the fore-front. Originally the view was held that Korea should become a Four-Power Trusteeship, the four Powers being the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., the U.K. and China, all acting jointly. This proposal, however, remained a mere paper scheme and was never translated into practice. In December 1945, the Foreign Ministers' Conference agreed on a plan to set up a joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. Commission for Korea to go into the question of setting up a Provisional Government in Korea. This Commission, contrary to expectations, could not agree to any composition of the personnel of the said body and its deliberations repeatedly ended in smoke. Thus the Korean problem became more and more involved in power-politics.

The Moscow Formula

In 1946, the Moscow Formula was mooted out. This document was not found acceptable to both parties who, by that time, had lost all faith in the bonafides of each other. The inevitable result of this failure to agree was a blockade between the two zones, the North one occupied by Russia and the Southern occupied by U.S.A. at the 38th parallel. Later efforts at a political compromise between the two parties foundered on their failure to agree on the question of including representatives of various political parties of Korea in the Government. This disagreement led to a virtual, though artificial, bisection of Korea into two political zones occupied by rival powers.

U. N. Korean Commission

In 1947, the U.S.A. set up a temporary representative Government in South Korea with Seoul as Capital and asked U.N.O. to send a Commission to supervise the election. Accordingly, a Commission set up by U.N.O. supervised the election there and a Government headed by Dr. Sygmund Rhee was formed. Russia boycotted the activities of this Commission and in pursuance of her policy, she not only did not agree to act as a member of the Commission, but also refused to allow it to enter the North zone. Instead she set up a regime of her own choice in South Korea in which the Revolutionary Party has a dominating voice. She also vetoed the proposal to admit South Korea as a member of U. N. O.

Implications of the Blockade

The fact of the virtual division of Korea into two zones, each having a government of a totally different political complexion and holding diametrically opposite social and economic views has led to a state of perpetual tension between the two parts each

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of which stands to lose heavily in view of the complementary nature of their economy. It is a case parallel to that of East and West Bengal in point of jute. While North Korea has many synthetic fertilizer plants, South Korea has rich rice fields. While North zone is a food-deficit area, South zone has no industry to provide employment to its youths. The result is that there are frequent inter-zonal raids and border troubles threatening to lead to a state of breakdown of international peace.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Acheson's threat to South Korea to stop Dollar aid to that country in the event of their not calling a session of their Parliament in May to consider ways and means to check inflationary spiral in prices of articles of daily consumption is, to say the least, a definite indication of the existence of political strings of America tied to Rhee's administration, thereby reducing the latter to an ineffectual puppet-show. Moreover, the news of a recent incursion by the Communists from the Northern zone into the Southern territory involving considerable loss of life which was brought to the notice of U.N. Committee, is very disquieting as it may well fan the cold war into furious fire leading to a world conflagration for the third time in the present century, a thing which all lovers of peace and human civilisation must avoid.

April 28, 1950

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

ASOKA'S HUMANISM: *By Ishwara Topa. Hyderabad: Pressarts Ltd. 1949. Pp. 53. Price not mentioned.*

This monograph, as the author states in his Preface, is a "rehash" of his chapter which appeared under a different title as an appendix in the late Dr. B. M. Barua's work *Asoka and His Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1946). The title, strictly speaking, applies to Part I, while Part II (somewhat inaccurately called *The Edicts of Asoka*) consists of illustrative quotations from Hultzsch's translation of the inscriptions. The author's main statements are that "the Maurya State had thriven on the totalitarian principles of state-craft and politics" (p. 1), that Asoka "having discredited the utility of gross political principles rebuilt the foundation of the state on humanising principles of common weal" (p. 4), that "the promulgation of the Buddhist culture in the form of a humanised culture was Asoka's mission in life" and that sanctity of life was the basic principle on which Asoka sought to elevate the life of the people (p. 14). It cannot be denied that there is much truth, if not originality, in the above observations. But some of his opinions do not appear to be above criticism. Thus instead of relying upon the more authentic testimony of Megasthenes, he finds in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya "the great Maurya minister" a true picture of "the political condition and practice of the times." This is to ignore completely the numerous and weighty criticisms of the orthodox view that have been expressed ever since the publication of the *Arthasastra*. The latter work, even as it is, is not wanting in injunctions upon the ruler to identify his welfare with that of his subjects and to behave like a father towards them. On the whole, it seems to us that the author's arguments and conclusions indicate more of an attempt to establish foregone views with rhetorical force than a desire for the dispassionate quest for truth.

LORD MAHAVIRA: *A study in historical perspectives: By Bool Chand. Benares Jain Cultural Research Society. Pp. 115. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This is a well-written monograph dealing with the life and teachings of the last and greatest historical founder of Jainism. In the course of 8 short chapters the author sketches with critical but sympathetic insight the historical and cultural background at the advent of Mahavira, the incidents of his early life, his quest for truth, his doctrines as well as the expansion of his Order, and he concludes with a general appreciation of Mahavira's personality. Some of his statements, however, require re-examination. Such are his references to "the whole republican social organisation of the Vedic times" and "the simple religion of nature-worship implied in the hymns of the Rigveda" (p.1) and to a new type of republican and tribal kingdom (*sic*) arising in the 6th century B.C. The title "cottage industry stage" (pp. 2, 8) gives us a very imperfect idea of the wonderful advance in trade and industry in or about the 6th century B.C. described by the author in the above context (p. 10). Equally unfortunate is the label "tribal republics" (p. 13) for the Sakyas, Lichchhavis and other clans of the early centuries of Buddhism. The author's mention of "the democratic ethos of the society in which Mahavira lived" (pp. 27, 108) ignores the aristocratic social structure of the ancient east Indian republics. The expression "the epics of the later Vedic literature" is a slip.

U. N. GHOSHAL

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DIET AND DIET REFORM : *By M. K. Gandhi, 1949. Pp. xii+176. Price Rs. 2.*

RAMANAMA : *By M. K. Gandhi. 1949. Pp. viii+ 60. Price Re. 1.*

Both published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

As is well known, Gandhiji was an enthusiast in nature-cure methods as well as in diet reform. He also drew no line between a healthy body and a healthy mind ; for, according to him, one could not exist without the other. The two booklets contain a collection of articles written by him on this subject.

THE WISDOM OF GANDHI (in his own words) : *Selected and arranged by Roy Walker. The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1943. Pp. 64. Price Re. 1-8.*

This booklet contains a collection of extracts from Gandhiji's writings and speeches. They bear upon a wide variety of subjects beginning from religion and morality to democracy, civil disobedience, etc. The selection has been made with discrimination, and a student who wishes to follow up Gandhiji's thoughts on a particular subject will find the necessary references given at the end.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MONEY : *By S. M. Tiwary, M.A. Banaras Book Corporation, Zanka, Banaras. Pages 296+93. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This is an analytical study of Monetary theory and problems in twelve chapters with three appendices covering a wide range of subjects from definition of Money to Devaluation. The author claims no originality and presents a rather complicated subject in a manner to suit a student, as well as, a general reader. Of the subjects dealt with, the Credit Market, Trade Cycles, Monetary Control, Foreign Exchange, Exchange Control, International Monetary plans deserve careful study by every student of Economics. The author by his lucid exposition has made the topics easily understood by an average reader and undergraduates will find the book particularly helpful.

In the appendices, Indian Money Market, Problem of India's Monetary Standard (1925-1949), and Post-war International Disequilibrium and the Devaluation Problem have been discussed and commented upon by the author.

RURAL MARKETING AND FINANCE (Report of Sub-Committee of the National Planning Committee) : *Published by Vora and Co. Publishers Ltd., Bombay. Pages 166. Price Rs. 6.*

The Sub-Committee of N. P. C. which reported on the above subjects had Sri Ramdas Pantulu and Dr. Sudhir Sen as its Chairman and Secretary respectively. Sri K. T. Shah is the Editor of these publications besides being General Secretary of the N. P. C.

The N. P. C. was appointed in 1938 and began its work in 1939. After defining the nature of a National Plan, the Committee appointed a number of sub-committees for facility of work but the World War broke out and the Chairman of the Committee, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was thrown into prison. However, after his release, the work of the Sub-Committees and the present committee began afresh and the present volume was the earliest report ready for publication.

This volume contains a Preface and an Introduction from Sri K. T. Shah, the General Editor, followed by the Report of the Sub-Committee prepared by its Secretary Dr. Sudhir Sen. The Report is divided into six parts dealing with the Background Communication, Regulated Market in India, Technical considerations, Reforms and the concluding remarks with suggestions. Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations has been separately given for the facility of readers. Besides this the volume contains provisional outline of the Report submitted to N.P.C. and also notes on supplementary Report and resolutions of the N.P.C. and the questionnaire. The report being written before the attainment of India's freedom a summary of Development has been added at the end by the General Editor.

The N.P.C. aims at a balanced economic structure for the country of which half the population would depend upon agriculture. Rural marketing is a part of the wide problem. The Indian farmer is poor because of defective rural marketing and conversely because of the farmer's poverty rural marketing is defective. It is a vicious circle. The farmer is hard hit by modern industrialism, he sells his produce at unfavourable place, unfavourable time and usually gets unfavourable terms. Natural forces responsible for these circumstances must be combated by equally natural means. Better marketing implies better roads, railways and other communications on one hand as well as, ware-housing and godown facilities, credit arrangements for long and short periods. Besides, better education, sanitation, manuring, and a host of other things are necessary for the uplift of the common man and his surroundings. The Sub-Committee is conscious of its limitation and has suggested further enquiries by other sub-committees on allied and subsidiary subjects that come in the way of thorough investigation. Rural Marketing and Finance is not a subject that can be treated in isolation.

Although it is no final report of the sub-committee on the subject, the presentation of the matter in a lucid manner amply repays the perusal. Students of Economics will find this book extremely useful and interesting in the study of problems connected with agriculture and rural finance.

A. B. DUTTA

STUDENTS AND SOCIAL WORK : *By Students. With a Foreword by J. C. Kumarappa. Bureau of Research and Publications. Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay. Pages 63. Price Rs. 1-12.*

This nicely printed and excellently got up handbook has been prepared by the students of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences for students of other institutions who wish to devote themselves to constructive work in villages. Programmes of work such as Rural Reconstruction, Adult Education, Community Welfare, Labour Organisation, Health and Relief work have been chalked out in a fairly thorough and business-like manner, and the ideals upheld by the advanced section of the student community in India are likely to stimulate others to take to practical work in this direction. As has been truly said by Sri Kumarappa, 'Such work may not be exciting or sensational, but it is work of this kind, quiet and humdrum though it may seem, that can ultimately bring life, wealth and happiness to our long-suffering people.'

The student community is an inexhaustible source of vitality, and when roused to the full sense of its responsibility and fired with the love of its countrymen it may work miracle in building up the prosperous India of our dreams. The present booklet is a happy augury in that direction and we wish it a wide publicity in the student world of India.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

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THE TEMBLING ECHO : *A poem by Adhyatam Singh. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., London. Price 3s. 6d.*

There are 49 poems and the author probably selects this number with some obvious purpose, pieces of a love poem stringed together with the help of a thin and flimsy link provided by the idea of a traveller roaming through various aspects of nature and life in search of peaceful rest in love. And this search never ends, since "jointly do meeting and parting control the universe and play the world-play ; it is they who write the universal world-drama."

The poem is written in rhythmical blank verse and one reading through it feels very much for rhyme that might further ennoble the composition.

THE SONG OF LIFE AND OTHER POEMS : *By V. K. Gokak. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd. Bombay. Price Rs. 3.*

In this book there are 32 poems on different subject-matters, of which 13 poems are written originally in English and 19 are translations of the author's Kannada originals.

In the Preface Prof. Gokak writes : "I have come to believe that English is better used as a creative medium for interpreting the work done in Indian languages, rather than for pure self-expression, by us in India." And the truth of this remark will be best realised by a comparison between the translated pieces and those originally written. In abundance of imageries and emotions the translated pieces are richer than the verses written originally in English.

What is most striking in Prof. Gokak's poems is his fine and sensitive capabilities for rhyming. He is a successful representative of the cultural and philosophical greatness of India expressed through a delicately musical language, that, too, is not his own.

SANTOSH CHATTERJEE

SANSKRIT

SATARANJA KUTUHALAM : *Edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Kavyatirtha, M.A. Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Series, No. 24. Published by Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Shyambazar, Calcutta.*

The game of chess which enjoys world-wide popularity is supposed to have originated in India. But Indian literature on the game is comparatively poor. So we extend our welcome to this edition of a small anonymous work, accompanied by an anonymous commentary, on the subject. It will be helpful in studying the history of the game, especially its development through long years and different countries. Those interested in the study will be thankful to the learned editor for bringing to light this little-known work and making it available to the general reader.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

HINDI

MAHADEVABHAI KI DIARY, Part I : *Edited by Narahari Parekh and translated from the original Gujarati by Ram Narayan Chaudhari. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 404. Price Rs. 5,*

The late Mahadeva Desai, Private Secretary to Gandhiji, has often been compared in his unusual capacity to keep a record, close as well as comprehensive, of the diverse doings of his master, to Boswell, with this difference, however, that unlike the latter he was in addition to being an able amanuensis, a discerning critic as well; of this, the present volume, the first in the series planned by the painstaking editor, a lifelong and loving friend of the diarist, is one more proof in point. It covers the period from 10th March, 1932, to 4th September, 1932, when he along with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was in Yervada Jail, Poona. But this short spell of six months, in terms of the ranges and reaches of his beloved Master's mind in respect of the thousand and one things in which Gandhiji was vitally interested—and in what pray was he not interested ?—extends over ages and epochs in human thought. Side by side, the Diary gives a clue to Mahadevabhai's own intellectual stature combined with his rare devotion to his master and extreme sensitiveness to his (Gandhiji's) rainbow-like reflections and radiations of Truth in both its moral as well as material aspects. It is also a collection of thumb-nail "character-cases" of scores of persons, well known and little known including that of Sardar Patel who not seldom dominates the scene by his downrightness and boisterous humour. The translator has done a very good job, indeed.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BALAKO ANE MATAO NI SAMBHAL : *Published by the Gujarat Research Society, Bombay. 1947. Pp. 96, Paper-cover, Price 8 annas.*

A series of six papers on Maternity and Child welfare by experts in the subject, are compressed in this small volume. Directions about diet, use of vegetables and fruits which are available in Gujarat, containing Vitamin C, precautions necessary for women with child and other useful suggestions are the most remarkable features of this book. They are given in simple language.

DWADASHA : *By Anand. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper-cover. Pp. 23. Price 8 annas.*

Dwadasha means the Twelfth. It contains twelve admirable 'In Memoriam' songs in the style peculiar to the late Kavi Nanalal Dulhatram. They are full of feeling and pay a deserved tribute to his work and worth.

K. M. J.

JODNI KOSHA : *Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1949. Pp. 1221. Price Rs. 4,*

This splendid dictionary of Gujarati words—"Sartha Gujarati Jodni Kosha"—an orthographic dictionary with meanings explained—was first published in 1929 : the second edition came out in 1931, the third in 1937 and the fourth in 1949. All this has been done under the influence of Gandhiji, however indirect that influence might have been, and round the battle ground for winning Swaraj. Compiling a dictionary was considered to be an important item in the struggle for independence. There is no doubt that the earnestness of the patriots joined to the hard work of the scholars has borne fruit: the result is a national work of no slight importance. The signs of careful revision of the last edition are visible almost on every page.

The difficulties in bringing the work to a finish have been mentioned by Kakasaheb Kalelkar who has almost apologised for the so-called short-comings, but it was unnecessary : one has learnt to put up with different qualities of paper in one and the same book in this age of controls. The commendable moderation in fixing the price of the book is a noticeable feature. In spite of the increase in the cost of production everywhere, how could this be done ? Is Gujarat an exception to the Indian economic system ? As a matter of fact, though there has been distinct improvement in the quality and quantity of the book, thanks to the publishers, the buyer has been kept up to the 1937 level.

P. R. Sen

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Sachchidananda Sinha—The Last Relic

Dr. Amarnath Jha writes in the Sachchidananda Sinha Memorial Number of *The Hindustan Review*:

The news of the passing away of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, though not entirely unexpected, is nevertheless a source of deep sorrow to a large circle of his friends and admirers. He was the last relic of a generation of intellectual giants. Most of his own contemporaries had died before him. But he was so full of vitality that he seemed to possess the secret of perpetual youth. Nature is, however, inexorable, and has at last claimed whom age never seemed to worry. He had known Dadabhai Naoroji and Pherozeshah Mehta and had been a colleague of Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjea, R. N. Mudholkar, Jinnah, and Sapru. He had owned and edited the *Hindustan Review* for about half a century. He was the first-elected Deputy President of the Indian Legislative Assembly; the first Indian Finance Member in any province; the first interim President of the Constituent Assembly. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University for several terms. He was actively associated with the starting of the *Leader* and was also perhaps at one time a member of its Board of Directors. He was responsible for the coming into existence of the *Beharee* and the *Searchlight*.

A bare recital of his activities will indicate the variety and length of his public service. The second edition of his *Speeches and Writings* appeared in 1942. He produced in 1947, at the age of 76, a valuable book on Iqbal. He had also written earlier a volume on *Eminent Bihar Contemporaries* and a *Handbook on Kashmir*. During the last months of his life he had been publishing his Reminiscences in the *Hindustan Review*. In 1947, his friends presented him with a Volume. He had made numerous benefactions to the Punjab University and the Kayastha Pathshala of Allahabad, and founded the magnificent Sinha Library and Radhika Sinha Institute at Patna and the universities of Allahabad, Patna and Banaras honoured him with honorary degrees.

An Institution

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru said of him: "I doubt whether there are half a dozen men in India who can claim to possess that broad-based and varied culture, which has been the outstanding feature of his life." Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said: "I know few men with his happy gift for attracting the cordial and enduring regard of the most diverse types of men and women. A splendid host, he has always been able to gather under his hospitable roof all races, ranks, religions, in harmonious intercourse, irrespective of the most start-ling and bitter divergences of personal and political views on vital problems. His ironic wit and humour have been the delight of his large circle of associates and admirers. Babu Anugrah Narayan Sinha says: "Dr. Sinha has long ceased to be an individual and has been an institution for decades."

On the publication of his monumental work on Iqbal—of more than 500 pages—the *Leader* wrote in a leading article that it is the best study so far written of all the phases of Iqbal's life and work; very richly documented and very well informed; written with impartiality and revealing deep acquaintance with Persian thought and Urdu literature. That he should have written it at his age is a tribute to the wonderful alertness of his intellect and great industry. In course of my Introduction to the book I said: "Dr. Sinha has brought to bear upon this study a vast knowledge of European and Oriental literature, and an amazing memory, and the complete freedom from narrow interests and sympathies, which is the secret of the universal respect which he and his writings enjoy." I further said: "Dr. Sinha's encyclopaedic learning, his critical faculties, his straightforwardness, and the courage of his convictions will impress all readers of this book. It will long remain a monument to his industry, his thoroughness, and his determination to state the truth as he sees it. It will be welcomed also by scholars as a most noteworthy addition to critical literature, as it is a penetrating and thoughtful study of Iqbal, and a balanced and critical estimate of his poetry and message."

Dr. Sinha did me the honour of asking me to write the Foreword to his book on *Some Eminent Bihar Contemporaries*, which was published in 1944 and in which he conveyed his sense of grateful appreciation of my kindness in writing it. I said then: "Dr. Sinha wields a facile pen; he has a marvellous memory; he is a voracious and methodical reader; he is meticulously accurate; above all, he has a genius for friendship. All these qualities have enabled him to produce a book which will be read with delight both by those who knew the persons described, and by those of a later generation who will find in their careers and achievements much that will elavate and inspire."

Made the Most of Life

I may repeat some other words written by me in 1947. "In spite of his industry," I wrote, "and the assiduity with which he performed his duties in responsible positions, he never forgot that the prime function of a living being is to make the most of life. He has always lived well; good living has been his main vocation, all else a mere pastime. He is a brilliant conversationalist; his wit, his vast fund of anecdotes, his amazing memory charm all companies, whether those of his own generation and age or those who belong to a much later period. In his younger days he was not above indulging in mischievous pranks. Even in the rarified atmosphere of the Imperial Council he effectively silenced a vocal but reactionary notable by referring to him in opprobrious Hindustani terms which were certainly offensive, even though upheld by Lord Minto as being not unparliamentary.

When the Allahabad University Convocation used to be held in the Vizianagram Hall of the Muir College, the Principal was in charge of the arrangements in the Hall. The Principal, Mr. Jennings was a very strict man and he used to go round to see

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that every visitor had a seat in the block meant for him. He discovered that Mr. Sinha was occupying a seat in the block reserved for members of the Senate, who were called Fellows of the University; he walked up to him and asked him, "Excuse me, are you a Fellow?" Mr. Sinha looked at him blandly and replied, "No, I am a gentleman."

Soul of an Imp

On another occasion, several years earlier, he was responsible—along with the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—for a cruel practical joke. In those days the meetings of the Legislative Council used to be held in the Public Library in Alfred Park. The Lieutenant-Governor used to preside. There were a few non official nominated members from among those who, in the current phrase, had a stake in the country. Most of them were innocent of English and almost invariably supported the government. One of them was the Raja of Jahangirabad. Mr. Sinha and Dr. Sapru, as young lawyers interested in free-lance journalism and not then exactly besieged by clients, frequently attended these meetings of the Legislature. Members indulged in copious manuscript eloquence. Once these two gentlemen arrived a little early and engaged Raja Sahib in conversation in elegant Urdu. Whilst he stood talking, Mr. Sinha quietly removed from the Raja Sahib's capacious pockets the manuscript of his speech. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Anthony McDonnell arrived and the Council was called to order. He asked Raja Sahib if he had any observations to make. The Raja Sahib stood in his place and put his hand first in one pocket, then in another, in a third, in a fourth, and could not discover his speech which was lying in repose in Mr. Sinha's pockets. He looked in dismay and confusion and said in tones of deep chagrin *kho gaya, huzoor*!

He had not had the advantage of a University education; but in the alertness of his mind, his receptivity to new ideas, his wide range of intellectual interests, he was superior to most University men. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University for four terms, and he raised its tone considerably. The crowning point of his office was the Jubilee of 1944, when a truly distinguished gathering saw how admirably all the details of the various functions had been attended to, and what deep personal interest Sinha took in them all. I regarded it as a signal honour that I should have been invited to succeed him at Patna, but at the last moment I found the wrench of leaving my own University too great. My University conferred on Dr. Sinha the degree of Doctor of Letters, *honoris causa*, in 1937. Dr. Sinha was called upon to preside over the inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly. He had a large circle of friends in all communities. He could not suffer fools gladly, but his bark was worse than his bite, and there was no touch of malice in him. He was one of the most hospitable men in the country, and was himself a great connoisseur of good food and good drink. His one great failing was that he neither smoked nor liked others to smoke.

Last Days

I have had the good fortune of being his guest in Delhi, Ranchi, Patna, and Solan and of entertaining him as my guest. I have received hundreds of letters from him, all in excellent spirit and expressing kindness and affection. I had written to him in December last, on my return from France, that I would spend a few hours with him on my way back from Calcutta. He replied: "I have just got your very kind letter saying that you are yet heart whole and fancy-free. You will be most welcome here on the 2nd January." A few days later, on December 23, he wrote to me at Calcutta: "I have much to talk to you, both personal and 'public' which I propose doing when we meet." I saw him twice on January 2, and when I was leaving, he said, "This is the last time we shall meet." I remonstrated then and again in a letter from Allahabad. He replied to this on the 15th of February: "I have received all your letters. I am sorry to tell you that I am pretty seriously ill. When I can look upon life with a cheerful face, no one will be better able to do it than myself. But just at present things are in a bad way, and it is, therefore, that my letters are gloomy and depressing. The very cold wave that we have just passed through has made matters worse, and we can but hope for the best."

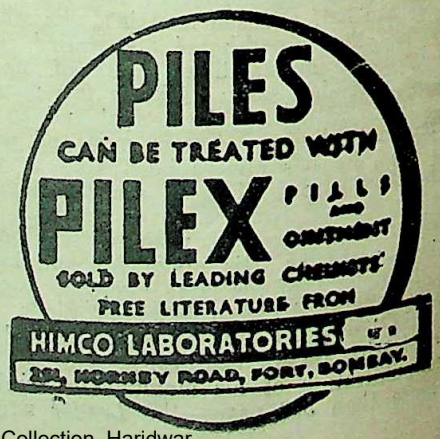
His motto was "Whatever is, is." We have to bow to the inevitable. He had a long life and an honourable life. We salute our elder with love and respect. We shall miss his wisdom and vivacity, his knowledge of affairs, and his freedom from prejudice. In the first days of distracting grief, we have bitter tears to shed, but we shall remember that death openeth the gate to good fame.

Is Asia Overpopulated?

The question of population cannot be considered simply as a question of numbers. It is a human problem: it has a dynamic aspect. *The Asiatic Digest* reproduces an article from *Eastern World*, London:

When the layman thinks about population, he does so in statistical terms, *i.e.*, in terms of mere numbers. He thus falls into the fallacy of believing that a country that has a large population must be over-populated and that an area with a sparse population must be underpopulated. He still believes in Malthus' "misleading mathematical jingle" relating to arithmetical and geometrical progression, the former measuring the rate of increase in the means of subsistence, and the latter measuring the increase of the population. It follows from this that the growth of population must be limited by certain checks, the most important being famine and plague.

No social question can be solved mathematically. Of course, population must be limited by the means of subsistence, since man must eat to live. But the means of subsistence may so increase that an area that was overpopulated at one time may be underpopulated



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under the new conditions. At any given standard of living in the existing conditions of technique and with the available resources and knowledge, there is an ideal size of the population which will give the maximum return per head. This ideal size is such that any increase or decrease in it would diminish production per head. This is the concept of optimum population. The figure is a moving one, altering with changes in technical development or with any cause that changes existing conditions. With any improvement in technique, knowledge, or material resources, there is a constant tendency for the optimum figure to increase. Wars and earthquakes, which destroy resources, work in the opposite direction. It is this idea of a moving optimum population that must be mastered by the leaders of the East. We must apply to this problem the same method of equilibrium analysis that we apply to the examination of economic problems in general. A large number of factors are interdependent, and questions of casuality may be ignored. There is no necessary direct connection between the means of subsistence and the size of the population. Our conception of "subsistence level" may change: our minimum requirements for living may include a motor-car. This is a psychological aspect of the problem, which statistics can measure but not solve.

In Europe and in the New World, inventions of all kinds—such as the steamer, railways, and all machinery increasing the productivity of man—as well as technical improvements in agriculture and the production of new foods by chilling and canning, have resulted in an enormous increase in the population over the last hundred years with a great improvement in the standard of living. It is undoubtedly true to say that the artisan of today enjoys far more comforts and even luxuries than were possible to the nobles of the Middle Ages, and he leads a fuller life. If it is food that we are short of, let us remember that even today only 30 per cent of the land "climatically suited" to crop growth is cultivated. If any reader conceieves the problem in these terms, he is recommended to study Sir John Russell's presidential address to the British Association recently.

In India and China, and perhaps over the whole of the East generally, this increased productivity is not so obvious.

There certainly exist areas that are overpopulated. There are more people than can make use of the available resources, because of lack of knowledge or of capital equipment, and average productivity, already low, falls with every baby born. There is a relative shortage of good land, and millions in India and China are driven to seek a meagre living from infertile soil—soil that is infertile only because capital equipment (such as irrigation works and mechanical ploughs) and the knowledge that goes with it are not available.

Two problems are involved here—a short-term one and a long-term one. The immediate answer lies in the reduction of the population to the present optimum level, while the long-term solution consists in increasing the productivity of the population and of the soil so that the area can support the same numbers, or even greater numbers, at a reasonable standard of life. Let us examine these two problems a little more closely. There are several methods by which the population can be reduced without having recourse to pestilence, famine and war that, in the past, have been so successful in the East.

One of these methods is emigration. Let us say at once that it had two disadvantages. Settlement in a foreign land is never easy. The attachment of family friends, and to one's own native land is very strong, and much strength of character is required to break it: even the goad of starvation may not be sufficient. Moreover, to make a home in distant lands requires a spirit of adventure that, on the whole, is not strong in the East. The language will be different and there will be different laws and customs, and so far as the countries of the East are concerned, it means settlement among an alien race. In the particular case of many Indian sects, religious observances —including the caste system and the preparation of food—put well-nigh insuperable barriers to the migration of individuals. The mass settlement of people having strong nationalistic or religious traits is in many respects undesirable, this is the cause of anti-Semitism and of the strained relations between Negroes and Indians in South Africa. There remain the practical problems of immigtation laws. Would the yellow races, for instance, welcome the influx of large numbers of the brown races? The Indians and Pakistanis are not very happy in one another's company: would either of these raise no objection to the Mongolians? In the New World and in Australia, the entry of coloured individuals is very strictly limited.

The second disadvantage of emigration is that it is usually the young and strong and healthy who go, thus denuding their native land of the very people who are needed for its long-term development.

In addition to this method of reducing the population, there are three passive forms which aim at preventing population from coming into being.

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The first is abstinence from or postponement of marriage; the second is that of moral restraint; and the third is the practice of birth control. The advocacy of any of these methods in the East may well unchain a devil. But both the short-term and the long-term policies require a deliberate restriction of families if we are to avoid the natural checks of disease, famine, and war. Let it be clearly understood that the unrestrained creation of families carries with it the seeds of its own destruction. The problems involved here are immense, and cannot be dealt with here adequately. Perhaps the postponement of marriage and the practice of birth control offer the best cure to overpopulation in the East in the short-term.

Turning now to the long-term view, we have to examine means whereby the productivity of the individual and of the soil on which he so largely depends can be increased. In both cases machinery is indispensable. The countries of the East are largely agricultural. The most superficial traveller through any of these lands cannot but help noticing the deplorably low technique used in tilling the soil. The hard soil is barely scratched by wooden ploughs whose design has not changed in 4,000 years or more. They are pulled by miserable oxen who can hardly drag one foot after another. Dung is used as fuel, so that the soil is denuded of such fertiliser as these animals might provide. Artificial fertilisers are not used, while crops rotation is imperectly understood. To the primitive farmer one seed is very much like another: the evolution of better strains means nothing to him.

In the primary industries—such as agriculture—diminishing returns set in at a much earlier stage than in the secondary or manufacturing industries. Many people, therefore, fear any increase in the population of the countries of the East, which are mainly agricultural, because of this fact. This criticism leaves entirely out of account the concept of a moving optimum and so denies to the existing population the immense advantages that will inevitably flow from improved agricultural methods. It also neglects the advantages to be derived from co-operation and organisation that can be obtained from a large and increasing population.

In the East as in the West the aim must be a greater division of labour and still more specialisation, with the object of maximising production.

It is wrong for a Chinese peasant to spend a leisureless existence barely succeeding in feeding and clothing himself, when by organising his society he can concentrate in producing what his region can produce with comparative advantage, and exchange these goods against others that he needs produced elsewhere under more favourable conditions. The author knows very well that the pre-requisite of this is a settled political outlook, but he does not despair of the Chinese people. There is another factor that arises from a large and reasonably prosperous population. Both India and Pakistan, at least, are becoming increasingly important manufacturing countries, and such things as railways and large-scale production can only be economically worked with a large population.

The greatest monument to the British control of India lies in the capital equipment and the knowledge that have been lavished upon the subcontinent. The population increased enormously, an incontrovertible fact that is due to the neutralising of the tendency to diminishing returns by better organisation. This improved organisation took place throughout the world. There was a tremendous increase in the world's production of foodstuffs. New food producing areas were discovered, and distant areas became productive as a result of improved transport. These advantages are at the disposal of the East. With large-scale irrigation works and by canalising rivers to prevent disastrous floods, it may be possible to grow fine cotton in southern China and even to manufacture this cotton locally. This produce could then be exchanged with advantage against, say, the rice that forms the staple food, and so improve enormously the standard of life of millions. But readers of this review are well acquainted with benefits of international trade, and the point need not be laboured. What must be stressed is that these benefits do not arise without considerable organisation. It has been said earlier in this article that an increase of productivity means the use of machinery—not merely the use of devices such as farm tractors that enable man to work more efficiently and quickly, but of capital works, such as irrigation schemes, canals and railways, that do work that man cannot do. It is here chiefly that we must seek the method whereby to increase the optimum population.

We cannot gainsay the fact that the agricultural holdings of the East are far too small to make use of mechanical methods.

It is absolutely essential that the system of land tenure throughout the East be swept away and substituted by one that will give holdings large enough to take advantage of modern methods. If necessary the laws of inheritance must be changed. This is a very difficult task, but its achievement is essential to improved living standards in these areas. More than one religion of the Orient teaches us of the salutary effects of difficulties overcome. The mere fact that a problem is difficult is no reason why its solution should not be attempted.

The civilisation of the East is still based on human drudges. At best, man is assisted by animals—and poor specimens, at that—in ploughing or traction. It has been said that these methods are

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used in the East because labour is cheap and machinery dear. But labour is the dearest form of power. Consider human porterage: not only are railways much cheaper per ton-mile, but any locomotive will haul weights that are impossible for man, and it does not get tired. This is as true of agriculture as it is of transport or of the manufacturing industries.

Of course, this change-over has already begun in many places in the East, particularly in cotton-mills and in railway transport, but much more remains to be done. In the most important occupation —agriculture—it has not begun. The reward of labour is determined by marginal productivity, and as the productivity of labour throughout the East is low, wages are low. This being so, purchasing power is low and it cannot buy the raw materials, food, and the goods that would lead to a higher standard of life. It is true that the figures of trade between the East and the West make brave showing, but such figures can afford us no satisfaction when we consider what would be the case if the Orient had a standard of life comparable to ours. The world is one economic unit, and poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere. Trade is essentially an exchange of the products of labour. If the product of labour can be increased by the use of mechanical devices, then what it will receive in exchange will be correspondingly greater.

The East will contribute to a much greater extent to the wealth of mankind and will itself participate in this wealth much more than it does at present.

While the human muscle is inefficient, the human intelligence cannot be superseded by any machine. It is in the alliance of machine and brain that the future of the world rests. Only in the East are men still wanted as drudges. This must be altered, and to do this a vast scheme of training must be undertaken. In this part of the world illiteracy is the rule—perhaps not three per cent of the population can read or write. Even with an adequate supply of teachers this would take a generation to remedy. This first step must be taken, whatever the difficulty. Through the written page all knowledge comes. Then will follow the intellectual and manual training that are necessary to make use of machines. When this stage has been reached, man will produce more and work less hard. He will have leisure to enjoy the finer things of life: he will have elevated himself to a higher sphere. The over-populated areas of today will then find that there are not enough men to take full advantage of the resources at their disposal. They will have to increase their numbers to reach the optimum level of population—and this with an incomparably higher standard of living.

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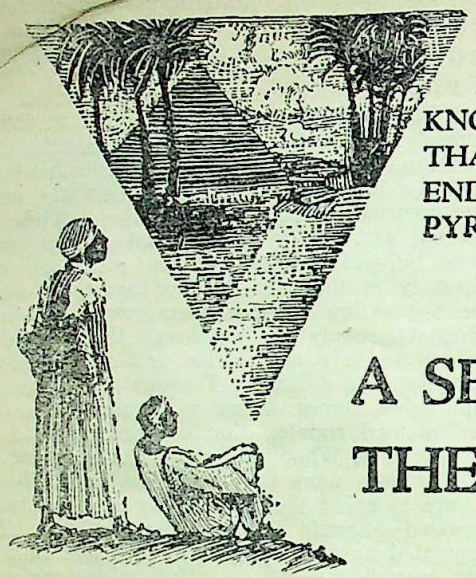

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Confucius: The Man and His Teachings

In an address before the China Institute in London, in celebration of the 2500th anniversary of the birth of Confucius, Dr. Cheng Tien-Hsi, the Ambassador for China, gave the following short talk on Confucius's life and teachings, as published in *The Asiatic Review*, January 1950 :

To-day, thanks to the China Institute, it is my pleasant duty to give a short talk on his life. I may start by saying that in common with all great teachers of history Confucius led a hard life. Not only was his existence one of continual discipline, but more than once he was in actual danger of death from violence or starvation. However, he did not spare himself, for he felt that he had a mission to lead the people into the path of rectitude and righteousness. This he felt was a duty laid upon him by a power outside himself, though, as I said, he never claimed anything like divine powers. Indeed, throughout his writings and the records of his followers, there is no reference to divine inspiration, though on two occasions, when he was in great danger, he, in order to allay the fears of his disciples, did allow to drop from his lips words which indicate that he had a divine mission. One of these passages is: "Heaven having entrusted me with a *sacred duty*, what can Huan T'ui (*i.e.* my enemy) do to me against the will of Heaven?". The other, which is more explicit, is: "Since the death of King Wen has not the cause of culture (*i.e.* truth) been entrusted to me? If Heaven had allowed the cause of culture (*i.e.* truth) to perish, no one who died (*i.e.* lived) after him would possibly have been permitted to acquire a knowledge of that cause. If Heaven does not allow that cause to perish, what can the people of K'uang do to me (against the will of Heaven)?"

However, he himself would certainly hotly disclaim any supernatural power. Indeed, he insisted that modesty was the seed of virtue, and he was so modest that, somewhat in the manner of Socrates, he felt that there was a watching spirit of some kind which warned him when he was about to encounter error. Once he said: "I am very lucky; because, whenever I am wrong, there is bound to be somebody to point it out to me."

However, like all other great teachers, he died in bitter disappointment, thinking that his lifelong work for the benefit of his fellow-men had failed in its achievement. How surprised he would be to-day if he could see that so soon after his death his teaching was to be elevated to the supreme throne of orthodoxy by the State, and that twenty-five centuries later his teaching would be as firmly based in the national mind as ever it had been, and especially that we are assembled here, without distinction of nationality, to do him homage !

Like all truly great men, Confucius held always the most modest opinion of himself. Many of his sayings could be quoted to show how humble he really imagined himself to be. For instance, he would say, "I am able to do many things because I was born humble." On another occasion he would say, "If I could be given more years after fifty to make a profound study of the 'Book of Changes,' I should be free from great faults." The emphasis is, of course, on the word "great," for he would never say he would ever be free from faults, though he once said, "If you know a fault and do not reform it, then it is a true fault," that is to say, to err is human but the error really becomes a fault when you know it and yet do not reform it. Moreover, in spite of the high regard in which his teachings have been held for twenty-five hundred years, he never claimed that he was particularly learned; so simple did he consider his teachings, that he constantly urged the rulers of his time to try for themselves how easy they were and how effective they would prove in setting right the wrongs of his time. He disclaimed once and for all the title of seer or prophet in the religious sense when he declared, "I am a transmitter and not a founder (of a system of ethics or philosophy)"—a fact reflected in Voltaire's poem which I have referred to in the line, "Spoke as a *sage* and never as a *seer*."

Nevertheless the sages of later centuries, especially those who, with wider advantages than their predecessors, had the opportunity to compare the true stature of Confucius with that of other of the world's great men, have unequivocally pronounced him to be the first sage, and, although he said of himself, "I cannot claim to be learned; all I can claim is that I have always loved learning," yet it is the universal opinion of competent judges that he was in fact a very learned, as well as very wise, man.

Confucius had perceived in the hard school of the world of his day that many learned men were not wise and that many were wise who could not be called learned. In numerous illustrations to his followers he would point out the need for both qualities in the men who would presume to lead the world's rulers and men of Government into the right path. That is why he insisted in his doctrine of the Golden Mean that men should cultivate at the same time, knowledge, virtue, and courage, for, though knowledge, virtue and courage are all admirable qualities, none of them without the others can enable one to reach the peak of excellence. Virtue alone may, indeed, be as luminous as a star, but it is only when accompanied by knowledge and courage that it can shine like the sun, whereas either knowledge or courage, if not accompanied by virtue, may often bring about darkness. Confucius possessed all these qualities *par excellence*.

Mencius, who followed him at a distance of more than a hundred years, was perfectly right in proclaiming that Confucius was *facile princeps* among the teachers of the world. To quote his words, "Since there were human beings there has never been one equal to Confucius"; and in the words of an ancient worthy, "The sages among men are the same in kind, but they stand out from their fellow-men and rise prominent above them all, and, in this, since there were human beings, there has never been one so gloriously decisive as Confucius." That verdict has received endorsement in the subsequent centuries, not only from innumerable Chinese scholars but also from many scholars and teachers of the Western world.

It is no doubt the profound humility of Confucius which is at once the most striking of his characteristics and the basis of the judgment of posterity as to his innate greatness. Yet with this deep humility with regard to himself went a penetrating but kindly estimate of others. Many of his followers earned reproof in their discussions with him, but a kindly tolerance softened the asperity of any criticism which the teacher had to administer to them.

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The word "perfect" has often been used of Confucius by scholars not given to easy praise. Only the scholar who has clearly read and treasured all the teachings of Confucius can understand why such a judgment does not appear extravagant when applied to a man who never claimed such a quality for himself.

For it is in the give and take of everyday life when all seems against oneself, that the true character of man is shown. In the words of Confucius himself, "It is only when the time of the year becomes cold that one knows that the pine and the cypress are the last to wilt." The records of the life of Confucius and his followers are sufficiently complete for us to gain a fairly clear picture of his behaviour in all circumstances and under all conditions. His was a life of altruism, which in Chinese is called *Shu*: to act to others as one would act to oneself, or to love others like oneself. On one occasion when he was asked by a leading disciple whether he could formulate in a few words a rule by which one could abide for life, he said, "Is it not altruism: do not do to others what you do not wish to be done to yourself?"

Incidentally to this I should mention that Confucius on a different occasion, in answer to the same disciple, did enunciate the Golden Rule in its positive form. To quote his words: "The man of perfect virtue, wishing to have himself established, endeavours also to have others established, and, wishing to have himself enlightened or advanced, endeavours also to have others enlightened or advanced. To be able to judge of the wishes of others by one's own, and then act to them as one would act to oneself, may be said to be the means of attaining perfect virtue." But on the particular occasion when he enunciated the Rule in the negative form, it was intended to be observed by the average man, moreover, when it is put in the negative form no one could say that he was unable to conform to it, inasmuch as no man could reasonably say that he would do to others what he would not wish others to do to him. In short, Confucius sought nothing for himself, and all he wished was to give his life for the benefit of others.

It would have been only human if, with all the disappointments he had to meet and all the tribulations and dangers he had to endure, he had become embittered and impatient. On the contrary, to the end of his life he sought the fault for his failure only in himself, and not in others. He would say that he alone was unworthy and that, had he himself been better, the teaching he had to give and the ideals he had to set forth to men, would not have been obscured or thwarted by his unworthiness.

This example of his was crystallised in a precept by Mencius, a sage destined to expound his principles and ethics a little more that a century later, namely :

"If you love others and they do not attach themselves to you in return, examine your own benevolence to see if it is perfect. If you govern others and they are not well governed, examine your own wisdom to see if it is perfect. If you behave to others politely, and they do not do so to you in return, examine your own respects to see if they are perfect. Whenever in your action you fail to achieve a desired effect, examine yourself for the cause of your own failure."

But in fact, Confucius did not fail. What was denied to him in his lifetime has been universally and heartily conceded by succeeding ages. If he were to know how widespread his opinions would become and how strong his hold on the mind of the Chinese people would be through the centuries which were to follow, he would be glad for the people—not for his own success.

During his lifetime, the devotion he was able, by sheer force of character and personality, to inspire in his followers, shone through their lives, and in their record of his sayings and doings. One whole section of the Analects is devoted to details of the Master's life: his preference and dislikes showing the path of rectitude, his customary actions and habits showing the examples of correct conduct and good manners. But this is far from being all that we can gather of him. Throughout the Analects and other books of the Confucian Canon we find detailed references to his character and wisdom as well as details of his teaching and learning.

The emphasis everywhere is on righteousness and correctness. Whether it is in dealing with reigning rulers, affairs of State, or the simplest matters of daily life, the invariable rule is that things must be done with a singleness of purpose and in strict accord with the which is right and correct.

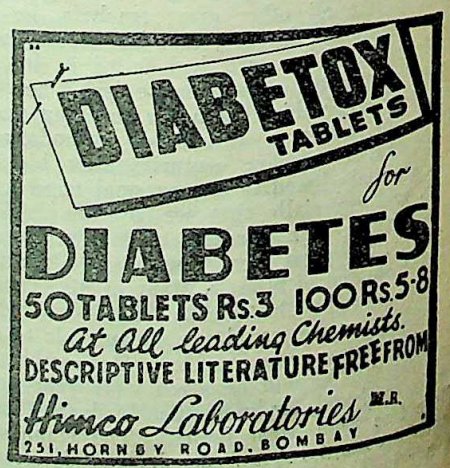
This, moreover, is not a mere rule and pattern, dry-as-dust correctness; it is a human and warm love of the right thing because it is right and because it makes the man who does it feel in tune with the rightness of nature which is the will of God.

The more one studies the works of the Confucian school and the longer one lives among the people who have lived their lives according to the discipline of the ethical system of Confucius, the more readily is seen the explanation of the hold of Confucius and his teaching upon the Chinese mind. It no longer puzzles the man who knows that the great appeal is not merely to faith nor simply to the heart—but to human nature itself, with its vast range of emotions and frailties.

Speaking of the Confucian Analects, the well-known philosopher Ch'eng Tze of the Sung Dynasty said:

"There are people who, having read the Analects, feel nothing at all; there are others who, having read them, feel they have found one or two sentences to their delight; there are others who, having read them, begin to love them, and there are others who, having read them, feel themselves in such an ecstasy that they dance with joy without realising what they are doing."

To the above I may add that the teachings of Confucius are so true to nature, so noble in diction, so lofty in conception, so full of wisdom, and so rich in good sense that, in hours of joy, they give us moderation; in hours of trouble they give us guidance; and, at all times, they serve to purify our hearts, strengthen our character, and pacify our souls. The fact that they are sporadic is itself an additional proof of their genuineness, and the fact that when put together, they form a coherent and systematic whole, pointing in the same direction—from purification of the heart of the individual to the love of mankind—shows convincingly that truth, as they reveal it, is not obscure, transient, or accidental, but clear, permanent, and certain, and that the path of duty for man is one and the same.



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A superficial acquaintance with Confucian theory has led some foreign writers to assert, wrongly, that the system is rigid and unyielding. This is so far from being the case that many foreigners who have come to live in China for purposes of teaching or trade, have themselves been attracted by the wide applicability of the Confucian thesis. Primarily designed for the Chinese of two thousand five hundred years ago, it has not only stood the test of time for my own countrymen, but has also exercised a profound influence on men of all nations and beliefs.

One instance will suffice; his conception of the world as one must have caught the imagination of mankind in these days when the inter-dependence of nations is keenly felt. In order that my audience may have an idea of this conception of his, let me quote his words:

"When the ideal social order prevails, the world is like one home common to all; men of virtue and merit are to be elected to be rulers; sincerity and amity pervade all dealings between man and man; people shall love not only their own parents and own children, but also those of others; the aged, the young, the helpless widows and widowers, the orphans, the destitute, the incapacitated, and the sick shall be well provided for and well looked after, while the able-bodied shall exert themselves in their aid; men shall be appropriately employed and women suitably married; one detests that things are abandoned or wasted on earth, but when gathered or stored up, they are not to be retained exclusively for oneself; one detests that exertion does not proceed from oneself, but its fruits are not to be regarded exclusively as one's own. Thus there will be no, and no cause for conspiracy, robbery, theft, or rebellion, and no need to bolt one's outside door. This is a true Commonwealth."

Many Western psychologists have devoted special study to the Confucian teaching for the very reason that it is based on the fundamentals of human nature—not on human nature as it should be, but as it is. For, after all, it is the business of the Confucian ethics to discover what the nature of man is and wherein it falls short, before proceeding to rectify that which is wrong and to improve that which falls short of correctness.

Thus we see that the Confucian teachings deal with the very essence of man; they go to the heart and soul of humanity. The broad sympathies and deep understanding of Confucius show throughout all his teachings; and that is the true explanation of the firm hold he has exerted for so long upon the minds and hearts of my people.

Workmen's Compensation

The Workmen's Compensation Ordinance, No. 19 of 1934, which came into force in 1935, requires all accidents resulting in the death of a worker within seven days or causing a worker to absent himself for that period to be notified to the Commissioner of Workmen's Compensation. It also provides for the payment of compensation by employers to workers in the occupations enumerated in the second schedule to the Ordinance, for personal injury by accident arising out of and in the course of employment.

Among the thirty-two occupations listed in the second schedule are vehicular transport, manufacture, mining, port labour, quays and wharves, building and roads, estates, outdoor work in Government departments, railway and telegraph services, etc. The Ordinance excludes from its provisions members of the defence forces, the police and persons whose employment is of a casual nature and who are employed otherwise than for the purpose of the employer's trade or business.

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In order to qualify for compensation, a worker must be engaged in any of the listed occupations on wages not exceeding 300 rupees a month, and the injury must have resulted in total or partial disablement for more than seven days. No compensation can be claimed (except in the case of death) where the accident is directly attributable to the worker's own fault, such as drunkenness, disobedience of express instructions or rules and disregard of safety devices. Where death results from the injury, compensation is payable to the dependants as defined in the Ordinance and may vary from 500 to 4,000 rupees depending on the wages of the deceased. Where the disablement is temporary, a half-monthly payment varying from half a month's wages (where the wages are under 10 rupees a month) to 30 rupees (on wages of over 200 rupees a month) is to be made. Where injuries result in permanent total disability, amounts varying from 700 to 5,600 rupees, according to the worker's wages, are payable. For permanent disablement resulting in partial loss of earning capacity the amount is proportional to the loss. Total disability is presumed where both eyes are lost or where the combined percentage loss of earning capacity from several injuries as specified in Schedule I to the Ordinance amounts to 100 per cent. or more.

The amount of compensation is arrived at by negotiation between the employer and the worker concerned. A memorandum of agreement is submitted to the Commissioner of Workmen's Compensation, who may register it on being satisfied that the compensation is adequate. If no agreement is reached, the matter may be referred to the Commissioner for adjudication. Where the compensation is payable to a woman or to a person under legal disability, it is made by depositing the amount with the Commissioner; the amount is then suitably invested or is paid over in monthly instalments.

Compensation is also payable under the Ordinance where a worker contracts anthrax or any of the seven occupational diseases scheduled in the Ordinance, namely, poisoning by lead, phosphorus, mercury, arsenic or by benzene and its homologues, chrome ulceration and compressed air illness. No compensation is payable in respect of any other disease, unless it is directly attributable to a specific injury by an accident covered by the Ordinance.

The Ordinance does not require employers to insure themselves against their liability under it, but permits them to do so with a company specially licensed for the purpose.

The following table shows the number of cases and amount of compensation paid under the Ordinance during the period 1943-1948. It is based on returns furnished by employers.

Table X. Number of cases and amount of Workmen's Compensation Paid, 1943-1948

Year	Number of cases	Amount of compensation paid
		Rupees
1943	5,972	269,432
1944	5,925	302,996
1945	5,565	400,361
1946	5,826	343,612
1947	9,933	436,501
1948	6,670	457,215

Source: Labour Commissioner's Reports, 1945 and 1947; Administration Report of the Director of Social Services for 1948.

During 1948, the number of fatal accidents was 7[illegible] involving 203 deaths, for which compensation amounting to over 131,000 rupees was paid. Accidents resulting in permanent disablement numbered 214, involving compensation of nearly 153,000 rupees, while 6,331 accidents causing temporary disability led to the payment of some 165,000 rupees in compensation.—*International Labour Review*, January 1950.

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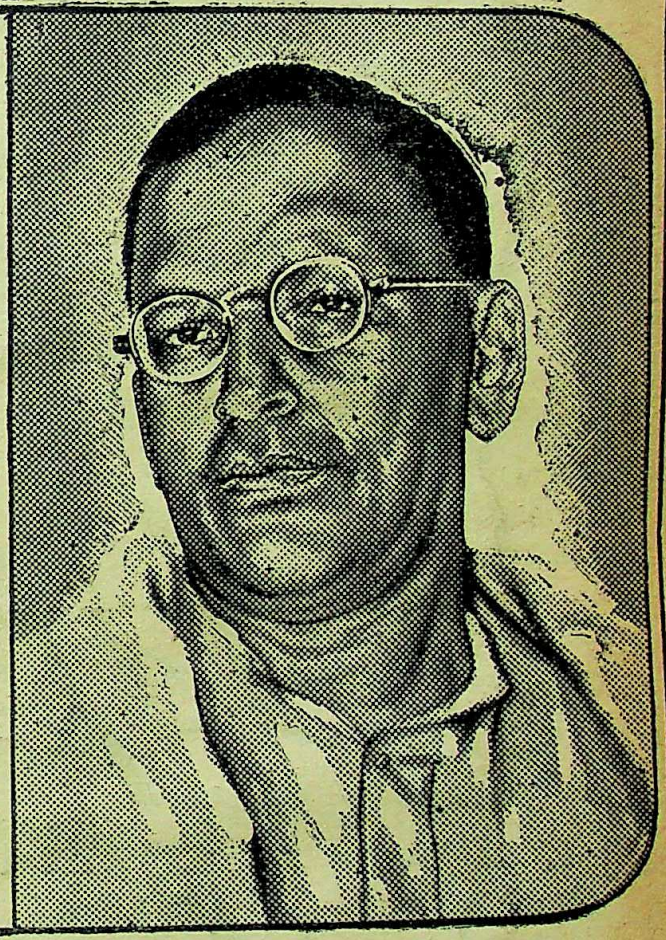

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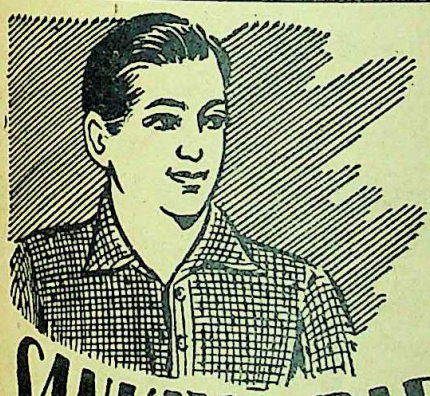

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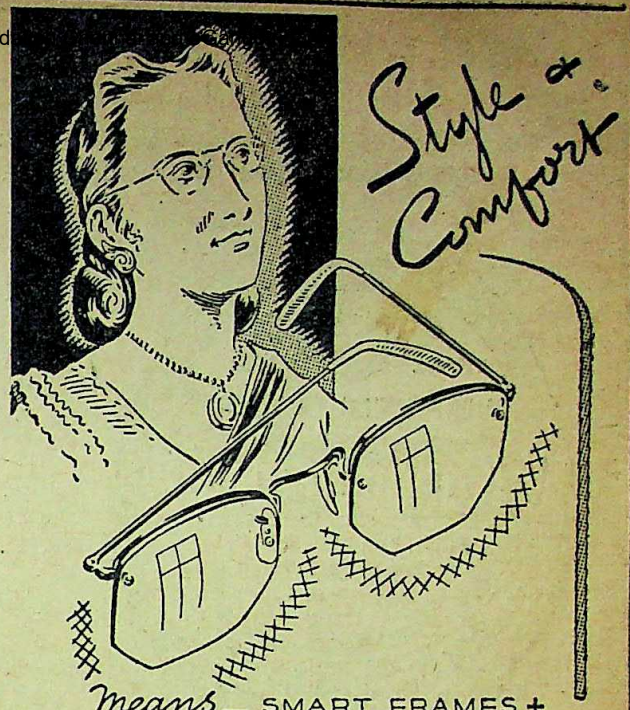

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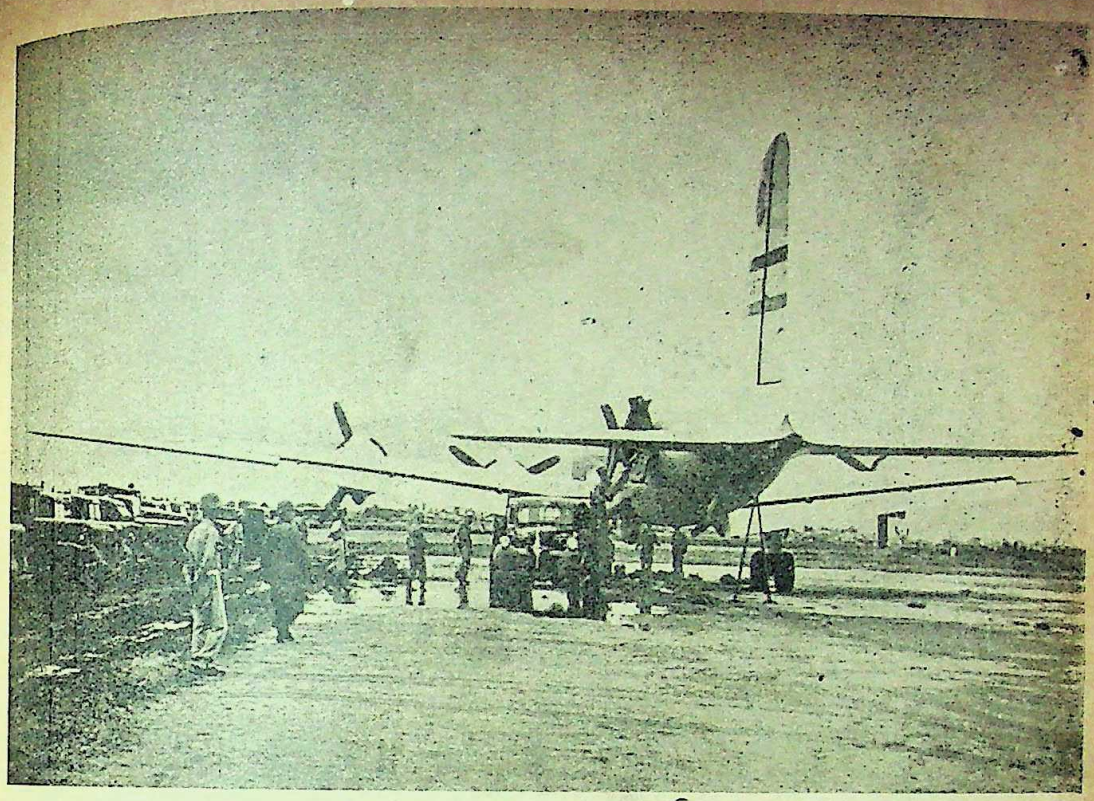
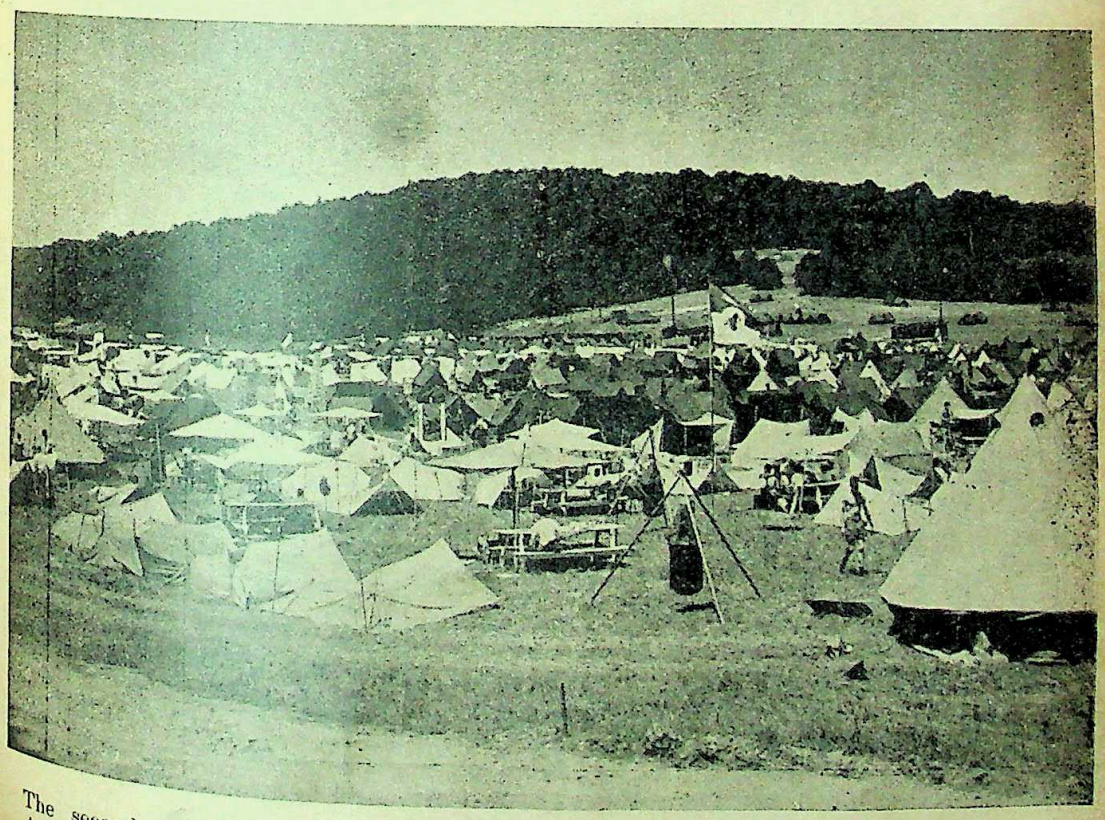


Transport airplanes from a U.S. air base in Japan land at advance bases in the Republic of Korea



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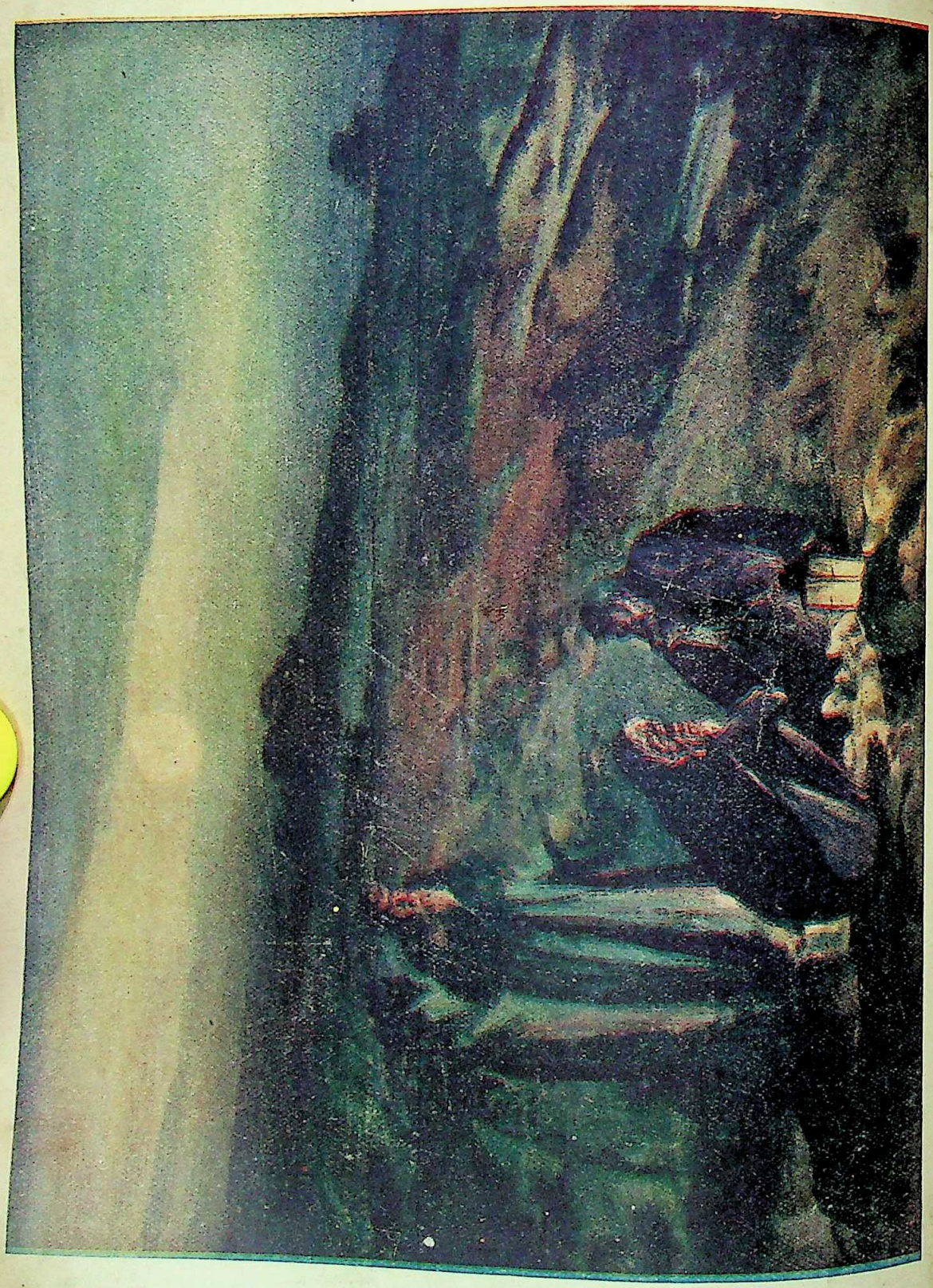

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THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 1950

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NOTES

Kashmir

The failure of Sir Owen Dixon's mission to solve the Kashmir tangle has brought to the fore, once again, a whole host of problems and complications, domestic and foreign. Needless to say, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has not missed this opportunity to aim a dagger-thrust at the back of the unsuspecting Pandit Nehru. The world being preoccupied with the war in Korea and its grim portents, the usual chorus of invectives, imprecations and jeremiads aimed at India has not been forthcoming with the usual promptness. But that lapse has been made up to a great extent by our own domestic band of malcontents and disruptionists, who have hastened to aid the cause of Pakistan against India. On the public platform and on the thoroughfares of Calcutta we hear long-drawn howls and imprecations, and in our daily Press in Bengal, which is under the control of groups who owe no allegiance to the Indian Union, we see columns filled with condemnation of Pandit Nehru.

Our Prime Minister in his exasperation has confessed that the whole Kashmir affair now seems to be like a chapter out of "Alice in Wonderland," so far as the U.N.O. is concerned. But it seems to us that the simile extends much further beyond Kashmir and far deeper into the internal affairs of our own nation than is probably realised.

At a juncture like this in the affairs of our nation, when grave issues are quivering in balance, as if on a knife-edge, the whole country ought to stand solidly and staunchly behind our Chief Executive. The Press should close its columns against the public compositions and ebullitions emanating from party-feuds, private vendettas and insidious disruptive propaganda. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan ought to be made to realise in full the implications of his mendacious cheap-Jack utterances. We regret to have to state that that is not the picture as we see it today. On the contrary.

Three years of Freedom have passed, but where is the enthusiasm and jubilation which marked its coming? It is true that the nation has been sorely pressed by trials and tribulations and that the times are awry. But does that account for the gross distrust and the fears for the future that stalk the country today? Why is it that every false step, every failure, on the part of our Elder Statesmen results in howls of joy, not only from our enemies but also from numbers of those whom we deem to be—rightly or wrongly—the flesh of our flesh? We have had to endure a century and half of starvation, mental, moral and physical, and are new to the Free World, but did the slavery and the blood-sucking exploitation consequent on British domination produce all this perversion or does our inexperience alone justify cretinism on this scale?

Pandit Nehru and his colleagues must concentrate their attention to these ominous signs. We know that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and others of that ilk have proverbial short memories and atrophied consciences, but even so, this last speech, taken in the context of his ebullitions during the U.S.A. tour, shows that he is again regaining confidence in his ability to fool, with impunity, the chiefs of the disunited and discontented nationals of the Union of India. Pandit Nehru must look to the home-front, therefore, while there is yet time. Distrust, Discontent and Want are the evils that are gnawing at the vitals of our Nation and they must be fought without delay. High-powered low-brows are in charge of some of the most crucial problems—such as food production, control and procurement, refugees, enforcement and checking of blackmarketing—and their treacherous satellites, who are in league with the anti-social

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forces, are corrupting the very soul of the Nation.

Turning to the main point at issue, U. N. O. and Kashmir, we will say that it is about time that we alloyed a little realism with our pure, ethereal idealism to deal with situations where we are confronted with the Law of the Jungle, which in modern world-diplomacy is known as Realpolitik. We have to understand, therefore, the factors that led to the present impasse. The statements of the Mediator and the two Prime Ministers are given at the end of the editorials, for our readers to construe for themselves.

It has become necessary, therefore, to go back to the basic issues involved in the Kashmir affair. Jammu-Kashmir was invaded by tribals from the North-West Frontier Province and beyond; the Pakistan Government allowed these marauders to move through their territories; this toleration made them abettors in aggression in the eye of international law. Later on when the tribals were being ejected by Indian forces, the Pakistan Government moved their own forces into Jammu-Kashmir. The U. N. O. was called upon by India to judge of the morality of Pakistan's participation in the invasion of a friendly State. Under pressure of power-politics exerted by Anglo-Saxondom and the Soviet Union, it has never been able to give an honest judgment.

And why? We will allow a former member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, Kunwar Jagadish Prasad, explain the reason. Speaking on February 11, 1949, he said:

> ". . . if the two 'most powerful' members of the Security Council, United States and Great Britain, felt that if Kashmir fell within the sphere of influence of the Indian Republic, the chances of Russian infiltration into India through that region were increased, the decision would go against India. If on the other hand such fears were dissipated, the chances of a decision based on facts would be considerably increased."

Another sober Indian public spokesman Dr. Syed Mahomed, Minister of Bihar, has traced these to Britain's partition of India. In course of a series of articles in the daily press pressing for an Indo-Pakistani joint defence system, he said:

> "There is no doubt that the British realized the tremendous industrial potential of undivided India. Such an industrial potential means war potential. A short period of training, furthermore, could turn the hardy warriors of India with fighting traditions into invincible manpower potential in a modern war. The British could not leave behind this 'Frankenstein' of Imperialism to remain as a potential source of danger. It had to be rendered permanently impotent before their departure.
>
> "The division of India does this completely. It not only annuls the one strategic and economic benefit conferred on us by our late masters but it ensures that we are helplessly at the mercy of intruders as was the Moghul before the British.
>
> "By the separation of the granary from the consumer and the area of raw materials from the area of factories, industrial development has been obstructed and our political power diminished.
>
> "By chopping India and Pakistan into more or less four slices, leaving Assam and East Bengal as bait for some unwary Tantalus, the strategic situation has been made considerably unstable. This division is not only a constant source of conflict, it may put into the head of some foolish politician the idea of inviting a third party to end the dispute or to attempt to swallow its neighbour with dire consequences to the fate of the country."

In these two interpretations lie the secret of the political rivalry of which India, Pakistan and Kashmir have been made victims. Korea is the latest, and we fear, not the last, of them.

The Food Situation

Pandit Nehru has expressed his government's serious concern over the food situation in the country. Although scarcity conditions prevail in parts of Madras, Bihar and West Bengal, no famine is apprehended. So far as West Bengal is concerned, we think it can be stated definitely that as yet there are no indications of famine conditions, excepting to the panicky and to the unscrupulous partisan. Political capital has been made out of the food situation by some small groups but the have-nots of the Congress occupy the centre of the picture. The present local scarcities in West Bengal owe their origin in no small measure to two factors, namely, large-scale smuggling of rice into North Bihar from the four West Bengal districts of Malda, Burdwan, Birbhum and Bankura by bus, train and carts, and hoarding of large stocks of paddy. On a modest guess, the quantity of hoarded grain in this State can be placed at a figure of well over a million maunds of paddy. Curiously enough, all these four districts are under the political influence of the have-nots of the Congress. The present evil tendency of frustrating all efforts to retrieve the food situation can be traced back largely to that vicious campaign by Congress have-nots, which culminated in Shri J. C. Kumarappa advising our cultivators to burn their paddy rather than handing them over to the procurement agents.

Some political scribes have written scaremongering articles in an irresponsible fashion comparing the present food situation with that of the Bengal Famine of 1943 although, in reality, the present scarcity does not come within a thousand miles of that ghastly tragedy. Such unscrupulous writings and speeches do no good to the country but cause some definite harm to those, for whose ostensible benefit they are written, by helping a rise of prices through the creation of panic.

Pandit Nehru's earnest desire to ease the food difficulty cannot be doubted, but he would have done well if he had realised by this time that no useful purpose can be served by the control machinery in dealing with the present difficulty unless it was reshuffled and remodelled from top to bottom. The present control

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department is not only incompetent and completely unworthy of the great responsibility reposed in them but it has proved to be utterly corrupt, selfish and vicious. Unless Pandit Nehru took courage in both hands to displease the larger vested interests and dismiss the corrupt and inefficient officials of the hierarchy of controls, the food and consumers goods scarcity will remain where they were.

Pandit Nehru, in his broadcast to the nation on August 22 last, said that the gravity of the food situation in the country demanded that it be faced in the spirit of a war effort and with the full determination to overcome every difficulty that came in the way.

Pandit Nehru said, "Nature has been most unkind to us during these two months and more. Premature rains ruined the maize crops in north Bihar and then flood in the Kosi river. The south-east monsoon failed for the third time in several districts of Madras. There were floods also in Saurashtra and lack of rain in three districts of Bombay. These vagaries of nature suddenly made an immediate difference to the food situation in these provinces. The Korean war led timid or unscrupulous people to hoard and to put up prices. Large numbers of refugees in Bengal and Assam had to be fed.

"Last of all came a tremendous earthquake in Assam, which not only ruined the crop in many places but broke up the entire communication system by the sinking of roads and railway tracks.

"To add to this, some people started scares of famine in Bengal and Bihar, which added greatly to the difficulties of the situation.

"I am taking you into my confidence because it is right that you should know what the position is. The position has been, and is serious. Nevertheless, it is absurd and foolish to talk of famine. There is at present enough food to go round and our chief difficulty is the heavy strain on our transport, with the result that scarcity pockets had been created where it took some time for food to reach.

"The position is a serious one and we have to put forward our utmost effort, both governmental and public, to meet it. Particularly, there is scarcity of rice not only in India but outside. Assam, for instance, which has to have supplied 100,000 tons of rice to the rest of the country, has become a deficit area. The prices of foodgrains are rising all over the world, and it is not always easy to procure them.

"The international situation continues to be a critical one, and no one knows what the future might unfold. We must not, therefore, rely too much upon imports from outside. Indeed, we must think even more than before of fulfilling our programme of self-sufficiency, not only because that is good for us and we have pledged ourselves to it, but because the compulsion of events demands it. The internal availability of foodgrains must, therefore, be drawn upon. The difficulty of the present and in the near future is not the lack of foodgrains, provided we meet the situation calmly, mobilise all our resources and strengthen procurement and distribution.

"The gravity of the situation demands that we face it in the spirit of a war effort and with full determination to overcome every difficulty that comes in our way. You know that a few days ago we held a conference of Chief Ministers in Delhi. This conference decided :

(1) That food procurement and food production must be organised on a war footing and dealt with, both by the Centre and the States, as matters of highest priority;

(2) That wherever administrative machinery is weak, it is to be overhauled and strengthened;

(3) That procurement should be intensified in all the States, both surplus and deficit, and

(4) That the systems of procurement have to be co-ordinated and rigorously enforced.

"Such an approach can only be successful if there is full co-operation and co-ordination, and I am happy to say that the Chief Ministers assembled in conference took these decisions unanimously.

"This is a matter affecting every person in India, and it should be treated as one above political controversy. Unfortunately, politics enters into the picture and some people use this situation for political purposes and help to create a scare in the country. I earnestly hope that in this matter at least we should rise above the petty politics of the day, and there will be a co-ordinated approach both on the part of Government and of the public to meet this situation.

"For some time past there has been a controversy in the country on the subject of control and decontrol. Some people have thought that we should aim at decontrol. Decontrol is, of course, desirable, if conditions are favourable for it. But let it be clearly understood that there is no question of decontrol at present or in the future. This was almost the unanimous opinion of the conference and even those who had previously been in favour of decontrol, recognised the necessity of carrying on controls. Therefore, there should be no uncertainty on this issue. Controls are going to be continued and to be worked efficiently and rigorously.

"Government have taken other steps also in regard to food supplies and the rise in prices. The Essential Commodities Act has now been applied to a number of other States and there will be a unified direction in regard to these matters. The tendency to look upon State barriers as matters of ensuring food supplies to the State itself, regardless of conditions in other parts of the country, has been arrested. Henceforward, we shall try to maximise the effort to utilise food supplies for the country as a whole. The conference decided that the surplus States were to put forward their highest effort to supply foodgrains to the deficit States. Due provision has already been made to maintain supplies in the deficit States during the lean months of August, September and October.

"This is the Governmental aspect of it. But the public aspect is even more important. If people hoard and create scare and spread alarm and help in raising prices, they commit a crime against the whole country. Therefore the public conscience must not tolerate this.

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(1) Excessive hoarding has now been made a serious offence with a heavy penalty.

(2) Governments, both Central and State, have been armed with powers to keep in detention those who interfere with essential supplies.

(3) Officials, including District Magistrate and the police, have been instructed that any laxity in food administration will be recorded against them.

"There is, I repeat, enough food in the country, but it is true that we may not be able to get the particular food that we are accustomed to. More especially the lot of the rice-eating public is a hard one, for they are unaccustomed to wheat or millet or other diet. But in view of the emergency, old habits and tastes have to be subordinated. People, especially in the northern States, who are accustomed to wheat, should refrain completely from rice, so that others may get it. But all of us should try to adapt our food habits to the existing situation.

"There has been some criticism that the present situation is due to the short import policy of Government. This is not true. In January last, there was a substantial carry-over. This year the internal production is larger by about two million tons. Even so, the import target of 1,500,000 tons has been raised to two million tons. But for the unexpected calamities which have occurred during the last two months, we would have had a substantial reserve and carry-over next January.

"Let us all recognise the seriousness of the situation. But at the same time let us also recognise that we can meet it and have the capacity to meet it and therefore let there be no scare or alarm. Our pledge of self-sufficiency by the end of 1951 holds. It was not a propaganda stunt but the firm policy of Government, behind which lay a great deal of thinking and well-planned effort. Only to the extent of some calamity or to replace food cultivation in some places with cotton and jute required for national purposes, is this going to be varied.

Legislation to Control Rising Prices

The Indian Parliament has unanimously passed a resolution moved by the Industry and Supply Minister assuming powers for the House to legislate on control over trade and commerce, and production, supply and distribution of goods falling under jurisdiction of States. The resolution reads :

"That this House do resolve in pursuance of Article 249 of the Constitution, as adapted by the President under Article 392 thereof and as at present in force, that it is necessary in the national interest that Parliament should, for a period of one year from August 15, 1950, make laws with respect to the following matters enumerated in the States List, namely, (1) Trade and Commerce within the State, subject to the provisions of Entry 33 of List III and (2) Production, supply and distribution of goods subject to the provisions of Entry 33 of List III."

The Industry and Supply Minister explained that the purpose of the Resolution was to arm the Central Government with power to deal with the situation of rising prices in the country. "With all the emphasis at my command and at the command of the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, I can say that we are determined not to allow the prices to go high and higher up," he said.

Dealing with the causes of the rise in prices, the Minister said that inflation had nothing to do with the rise. "The tendency to make easy money is still persisting even though the war is long over. Whenever there is any opportunity there are elements to take advantage of it to make their money."

Prices of imported articles had gradually risen. The House knew that the Government was compelled to revise the O.G.L. to keep the prices down. As a matter of fact, in Bombay, the prices had, comparatively, fallen. "But our financial considerations do not permit large-scale import. Besides unlimited imports have a very deterrent effect on local industries." Here also there was a problem. In his opinion, the Government would have to take recourse to different methods to keep the prices down.

"Government is determined to see that the situation of high prices is never allowed to develop in this country," the Minister said.

Besides the law-making power, there were other methods also. "We have been talking about more production but very little result has been achieved. No law can be administered satisfactorily unless considerable public opinion is mobilised for it. As I have already stated, situation can be tackled more or less satisfactorily by various State Governments by taking recourse to enlisting public opinion."

Mr. Mahtab said, "It would appear, that unless there was some law and unless that was ruthlessly enforced, no satisfactory result would be achieved. The Prime Minister is determined to see that the situation is not allowed to further deteriorate. We must take steps to keep down prices as far as possible and at the same time to take steps which will go to help more production."

Mr. Mahtab warned the House that "if prices are not brought down and they are allowed to go high and higher up, the result would be disastrous,—may be of the type of the big famine of 1943—which in its turn would result in a serious disorder which we cannot conceive of today. Discontent is there; people have not reverted to normal life since the last war. If prices are left to rise, the result will be serious and that would result in great disorder. One of the reasons for discontentment is high prices."

The people have had enough speeches and pious wishes to combat higher prices but the fact remains that the Government have been found faltering whenever faced with stark realities. At every step it has

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been demonstrated that the Government, both at the Centre and in the States, have fought shy at displeasing vested interests and all pious wishes about checking rising prices have come to grief on that rock. Already they posses power in large measure, to stop speculation and profiteering, but we find that only petty dealers and shopkeepers are touched, leaving the top men in the trade to go scot-free for the exploitation of the common man. The Government of India has passed this new resolution for the assumption of powers to legislate for fighting high prices but they have not placed before the Parliament any concrete plans enumerating the measures they proposed to take. High prices are not new, they continue as a legacy of war-profiteering. Central as well as States Governments, excepting in some stray instances in Bombay, have done nothing to check this evil even when they had full knowledge that people will support the Government wholeheartedly in all their attempts to put an end to profiteering and exploitation.

The very existence of the State of India depends on the successful solution of the two problems of high prices and unemployment. The weak anti-blackmarket policy of the Government has made blackmarketing less risky and much more profitable than ordinary avenues of production. This evil has inevitably led to a contraction in the production of essential commodities. Where it is much more profitable to secure a license for some essential commodity and sell it at a sky-rocketing price without any risk of being detected or penalised, what fool is there who would invest money in the building of a factory? So, unemployment increases in the same ratio as blackmarket travels in an upward spiral of highprices. Unless Pandit Nehru takes this grave situation into active consideration with all seriousness that it deserves, the risk of our State foundering on these twin rocks cannot be ruled out by mere legislation.

Contingency Fund of India

The Indian Parliament has passed a Bill for the establishment of what is called a "Contingency Fund of India." The Bill is a corollary to Section 267 of the Constitution. This Section empowers the Parliament to establish a fund into which shall be paid such sums as are determined by law to be placed at the disposal of the President, who makes advances out of the fund for purposes of meeting unforeseen expenditure, pending subsequent authorisation of such expenditure by Parliament. The State Governments also can establish similar funds, known as Contingency Funds of the State and place them at the disposal of the Governor or the Rajapramukh. The Contingency Fund of India is thus different from the Consolidated Fund of India, out of which emoluments, allowances and salaries of the Executive and Judiciary of the country are paid.

Piloting the Contingency Fund of India Bill, the Finance Minister said that the Fund would be used only for meeting urgent and unforeseen expenditure not provided for in the Budget. A part of the Fund would be at the disposal of the Railway Administration, because there was no provision in the constitution for the establishment of a separate Contingency Fund. The Finance Minister said that this did not imply that because of the fund the Ministry was free to spend in excess of the grants. He also stated that in operating the fund, the Finance Ministry would see to it that a healthy convention would be established. It would not be misused for entering into any embarrassing commitments. It would not cover the overall increase in defence expenditure and expenditure on special items like large food subsidies and rehabilitations of refugees. As regards grave emergencies like war, it would be obviously necessary for Government to summon Parliament to vote necessary credit and hence the Fund would not cover war expenditure. He assured that the object of the Fund was not to ignore the Standing Finance Committee.

After adopting the Bill, the Parliament sanctioned a supplementary demand for a grant of Rs. 15 crores to be paid for the establishment and maintenance of the Fund.

The arguments and assurances held out by the Finance Minister are not sufficient to remove doubts from all minds. Spending first and then coming to the Parliament for grants of *fait accomplis* are not compatible with the spirit of democracy. There is nothing in the Contingency Fund Act that will prevail misuse or misapplication of the fund by the Party in power.

Zamindari Abolition in Uttar Pradesh

After four years of discussion and controversy the Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Bill was passed by the Lower House of the U. P. Legislature on August 4 last, and sent up to the Upper House.

It was on August 8, 1946, that the Assembly adopted the Pant Ministry's resolution accepting the principle of the abolition of the Zamindari system and deciding to appoint a committee to prepare a scheme for the purpose. The committee reported in October 1948, the Bill was published in June 1949 and was introduced in the House on July 7, 1949. A Joint Select Committee of the Legislature was then appointed and the committee reported on January 9, 1950.

The Assembly took up the Bill as amended by the Select Committee on January 9 and the first round was over when on January 16 the measure was given the first reading.

A dramatic touch was given to this long process of

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law-making by a Press Trust of India message from Lucknow saying that two million words were spoken during the 63-day debate of the U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Bill passed by the U. P. Assembly.

The Bill which may rank as the most controversial and the biggest legislative measure in the history of the State Legislature has cost the State exchequer Rs. 3 lakhs. 1,450 speeches were delivered.

Notices of 1,300 amendments were given of which about 500 were discussed. The Government accepted 200 amendments—mostly of verbal or consequential nature.

Seven times guillotine was applied and 154 of the 341 clauses of the Bill were passed. 50 divisions were challenged, either by the zamindars or the Socialists all of which were lost.

The importance of the problem that touched the most intimate of the world's economic relations—that concerned with land—justified this labour both of the supporters and opponents of the Bill. It was indicated in the closing speech of the Premier, Pundit Govinda Ballav Pant, from which we collect the relevant points.

The Bill seeks to cut at the roots of the feudal order without destroying the barons. Officially the number of Zamindaris, big and small, in the State is 20,16,000. Among these only 30,000 are the real Zamindars paying over Rs. 250 as land revenue. The number excludes those in the urban areas, the hill districts, Government estates and the newly-merged States. Separate measures for these are in the offing; a bill in respect of the urban areas has already been introduced.

The central idea of the present measure is that land should belong to the tiller; and that the rights of the intermediaries should be acquired on payment of equitable compensation.

With effect from a date to be notified by the Government after the enactment of the measure all the interests of the intermediaries shall be vested with the Government free from all encumbrances. The intermediaries shall, however, continue to be in possession of the land which is in their own cultivation.

Part two of the Bill refers to the new land system. There will be two main classes of tenure-holders, namely, *bhumidhars* and *sirdars* and two minor classes, *asamis* and *adivasis*. The present Zamindars so far as their *sir*, *khudkasht* and groves are concerned, will become *bhumidhars* without having to pay for any of the rights.

Present-day tenants will attain the status of *sirdars* and can acquire the *bhumidhari* rights by paying ten times the annual rent paid by them. The Bill has provided that after the date of vesting, the rate will be eleven times the rent.

Sirdari will be conferred on all tenants with a right of occupancy. A *sirdar* will have permanent and heritable interest in his holding but will not be allowed to use it for any purpose other than connected with agriculture or horticulture or animal husbandry. He cannot keep his land vacant. *Asami* rights will be conferred on tenants or sub-tenants of grove lands, tenants' mortgagees and a few others. Neither the *sirdar* nor *asami* will have to pay for the rights acquired by them. *Adivasis* are tenants of *sir* and sub-tenants. They have been given the right to continue to hold land for five years from the commencement of the Act. They can become *bhumidhars* by paying 15 times the rent after the expiry of the five-year period.

One of the fundamental principles underlying the new land-tenure system is that none of the tenure-holders can let out the land, except the disabled *bhumidhar* or *sirdar*. A *bhumidhar* will be free to transfer his holding to anyone whose holding does not exceed 30 acres. There is no limit on the *sir* or *khudkasht* any of the present tenure-holders can have. In future none can have a holding exceeding 50 acres. Sub-division of a holding will be permitted only if parts so sub-divided are not less than the economic holding of 6¼ acres.

The Bill provides for two types of co-operative farming: small farms of 50 acres or more constituted by voluntary agreement by ten or more cultivators and secondly, co-operative farms comprising all uneconomic holdings in a village. If two-thirds of the holders of uneconomic holdings apply for registration of such farms, the remaining one-third will have to join. Government will give many facilities to such enterprises.

According to the future land revenue system, all the *bhumidhars* and *sirdars* will be jointly and severally responsible for the land revenue assessed on the village. But if a *bhumidhar* or *sirdar* is called upon to pay the land revenue of a defaulter, he may, by application to the collector, recover the amount as arrears of land revenue. In the case of an intermediary turned *bhumidhar*, he will continue to pay the present land revenue and local rates on such land. A *bhumidhar* will pay equal to half of his former rent. A *sirdar* will pay land revenue equal to the rent he is paying.

Government may make such arrangements and employ such agencies for the collection of land revenue as it may deem fit. The ultimate aim is to entrust the *Gaon Sabhas* with the work of land revenue collection through the *Gaon Panchayats*. Clause 274 of the Bill states that Government may, by general or special order published in the *Gazette*, charge a *Gaon Sabha* with the work of revenue collection.

The provisions relating to vesting all common land of the village with the village *Sabha* and charging the Sabha with the work of revenue collection will go down in history as the biggest piece of socialistic legislation. The *Gaon Sabha* will consist of all the cultivators as well as the residents of the village.

Part I of the Bill refers to vesting of the zamindaris compensation and rehabilitation grants and the procedure in respect of acquisition of mines and minerals.

Compensation to Zamindars, big and small, is at the rate of eight times the net assets of the zamindaris

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Besides this compensation to all, Zamindars paying land revenue of Rs. 5,000 or less will be given rehabilitation grants also at graded rates as under :

Up to Rs. 25—20 times the net assets
Exceeding Rs. 25 but not Rs. 50—17 times
Exceeding Rs. 50 but not Rs. 100—14 times
Exceeding Rs. 100 but not Rs. 250—11 times
Exceeding Rs. 250 but not Rs. 500—8 times
Exceeding Rs. 500 but not Rs. 2,000—5 times
Exceeding Rs. 2,000 but not Rs. 3,500—3 times
Exceeding Rs. 3,500 but not Rs. 5,000—2 times

Compensation will be due from the date on which an estate is acquired and will bear interest at the rate of 2½ per cent but if its assessment takes more than nine months interim compensation will be paid to avoid hardship.

Private *waqfs* and trusts will be treated like ordinary zamindaris for the purpose of assessment and payment of compensation and rehabilitation grants. *Waqfs* and trusts or parts thereof devoted wholly to charitable or religious purposes will be assured an annual income equal to the present income.

As regards the manner of payment of compensation and rehabilitation grants, the Bill states that these shall be payable in such form as may be prescribed. It is estimated that the money needed to pay compensation to all will be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 60 crores and that the sum needed for paying rehabilitation grants will run to Rs. 50 crores.

The compensation to be paid comes to about Rs. 60 crores, and the rehabilitation grant to about Rs. 50 crores, as indicated above. Almost half of the former appears to have been already collected in the Zamindari Abolition Fund. A campaign in this behalf was started in October, 1949, and Rs. 26 crores 80 lakhs have been paid into the treasury by owners of 27 lakh holdings; the number of total holdings in the State are 1 crore 55 lakhs.

All tennats who paid into the fund *ten times the annual rent paid by them* would acquire permanent heritable and transferable right in their holdings and the right to use the land for any purpose whatsoever. It was also provided that they shall not be liable to ejectment. Pending passage of the Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Bill, a Bill providing for the acquisition of the *bhumidhari* rights and collection of dues to the Z. A. F. was passed.

The Uttar Pradesh Bill will form the pattern of measures in Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, and those parts of Madras where the Zamindari system exists. Only the future can show whether or not the proposed revolution in India's land system will bring the better living of the widest commonalty of the land that inspires the present generation.

Korean War and India

As we write these lines sixty days have passed since "the Little Stalin" of North Korea, General Kim Il-sung, her Premier and Commander-in Chief, released the dogs of war that threaten the peace of the world. The following write-up culled from the London *Observer* will enable our readers to understand this war :

> "One of the Soviet Union's great advantages in Korea is in the character of its local allies—and particularly of General Kim Il-sung, the Premier of North Korea and Commander-in-Chief of the 'People's Aarmy.' While the Americans have been allied with aged, querulous Syngman Rhee, the Soviets have been able to operate through the dynamic, 37-year-old Communist Chief of North Korea.
>
> Stocky General Kim Il-sung has the distinct advantage of being the most famous hero of the anti-Japanese resistance. So legendary is his fame that the South Koreans have alleged that he is a spurious Soviet substitute for a dead hero of the same name.
>
> Kim Il-sung has a history like Tito's—up to a point. His father, who had been twice jailed by the Japanese, took the family into exile in neighbouring Manchuria. There the young Kim formed his first guerilla group in 1932, when he was still only 19. This grew, under the most ruthless counter-attacks from the Japanese, from 30 to 3,000 young Koreans.
>
> When the Soviet Army took over North Korea in 1945, they had the tremendous advantage of being able to offer General Kim Il-sung to the Koreans as their leader. With General Kim and a number of other Korean Leftists such as the scholarly, 60-year-old (Yenan-trained) Dubong (new President) and Moscow-trained Pak Heung-yong (new Foreign Minister), the Soviets were able to run a 'behind the screen' administration which from the outset preserved the fiction of being run by Koreans."

Under such dynamic leadership, it is no wonder that the North Koreans have been able to stage such an achievement. They are in occupation of three-fourths of South Korea, and with all their bombings, their air superiority, United States military leadership has not yet been able to halt the momentum of their assaults. We were told as late as August 11, that their fighting forces are yet "too few", "lacking in battle experience" and "general toughening up." But this does not explain the whole trouble. The tactics of Kim Il-sung, the flank attacks that his Commanders generally direct against U.S.'s mechanized land formations have upset the latter's "green" troops.

There has since then been tightening up of protective measures against these fifth-column activities. The last two or three days' news appears to show that North Koreans are being held up in certain sectors of the battle front. But the central sector is the key to the situation, and there is no hopeful news regarding it. An appreciation sent out from Tokyo,

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cabled to India from London on August 5, said that *"U. S. staff officers are unofficially predicting a beachhead based on about twenty miles of the coastline and having a perimeter some nine miles deep. Such a beachhead would be about three times the size of the famous Anzio beachhead in Italy during the last war.* It would presumably enclose the delta of the Naktong river and the hills to the north and east of Pusan, the port which at all costs must be retained and secured if the door into Korea is to be left open." The fear expressed therein that this choice would entail the loss of the east coast has not, however, proved true. Pohang has been re-conquered and is still retained, and some sort of an encircling movement of the enemy appears to be in motion.

From this war front we must turn to Lake Success, to the United Nations' Security Council where, with the return of the Soviet delegate, a major propaganda war has been launched. It has continued for 25 days, and shows no signs of ending. As the month's President of the Council, M. Malik has not been able to do much more than holding up its decisions while 7000 miles away battle rages, cities are being bombed, millions of South Koreans have been turned into "refugees" with all its horrors. A month ago the representative of the *Hindusthan Standard* in London cabled that Mao Tse-Tung's Government had approached the U.S.A. and British Governments through India suggesting an "immediate cease-fire" in Korea. The suggestion has not been followed up, and the Soviet Union with its propaganda for peace has not appeared to any advantage by its representative in the Security Council failing to take the initiative in a "cease-fire." He appears to be more concerned with his power-politics. In this *impasse* India's Prime Minister attempted a peace move which has missed its mark because of its strange approach to realities, strange because it took little count of the main factors involved in this grim phase of power politics.

Europe and Germany

Officially and non-officially they have been trying to set up a Parliament of Europe *minus* Russia, if we understand the tendency of discussions. Winston Churchill has been enthusiastic in this matter. But observers appear to be sceptics about its success; one of them cynically says :

"As a solution, Mr. Churchill puts his faith in high-powered conferences and resounding phrases; M. Schuman for France proposes industrial co-operation which Mr. Bevin dismisses as non-functional whatever that might mean. Thus in the face of the gathering storm Europe remains disunited, and even if she had the armoured divisions necessary to equal those of Russia they might not be sufficient to defend her against attack should it come. Added to this, no one in Europe believes there is anything to be done in case of an atomic war."

A *United Press of America* despatch released sometime in July last gives a factual study that does not reveal many hopeful features. The war in Korea had already started, and a fair picture of reactions in Europe will be found in the following :

"The United States has found out in Korea what overwhelming numerical superiority in troops can mean and a look at Western Europe's potential battle-ground today shows another Korea all over again.

It is a strange and sobering fact that the Allies of the Atlantic Pact are the military "weak sisters" of Western Europe. Those nations not in the Russian camp but still outside the Pact—Sweden, Spain, Switzerland and Yugoslavia—are the only ones with really tough, big and ready armies. And they are not committed to defend Western Europe against Soviet aggression.

Germany is the one nation which might have stood as the bulwark of military might. She is split apart and the western part is forbidden to rearm.

British Defence Minister, Emmanuel Shinwell, told the House of Commons on Wednesday that the armies of Soviet Russia presently number about 175 divisions—2,800,000 trained troops.

What has Western Europe available to put up against such an array? Here is the line-up of the infantry strength of the European nations of the Atlantic Pact which could be thrown into action immediately if a war began next week.

Britain : Strongest of the European Allies has an estimated 300,000 men in the home islands and the German Occupation zone. She has some of her best combat troops, about 34,000, in Malaya and Hong-Kong. Another 25,000 are guarding the Suez Canal. The remainder of a total force of 420,000 are scattered in such outposts as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Eritrea and Tripoli.

France : This is the nation which under Atlantic Pact alone should provide the initial infantry bulk. But her army is estimated at slightly over 300,000 men. Of that total 168,000 are overseas with 120,000 tied up in Indo-China alone. France has two armoured divisions and three infantry divisions in Europe, the beginning of an airborne division and a mountain division. But France's strength is always threatened by the danger of Communists within the very ranks of the army.

Holland : This tough little country had 84,000 of its best men in Indonesia two years ago and many of them are still there. Dutch conscripts are estimated at 50,000 men annually for a one-year training.

Belgium : Has an estimated army of 74,000 but only one division—15,000 men—in combat readiness.

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Norway and Denmark should do no more than try to defend their airfields.

Italy's power is nullified by treaty bans against re-arming.

Portugal has a tough little army but she is geographically out of the strategic picture.

Take a look at the nations on the fence: *Sweden* has an army of 300,000 men ready to fight. But she has kept out of the world wars and would like to stay out of a third.

Spain has another 300,000 men and the best defence line—the Pyrenees Mountains—in all Europe.

Yugoslavia has in combat shape the equivalent of about 30 United States divisions or 450,000 men.

Switzerland—no big standing army but 500,000 men and women trained to defend that mountain fortress.

Thus it can be seen that those nations committed to fight Soviet aggression could put little more than 500,000 men in the field at once, while those not in the Atlantic Pact have more than 1,000,000.

There are other considerations, of course: atomic, air and naval considerations. But Korea put the spotlight on the foot soldier and exposed to that spotlight, the Western Allies are woefully weak in Europe."

In all these discussions they appear to be minimizing the importance of the role that Germany will continue to play in Europe in peace and war, or war in peace. It is natural for her people to be waiting and watching, and if possible trying to play off their victors one against the others or one group of them against other. They have been passing through a spiritual travail; the argument between militarism and its reverse has been engaging their thought. The *World Interpreter* of New York a few months ago gave the following account of activities in connection with this problem.

"The Laender or 'States' of South Baden, Bavaria, Wurttemburg-Baden and Berlin have gone further. In Bavaria, for example, 'no citizen can be forced to undertake military service or take part in war industries.'

"Skepticism about militarism, as distinguished from pacifism, is widespread in post-war Germany. This luke-warmness continues in spite of the fact that the Allies have begun to talk about rebuilding German armies.

"The Frankfurt *Rundschau* reported a poll showing that 60.2 per cent of Germans said they wanted no more military service under any conditions. German pollsters for the American High Commission also found military enthusiasm lacking. An overwhelming majority of 3,800 questioned said that they would rather have their boys become businessmen than army officers!

"In Berlin, a 'children's parliament' even voted unanimously that military toys should be boycotted.

"U. S. High Commissioer John J. McCloy, declaring that healthy tendencies far outweigh reported nationalist trends, asserted last month that the 'bulk of the German people have set their faces' against militarism. Still, some Europeans reason that a German army, if made trustworthy, could be 'a stabilizing factor' internally and 'a protective barrier' against Russia. To countless Germans, however, all that is 'old stuff' without appeal today. The West, having won a crusade to abolish military ideas in Germany, is sometimes dismayed."

This account shows that the German people both under Soviet control and under Western control are not being allowed to live and work in peace. And if the "cold war" between the two Power Blocs develops into something more serious, Germans will be forced to fight against one another. As the picture in the New York paper gives but an imperfect picture it would be interesting to have another version indicating the stirrings of a new mind. This is got from an article giving the results of a survey of the kind of books that Germans have been reading at present. We summarize certain of its findings:

"The Germans still read, but only half the population has re-discovered its pre-Nazi passion for books. In the large cities, books are in demand, and men and women make sacrifices in order to buy them. However, books play a far less important role in the individual lives than they did in the first years after World War I. Contemporary Germany has no responsible literary criticism, either spoken or written. Under the Third Reich, the critics, who had once formed a powerful intellectual group and considered themselves heirs to a certain literary tradition, lost intellectual cohesion and their confidence in spiritual values. Discredited by Goebble's propaganda, stigmatized as 'intellectual beasts' (*Intelligenzbestie*) and condemned as half-men, they have not yet managed, five years after the end of the war, to stand on their feet again.

"But if Germans dream of a new world, they also have a morbid taste for reconstruction of their Nazi past. Newspapers and magazines abound in 'revelations' of Hitler's secret life. After Eva Braun's apocryphal memoirs, the illustrated reviews published the recollections of everyone who could pretend to have approached the Fuhrer; his chauffeur, his chamber-maid, his barber. Most of them were simply trumped up by journalists who needed lively copy. Is the success of these revelations a sign of a morbid taste for sensationalism or a pathological enigma which has not yet been completely resolved? In any

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case, the fact remains that Hitler continues to haunt the German mind.

"From this psychological assessment, we come to an interpretation of real facts which promise no good to any body. Germany is another and far more menacing Korea. The two Germanys are two armed camps in which the Atlantic Powers and Russia manoeuvre for an ultimate show-down. If Korea means anything to European nations, it is because they realize that the Korean incident is probably no more than a rehearsal for the German one. Korea may be contained, mediation may finally prevail there but should the two Germanys fight, all Europe would be involved and the dreaded struggle between the Atlantic Powers and Russia would be engaged. At least the Germans themselves seem to appreciate this and play the former Allies off one against the other with diabolic skill. It is as though the Frankenstein monster of Nazi Germany haunted the scenes of its defeat to lead the former Allies to their own ruin."

India and Nepal

On the 31st of July last India and Nepal signed a Treaty replacing the stand-still agreement that had done duty since British withdrawal. The following is its text :

"The Government of India and the Government of Nepal, recognising the ancient ties which have happily existed between the two countries for centuries:

Desiring still further to strengthen and develop these ties and to perpetuate peace between the two countries :

Have resolved, therefore, to enter into a treaty of peace and friendship with each other, and have, for this purpose, appointed as their plenipotentiaries the following persons, namely:

The Government of India : His Excellency Shri Chandreswar Prasad Narain Singh, Ambassador of India in Nepal.

The Government of Nepal : Mohun Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Maharaja, Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, who having examined each other's credentials and found them good and in due form have agreed as follows :

Article 1: There shall be everlasting peace and friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Nepal. The two Governments agree mutually to acknowledge and respect the complete sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of each other.

Article 2. The two Governments hereby undertake to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring State likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two Governments.

Article 3: In order to establish and maintain the relations referred to in Article 1 the two Governments agree to continue diplomatic relations with each other by means of representatives with such staff as is necessary for the due performance of their functions.

Article 4: The two Governments agree to appoint Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and other consular agents, who shall reside in town, ports and other places is each other's territory as may be agreed to. Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and consular agents shall be provided with exequatur or other valid authorization of their appointment. Such exequatur or authorization is liable to be withdrawn by the country which issued it, if considered necessary. The reasons for the withdrawal shall be indicated wherever possible.

The persons mentioned above shall enjoy on a reciprocal basis all the rights, privileges, exemptions and immunities that are accorded to persons of corresponding status of any other State.

Article 5: The Government of Nepal shall be free to import from or through the territory of India, arms, ammunition or warlike material and equipment necessary for the security of Nepal. The procedure for giving effect to this arrangement shall be worked out by the two Governments acting in consultation.

Article 6: Each Government undertakes, in token of the neighbourly friendship between India and Nepal, to give to the nationals of the other, in its territory, national treatment with regard to participation in industrial and economic development of such territory and to the grant of concessions and contracts relating to such development.

Article 7: The Governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on a reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature.

Article 8: So far as matters dealt with herein, are concerned, this treaty cancels all previous treaties, agreements and engagements entered into on behalf of India between the British Government and the Government of Nepal.

Article 9: This treaty shall come into force from the date of signature by both Governments.

Article 10: This treaty shall remain in force until it is terminated by either party by giving one year's notice."

Annexed to it is a Trade Agreement reuglating the trade and commerce between the two countries.

While on the subject, we have to take note of the political development inside Nepal calling for a democratic set-up of the Administration. Maharaja Chandra Shamsher Jung is the de-facto ruler of the State. The agitation for responsible government has been gaining in strength, even members of the Rana family, we find, are in it. We hope that His Highness will respond to the spirit of the times. Across Nepal's northern frontier things are afoot, of Communist activities that cannot be ignored. Now is the time for the rulership of Nepal to enlist the heart's devotion of its people, and stand united in defence of their integrity. In this, His Highness will find the mind of India at his side.

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Indonesia

On 17th August last, the anniversary of the setting-up of the Revolutionary Government in the country on the wake of the Japanese surrender in August, 1945, the Republic of Indonesia, a Federal State, transformed herself into a Unitary State, almost all the constituent units 16 in number having agreed to surrender their autonomous existence. Only one State, Moluccas, appears to have been putting up a fight for autonomy; another Irian or West New Guinea is subject to negotiations between the Indonesian and Dutch authorities; East New Guinea is a mandatory territory under Australia.

This change-over will have certain consequential changes: Djakarta will be the provisional capital of the State; and a Presidential or Ministerial Cabinet remained an outstanding issue, according to *Merdeka* (Freedom) of Delhi of 10th August, to be settled. Indications there are that the latter choice has been made and Dr. Mohammad Hatta resigns his commission as Premier on the inaugural day of the Unitary State. These issues were settled during the Djakarta deliberations of May 19 and 20 last attended by all the Federal and Central Government Ministers except the Federal Minister of Defence and Republican Minister of Justice. It is difficult at present to assess the significance of the absence of these two Ministers or of the party alignments that has been indicated in the following news sent by the *Press Trust of India* correspondent from Djakarta on the 6th August last requiring the resignation of Dr. Hatta:

"When Indonesia reconverts itself into a unitarian State on August 17, its first Cabinet may be a coalition between the two biggest political parties in the country, the Mashumi and the Nationalists, with the Mashumi leader, Mr. Mohammed Natsir, as Prime Minister.

"The present Prime Minister, Dr. Mohammad Hatta, will become the Vice-President of the State. Although Dr. Hatta will give up his role as Prime Minister, political circles expect him to continue to be a dominating force in Indonesia.

"The two major political parties, the Mashumi and the Nationalists, together will command an overwhelming majority in the new provisional Parliament which will consist of 216 members. For the first time Indonesia will thus have a Parliamentary Cabinet ruling by virtue of party strength and responsible to Parliament.

"Mr. Mohammed Natsir, the Mashumi party leader, who is tipped for the Premiership is said to be the most acceptable name for all parties. Mr. Natsir, a staunch Republican ever since the Republican revolution, has been thrice Minister of Information in previous cabinets. In the Cabinet which Dr. Hatta formed after the transfer of sovereignty, he was offered a Cabinet post which he declined, saying that some leaders must keep out of government to organise the parties and to maintain contact with the people. An austere personality, Mr. Natsir's advent into leadership might also bring about the re-entry of Dr. Sjahrir into the Cabinet, thus ensuring for the country active guidance of one of its ablest leaders."

Other facts gathered from different sources throw light on the news quoted above. We will watch how the setting-up of a new Ministry dominated over by a communal party will affect Indonesia's world relations. We do not know as yet what connection there is between the Mashumi party and the Dar-ul-Islam party, a frankly aggressive Muslim party, striving to transform Indonesia into a Shariat-ruled State. It had made an armed attempt about six months back; having failed, the party may be giving parliamentary tactics a trial utilizing the Mashumi party, the Muslim party, to advance its own particular ideal. Whatever be the fact, we will wait and see, at the same time trying to keep abreast of impersonal forces acting in Indonesia, a summary of which is given below:

"The most important and influential political party in Indonesia which enjoys the support of the masses to a considerable extent is the Mashumi or Muslim party. Why there should be a Muslim communal party in a country where sixty-five out of a total population of seventy-two millions are Muslims it has been very difficult to ascertain. When the Dutch were in power the Christian community, numbering about one and a half millions and the mixed race of Eurasians, numbering about one million, enjoyed all the patronage and the loaves of office and power. In the commercial field while the Dutch and other foreigners owned mining, plantation and other industries and enjoyed unquestioned monopoly in the export and import trade of the country, the Chinese, numbering two millions control the retail trade. The result of all this must have been to provoke bitterness in the minds of the Muslims who formed more than ninety per cent of the population.

In the struggle against the Dutch during the last two or three years neither the Chinese nor the Eurasians appear to have participated on the side of the Nationalists. There was one occasion recently when a large number of Chinese residents in and around Djakarta were severely dealt with by the local population. Even today the authorities are perplexed by the attitude of the Chinese population. As long as the Chiang Kai-shek regime existed they flew the Chinese Nationalist flag and the moment the Communist Government came into power they have begun flying the Chinese Communist Government's flag. It is not clear whether they want Indonesian citizenship

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or remain foreigners in the country where they had lived for generations. The Eurasians too, who have been given some time to decide whether they would elect to take Indonesian citizenship or be regarded as foreigners, have not yet come forward in sufficient numbers and without hesitation to seek Indonesian citizenship. In these circumstances an appeal for unity based on religion might have been thought of by the leaders as a very useful one to bring the bulk of the population under one banner in the struggle for national freedom, and this accounts for the influence of the Mashumi party.

The Communist party has as yet only nuisance value in Indonesia, and does not hesitate to exploit any difficulty confronting the Government with alacrity as in India. At the moment the Communists are busy instigating plantation labour to demand more and more wages and Ministers of the Government are alive to the fact that a progressive labour policy would definitely lesson the hold, if any, of the Communists on the labour population.

The one idea uppermost in the minds of the leaders of Indonesia now is that the present situation in the country should be regarded as a national emergency and every one should concentrate on the twin problems of 'political stability' and 'increased production'."

Affairs in East Punjab

Congress leadership has been finding it difficult to stabilize conditions in this North-Western Frontier Province of Bharat Republic. The disturbing element appears to be the Sikhs with their new conceits and ambitions; and they have been playing a game the intricacies of which we do not claim to understand. The Delhi *Organiser* helps throw a little light on political party grouping. Even Sardar Patel, a consistent friend of the Sikhs if there was one amongst Indian public men, appears to be still arguing with this refractory group.

In view of these goings-on we share with our readers what the *Organizer* reported on a recent issue: "Officially and theoretically the Punjab Legislature is supposed to have only one party—the Congress Party with a few independent members who recently parted company from it. But in actual practice the Punjab legislators have been divided into two distinct 'communal' groups, further sub-divided into six smaller personal groups. The non-Sikh Hindu members of the old Congress Party are divided into Gopi Chand Bhargava and Bhim Sen Sachhar groups; the Sikh Hindu members of the old Congress Party are a group apart with their allegiance divided between Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, a member of Congress Working Committee and Sardar Kapur Singh, the Speaker of the Punjab legislature. The Akali members who joined the Congress Party after the partition are divided into Giani Kartar Singh group and Udham Singh Nagoke group. The Ministry-making and un-making business that has been going on non-stop in the Punjab since the partition is the result of rapidly changing alignments of these six groups to serve their personal and group interests at the cost of the Province and the people whom they claim to represent and serve.

The realignment of groups which brought Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava on top seven months ago has undergone some changes during the last two weeks resulting in a further reshuffle in the Cabinet. Giani Kartar Singh, the ministry-maker of the Punjab, whose inclusion in the Cabinet had been earlier vetoed by Sardar Patel when Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, then leader, had asked for it, has now been included in the Cabinet. His inclusion necessitated a similar bait to the rival Nagoke group. So Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail, the leader of the Nagoke Assembly group, has also been included. Thus the Punjab Cabinet now has two Sikh Hindus and four non-Sikh Hindu ministers, including a Harijan. But the group rivalries have resulted in the establishment of a pernicious party formula between Sikh Hindus and 'Caste' Hindus in the Cabinet. So a third Sikh Minister has still to be included. The group politics demands that he should come from among the Congress Sikhs. Of the two Congress Sikhs who can hope to get in, Sardar Partap Singh Kairon is a *persona-non-grata* with Giani Kartar Singh. So he cannot come in. Sardar Kapur Singh who has been Speaker of the Assembly since partition is not sure that a ministership in the unstable Punjab Cabinet would be better than Speakership. So the question of appointment of a third Sikh Minister is still hanging fire. It may become the cause for yet another reshuffle in the near future."

Illiteracy and Hunger

This is the heading of an article in the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization's bulletin *Courier* published sometime back. The writer is fully aware of the socio-political reactions of these twin enemies of human society. Specially in this age when more than 100 crores of ill-nourished and ignorant people spread through different continents are being educated into a new consciousness of these man-made deprivations of their life. The States of the world appear no less anxious to help solve this problem, and the "British" Commonwealth Plan and President Truman's Point-Four Plan are in a stage incubation. Both these are held up by the war in Korea.

The United Nations E. S. C. Organization is, therefore, the only hope of amelioration of the millions in Africa, Asia, Europe and South America.

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And the writer of the article, referred to above, opens it with words that show how urgent the remedy has become: "The connection between learning to read and tending a plot of rice land may seem rather vague—until you sit down at the table of a typical illiterate farmer in Asia. There the tight bond between ignorance and hunger is demonstrated, and much more forcefully than by any column of statistics.

"Multiply this man by hundreds of millions and you have an idea of what education must accomplish in its indirect role as a farm tool. The land of Asia can be made to produce more food, but the men who work it are isolated, by ignorance, from new and improved techniques."

New Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan

Shri Baidyanath Mukherjee has been appointed Deputy High Commissioner for Eastern Pakistan. We do hope that the caution necessary for the selection of personnel in diplomatic service has been observed in the present case. A wrong selection in diplomatic office may lead a country to grief. Our own experience at Washington, Rio-de-Janeiro, Buenos Ayres or Ankara has not been very pleasant. The office of Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca has assumed great importance specially since the Delhi Pact. The newly appointed Deputy High Commissioner has so far followed an opportunist's role in the political field. His first appearance in politics was to oppose and defeat the Congress candidate from the Indian Planters' Constituency of the Assam Legislature. He joined the Muslim League Ministry of Sir Muhammad Saadullah. As soon as he found that Gopinath Bardoloi was coming to power, immediately he let down his League boss and secured a seat on the Bardoloi Ministry. After the Sylhet plebiscite, when that district was lost to Assam, Shri Mukherjee also lost his seat on the Ministry.

Shri B. Mukherjee has large properties in Pakistan. After the October disturbances in Sylhet, he had left Sylhet. This will be his first return since then.

"Pakistan X-Rayed"

Under this heading Shree Hashoo Kemal Ramani, "a refugee from Western Pakistan," has started to write a series of articles in the *Vigil* (weekly) of Delhi, X-raying men and measures in our neighbouring State cut out of India on the 14th August, 1947. The first article appeared on July 22 last, the second on the 12th of August. In this article we have a poignant picture of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in the last year of his life, and the first year of his headship of Pakistan. The revelations made in the Lahore *Pakistan Times* of the last illness of the creator of the State, support the writer's analysis of the situation.

> "Cut off from the best elements of Society with whose help alone in a United India he could have given a determined fight to the mad *mullahs* ...., haunted by his own fears and inhibitions, blackmailed by the extremists in his camp and overwhelmed by the 'revivalist mood' that always dominates a stricken people, the aged Quaid-e-Azam found himself a helpless prisoner in the topsy-turvy world of his own creation."

The writer also explains the nature of the challenge the Quaid-e-Azam was called upon to meet—a challenge to his own "modern, secular way of life." And he gives credit for the gallant but almost hopeless fight. Mr. Jinnah had a play to "the gallery" now and then:

> ".....he stubbornly refused to countenance the *Mullahs* and *Pirs* endeavouring to dictate their own quixotic version of Islamic Society. There were intrigues afoot to inflame the confused masses on precisely the same slogan—'Islam in Danger'—but in danger from the 'Anglo-Muslim leadership which had usurped the State power to initiate an un-Islamic way of life.' Moulana Shabbir Ahmed.....thwarted by Mr. Jinnah's personality even dubbed him as 'Qatil-i-Azam' meaning 'The Great Killer,' while Moulana Abu-ul-Moudidi, a distinguished divine and scholar, refused to sanction the Kashmir raid as 'Jehad'..... The former is dead, but the latter still continues to be the biggest menace to the Liaquat Ali regime with his Jamiat-ul-Islamia, agitating for a pure *Shariat Hukumat*."

"Refugee" Rehabilitation in West Bengal

We have become so used to hearing outcries and slogans about the failure of "refugee" rehabilitation in West Bengal that we are proud to make room for the following report from a "Staff Reporter" of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, published in one of its recent issues. Birbhum and Bankura are not the only districts where the people have taken the initiative in organizing measures of rehabilitation; Bongaon in the 24 Pergannahs has a better record, because this sub-division is just across East Bengal and the people, if the reports that have appeared in the *Sanghatani* be true, have accommodated more than 20,000 East Bengal Hindus and set them up on their economic feet.

"This conclusion is arrived at after watching the working of the plan in about 200 villages in the districts of Birbhum and Bankura where barely nineteen days ago the plan was put into execution. During this time 2,600 refugee families comprising 13,000 men, women and children have found asylum and productive employment.

This also augurs well for the success of this plan when its execution is extended to West Bengal's 30,000 villages with the object of resettling nearly 6 lakhs of refugees. In the next four weeks another batch of 40,000 refugees will be sent by Government for resettlement in the rest of the villages of Bankura and Birbhum districts.

Another reassuring factor has been that within a couple of days of their arrival the refugees instead of remaining as burdens became engaged in productive occupations. West Bengal villages suffer from chronic shortage of agricultural labour. A modest estimate places

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the area of cultivable land lying fallow for labour shortage at 4 lakh acres in these two districts alone. Besides, a good portion of land under cultivation fails to bring any return to their peasant-owners because of irregularity in the availability of labour from adjoining States. The arrival of these sturdy and efficient farmers from East Bengal has been hailed as a boon, and the villagers have placed under each refugee farmer family ten to twelve bighas of land on the basis of 'bhag chas.' The refugee farmers are already on the fields tending the earth for raising the next crop.

Non-agricultural refugees form about 1 per cent of those who have up till now been moved into these villages. They are mostly barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, with a sprinkling of school teachers. Most of them have already started work. A primary school teacher became the object of quarrel among people of two rival villages, each trying to bag him for their respective school. An enterprising barber sat down with his tools soon after detraining and earned rupees three and annas eight in a few hours as the villagers rushed to patronise him and paid him a fancy amount of twelve annas per hair-cut. Washermen among the refugees were literally put on auction and the villagers offered more and more facilities to lure them for settlement in their respective villages, so great is the demand for them.

In order to avoid any additional strain on the village economy the Government provided the refugees when they entrained with cash money at the rate of Rs. 12 per adult and Rs. 6 per minor. Provisions have also been made to extend to each refugee family with a loan of Rs. 500 for purchasing equipment and house construction."

Bengalis in Dhalbhum

Shri Kishori Mohan Upadhya, M.L.A. from Dhalbhum and Shri Narayan Chandra Lahiri, Secretary, Ranchi District Congress Committee, have issued the following statement: "The people of Dalbhum nearly five lakhs in number in the district of Singhbhum were experiencing difficulties for some years in matters educational, legal and in some other spheres of life.

The primary difficulty arose out of the efforts for introducing compulsory Hindi both as a medium of instruction in schools and in law courts. The subdivision, being primarily Bengali-speaking, found these measures too hard for pracitcal purposes. They regarded the abrupt introduction of Hindi and the replacement of Bengali as unwarranted and impractical. They held that they would in the fitness of things learn Hindi, being their State language without rigid and official pressure. For the learning of Hindi would not only be obligatory on every Indian but it should be prompted by a sense of pleasure and profit.

These differences between the people and the local officials entrusted with the introducing of Hindi, were gradually getting sharpened, resulting in the growth of bitterness.

We thought that the Revenue Minister, Shri Krishnaballav Sahay who has intimate knowledge of these places would once visit Dhalbhum and personally acquaint himself with the situation with a view to straighten out the differences and remove the difficulties.

He recently visited Bahargora, Dhalbhum Garh, Chakulia, Patka and Ghatsila, and at all places Congress workers and others had frank and cordial discussions with the Revenue Minister who agreed to place before the Cabinet the demands of the people.

It is heartening to know that the Voters' List for Dhalbhum would now be published in Bengali, thus enabling the people to exercise their franchise without any difficulty. Further, the Revenue Minister agreed that in the primary stages *viz.*, in classes I to III, the medium of instruction should be one's mother tongue. In classes from IV to VII, the medium of instruction would continue to be one's mother tongue, but the student would have to learn Hindi as a compulsory subject. In classes VIII to XI the medium of instruction would be Hindi and one's mother tongue would be taught as a compulsory subject.

The Revenue Minister further suggested that teachers should learn Hindi in due course so that they can equip themselves for imparting lessons in Hindi without importing men from outside.

We find that the old controversy centring round the question of medium of instruction and the need for having Bengali as court language in Dhalbhum have been judiciously met by the decisions arrived at between the peoples' representatives and the Revenue Minister.

We hope the agreed decisions would now leave no cause for controversy or complaints so far the people of Dhalbhum are concerned."

Earthquake in Assam

A disaster of incalculable proportion has overtaken Assam in the shape of an earthquake which was first felt almost all over India on the 15th August last. Guesses of loss of life and property are being made, and every day news since then has been recording mounting figures. We can only accept this natural disaster as part of the world scheme which humans have not as yet been able to understand or control.

We are old enough to remember the earthquake of 12th June 1897 which laid low Shillong, the capital of Assam, damaged the countryside at the foot of the hills, blocked and diverted river courses. The present damages appear to be greater than the last occasion's and more widespread in their sweep. Relief measures on the present occasion have been more quickly rushed into the affective areas owing to modern science's inventions and discoveries. But however generous, these cannot expect to be adequate to the situation. In this crisis in her life the sympathy of all in India will go forth to Assam.

We are, however, more concerned with the future of the Province when its face has been defaced and

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the Brahmaputra has suffered transformations that would affect adversely every department of her life. These have to be accepted. But we have to seek elements of healing implicit in every natural disaster. For that we may have to wait for months.

Hirakud Dam

Oriyas have been building their hopes of material improvement on the completion of the Hirakud Dam. The floods that carry disaster to Orissa will be controlled by it, and fertility spread over the province in the wake of these waters. The young Premier of Orissa made special mention of its utility in course of his first speech to the Legislature as head of the new Ministry. He appeared to have taken special credit for the Congress for the Dam idea. But that "candid" friend of the Ministry, *New Orissa,* has challenged the claim and gave an account which antedates the idea by many years. "It was, we think, in 1925 that Prof. Batheja of Ravenshaw College presiding over the All-Orissa Students' Conference, first mooted the idea of daming the Mahanadi up at Sambalpur to store surplus water during the rains which causes flood havoc in Orissa plains every year. That was, we think, the beginning of the idea. When Gandhiji during his Harijan foot-march in 1934 in Orissa took up the question of floods, Sir Visweswaraya suggested the daming of Mahanadi where it emerges out of the narrow mountainous gorge. The Mahatma discussed the question along with this suggestion with M. Peary Ceresole, the famous Swiss Engineer. Subsequently the question was taken up by the British Government in India. On November 8, 1945—then all the Congress leaders were in jail, and the Congress was an unlawful organisation—a conference of representatives of Orissa, Orissa States, and Central Provinces was held at Cuttack under the chairmanship of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar, then an Executive Councillor in charge of Labour and it was unanimously agreed that the potentialities of the Mahanadi river for unified multi-purpose development, *i.e.,* for flood control, irrigation, navigation and hydro-electric power, should be thoroughly and expeditiously investigated. Subsequently Sir Hawthrone-Lewis, the Governor, ruling over Orissa under Section 93 regime laid the foundation stone of Hirakud. And if there be any credit for it, it goes to Mr. Gokhale, his Adviser."

Apart from this purely historical issue, the credit for the materialisation of the scheme and its initiation on a comprehensive scale, goes to the Congress Ministry of Sri Harekrishna Mahatab and his associates, without doubt.

Pachaiyappa's Charities

The 106th anniversary of the foundation of the Pachaiyappa's Charities in Madras was celebrated a few months back. But as its history has a permanent interest in the annals of modern India, it can never be old, and is worth re-telling in North India specially. It is in line with the Mohsin Foundation that has advanced Muslim education in Bengal.

Pachaiyappa Mudaliar was born at Conjeevaram in 1754, under circumstances which could not be considered by any means to be affluent. He was a posthumous child. His mother moved over to Madras, and sought the protection of Powney Narayana Pillai, a wealthy Dubash of the time. Much of the success of Pachaiyappa's later career, he owed to this kind-hearted and benevolent gentleman who not only educated him, but also settled him as a commercial agent in Madras. By his fortieth year, Pachaiyappa had amassed a big fortune. He died in 1794, dedicating all his wealth to the worship of Siva and Vishnu, to certain religious charities at various temples and places of pilgrimage, and to educational purposes in different localities. The trustees availed themselves of the last of the above objectives to start an educational institution, now developed into the Pachaiyappa's College which can challenge comparison with any in India. It was a pioneer.

The vast estates left behind by Pachaiyappa were not properly administered immediately after his death. Some law-suits had to be instituted to recover certain amounts, and also to prevent them from being misspent. George Norton who was the Advocate-General in 1841 was responsible for getting passed in that year (*i.e.,* 47 years after the death of Pachaiyappa) a scheme under which a sum of nearly 4½ lakhs was set apart for the establishment and maintenance of educational institutions.

The Third Year in West Bengal

Through the courtesy of West Bengal's Director of Publicity we have received a record of the Government's activities during the third year of independence. There is nothing to enthuse over the record and its writer has not been able to dramatize the developments that have caught West Bengal and made her the "problem" Province of the Indian Union, not that there had not been intensely human dramas in our midst. We know that the people have not been all supine; they have undertaken their own good on their own initiative; their activities would give a truer picture of West Bengal as she is.

Indian Revolutionaries Abroad

A Delhi news-item of August 13 announced the decision of a non-official organization to publish a record of the Indian revolutionaries who for about half a century contributed towards bringing freedom to their motherland from abroad. We miss from the tentative list of helpers the name of Dr. Tarak Nath Das of New York

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who is an outstanding figure amongst these revolutionary patriots. The following announcement will be found interesting: "A number of Indian revolutionaries have undertaken this gigantic piece of work which is expected to take over three years to be completed. They are: Sri Trailokynath Chakravarti (Anusilan Party), Pandit Jagat Ram (Ghadar Party), Pandit Parmanand of Jhansi (Ghadar Party), Dr. Pandurang Khankoje (Ghadar Party), Raja Mahendra Pratap (World Federation), Sri M. P. T. Acharya (Berlin and Kabul Committees), General Mohan Singh (I.N.A.), General J. K. Bhonsle (I.N.A.), Col. D. S. Raju (I.N.A.), Seth Govind Das, M.P., Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Editor).

So far only scrappy information is available about the individual struggle of Indian revolutionaries abroad. The projected publication is intended to build into the authentic account of India's internal fight for freedom and similar efforts in Europe, the Americas and the Far East, by patriots who preferred to remain and even perish in exile.

The public have been invited to send to Dr. Lanka Sundaram, Editor-in-Chief, Indian Revolutionaries Abroad Commemoration Committee, Prabhudayal Building, Cannaught Circus, New Delhi, information anecdotes, documents, pictures, etc., dealing with the activities of Indian revolutionaries abroad."

Conduct of a Newspaper

"In judging the conduct of a newspaper editor, a Court of law cannot weigh the material too finely in the balance and has to excuse a little exaggeration here or a small inuendo there,"—thus observed Justice Sarjoo Prasad of Patna High Court while quashing criminal proceedings against Shri D. Shastri and Shri Sheomangal Prakash, Chief Editor and Editor, respectively of the Hindi daily *Navarashtra* of Patna.

"Newspapers," His Lordship added, "are like the proverbial watch-dogs of national interests and public welfare. They may sometimes have to bark even on false alarm but the alarm must be there."

The criminal proceedings had been brought by the manager of the Central Co-operative Bank of Begusarai against the petitioners and Mr. Mulchand Agarwal, Chief Editor of the *Vishwamitra* and Mr. Jagat Narain Agarwal, the common Begusarai correspondent of the two papers, for publishing a report that the stockists of about three thousand maunds of 'arwa' rice in Begusarai had brought the officers of the local Price Control Department under the influence and were deliberately trying to delay its distribution, to have the stock declared unfit for human consumption and to secure permission eventually for its free sale in the market.

Mr. Justice Prasad observed: "A newspaper has a public duty to ventilate abuses and, if an official fails in the discharge of his duties, a newspaper would be absolutely within its rights in publishing news-items even derogatory to such official. But it must be said at the same time that the editor or publisher of the newspaper must get hold of probable facts."

Mr. Prasad said, "He should be watchful not to publish defamatory attacks upon individuals, unless he has taken reasonable pains to ascertain that there are good grounds for believing the information sent to him to be true, in other words he must act with due care and attention."

"In this case," his lordship said, "there did not appear to be any reason why the petitioners should not have relied upon the correspondent concerned. But from the circumstances disclosed on the admitted material there is nothing to indicate that the petitioners have not acted with due care and attention. Therefore, even if the publication was defamatory, there was no want of good faith on the part of these petitioners."

Gopinath Bardoloi

The death of Assam's Premier, Gopinath Bardoloi, at his 59th year, creates a loss which it will take years to make up. For 30 years since the emergence of Gandhiji into the leadership of the country, Gopinath has been struggling for the freedom of his country and has suffered losses in her cause second to none in Assam. He was a lawyer when he joined the Non-co-operation Movement; his elders were Tarunram Phukan and Nabin Chandra Bardoloi under whose lead Assam came to a new realization of her place in India.

Nabin Chandra died untimely; Tarunram joined the "Swaraj Party" formed by Chittaranjan Das, Matilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel and Narsimha Chintamani Kelkar. Gopinath remained to lead the "faithfuls." It was a trial of strength between two schools of political thought, and it tested Gopinath. There were men stronger in political ability than he in Assam's public life—Mohammad Saadulla, Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, Bishnuram Medhi for instance. The first-named was an incorrigible Muslim Leaguer; the second has been fitful in politics; the third is Gopinath's successor in Assam.

But there had been something in Gopinath that made him the obvious choice as leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party in Assam when the chance came for it to accept the Ministry in 1937. It went into the wilderness in October-November, 1939, and returned with renewed strength in 1946. Since then Assam has been passing through strains the chiefest of which came from the British Cabinet Mission's "Grouping" Plan. Public opinion in India *minus* that represented by the Muslim League repudiated the idea, and Assam was saved. There are other difficulties in the way, the most important of which is the multi-cultural constitution of Assam. It requires no little skill to keep satisfied all these desperate elements.

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Dixon's Statement on Mediation Efforts

Sir Owen Dixon, United Nations Mediator in the Kashmir dispute, announced at Karachi on August 22 that he had come to the conclusion that there was no immediate prospect of India and Pakistan composing any of their differences over the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and that he would shortly report to the Security Council.

The following is the full text of the statement issued by Sir Owen Dixon :

"I regret to announce that I have come to the conclusion that there is no immediate prospect of India and Pakistan composing any of their differences over the State of Jammu and Kashmir. No purpose can be served by my remaining any longer in the sub-continent.

"Till now I have thought it necessary for me to say nothing publicly about the course which my attempts to bring about a settlement of the matter were following. I was dealing with the two Governments and I considered that if any disclosure was to be made as to negotiations on foot, it was for them, and not for me, to make it. I believe that the Press in the sub-continent has recognised the wisdom, if not the necessity, of my maintaining silence and I desire to thank the Press for the respect they have shown for the position I thus adopted. But I think that now I should say something about the nature of the attempts that I have made to compose the differences between the two countries with respect to Jammu and Kashmir.

"I arrived in the sub-continent on 27th May, 1950 but until both the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Pakistan had returned everything I did was by way of preparation. The situation that I found was a strange one. The State of Jammu and Kashmir was divided by a cease-fire line. Armed forces serving under the commands of the respective countries occupied the territory on either side of the line. There had been no hostilities since the end of the year 1948. Substantially this state of things had gone on for seventeen months.

"Some measure of agreement had been arrived at between the two countries. It was expressed in the resolution of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan and of the Security Council. All I need say about it is that while it was agreed that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan could be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite, it was also agreed that the plebiscite would be held when certain truce arrangements should be carried out upon which the parties had not then agreed and never have agreed; and further that the details of the proposals should be elaborated in consultation with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions by which the free expression of the will of the people would be assured.

"In this situation I decided that it was my first duty to attempt to bring about an agreement between the two Governments which could enable the plebiscite to be held or at all events enable the preparations for holding it to go forward. Many difficulties have been raised which had proved obstacles to such an agreement and others seemed likely to be raised. I, therefore, worked out a series of proposals of a somewhat detailed nature which were directed to meet these difficulties both as a matter of principle and as practical measure. I invited the two Prime Ministers to meet me at Delhi on July 20. At that meeting, as neither side had any proposal to make, I explained my proposals to them.

"The meeting extended over four or five days and it is hardly necessary to say that the proposals were fully discussed. The discussion covered the possibility of modifying or varying the proposals in some particulars and I threw out suggestions of other alternatives directed to securing the holding of an overall plebiscite but it became increasingly evident that my proposals did not contain or suggest a solution which the Prime Minister of India felt himself able to accept.

"No plan or suggested measures were put forward by either of the parties and at length the two Prime Ministers and I concurred in the view that there was no hope of any agreement being reached upon the measures preparatory for an overall plebiscite.

"There is no difference of opinion upon the view that the possibility had been exhausted of any agreement being reached upon the necessary conditions, including the demilitarisation of the State, which must exist before a general plebiscite could be held.

"In that situation it was evident that I must turn to some alternative suggestions which in the language of the Security Council's resolution under which I act, would be likely to contribute to the expeditious and enduring solution of the dispute which has arisen between the two Governments in regard to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

"I, therefore, stated to the two Prime Ministers that I wished consideration to be given to certain other possible solutions which did not involve an overall plebiscite. It is enough to mention one of these, because that alone has been pursued. It is that wherever the desires of the inhabitants are known, the territory should be partitioned between India and Pakistan in accordance with those desires, due regard, however, being given to geographical, economic, topographical and demographical considerations. But where the desire of the people are uncertain, there a plebiscite should be held for the purpose of ascertaining them. The voting would be confined to that limited area.

"I thought that this form of solution ought greatly to reduce and might even remove the difficulties that had been encountered as to demilitarisation and securing the freedom and fairness of the plebiscite. The fear that an overall plebiscite might lead to further movements of people would also be largely removed. I asked that India should inform me what was her attitude to such a plan for settling the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The conference of the Prime Ministers was then adjourned.

"I remained in Delhi until August 21, conferring

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with Indian authorities. I ascertained that India was prepared to consider a settlement on the lines suggested and had in mind certain principles which might be applied. My information included also the manner in which India would be disposed to apply the principles in defining the plebiscite area and otherwise.

"Having learned so much I came to Karachi for the purpose of obtaining the consideration of the Pakistan authorities of a proposal that a conference of the two Prime Ministers should be held, to deal with the matter. The subject to be discussed at the meeting would be the possibility of settling the Kashmir dispute by an agreement for the partition of the larger part of the State and by a plebiscite limited to the residue.

"I found, however, that the Government of Pakistan continued to stand upon the agreed resolutions of the United Nations Commission specifying an overall plebiscite as the manner of settlement. They were unwilling to enter upon a conference which had for its purpose the discussion of a possibility of settling the matter by partition and a limited plebiscite.

"Even if otherwise it might have been possible to arrange an out and out partition without any plebiscite, it was evident that both parties would in that event insist upon having the valley of Kashmir. This fact I expressly confirmed with both parties. Neither Prime Minister considered that any purpose would be served by another meeting.

"At this stage it looked as if I had exhausted the possibilities of securing a negotiated settlement between them, at all events for the present. But I offered finally to prepare a plan for the settlement of the dispute representing the solution which in my judgment should now be adopted by the parties. I offered to summon a conference at which I would produce this plan for their acceptance or rejection. I did not, of course, exclude the possibility of modifications or alterations by the agreement of the parties.

"In the course of the discussions or negotiations which followed this suggestion, I considered it necessary to disclose some matters which, in my opinion formed essential elements in the intended plan lest they might be found insuperable objections when the proposed conference met. Obviously no purpose could be served in calling a conference that was bound to fail. As to the alternative character of the plan I assured Pakistan that by coming to such a conference, she would not be considered as prejudicing her primary position.

"In the result, however, it became futile to call a further conference. With reference to one matter the view that I adopted and that upon which India too differed so much that I dropped the proposal to produce plan of my own. Nothing remained for me to do. Indeed, as I understood both Prime Ministers even before I made the last proposal, they were unable to suggest anything further that I could usefully do towards bringing about agreement.

"I shall, of course, report to the Security Council. It only remains for me to say that during the period of my work in this sub-continent, I have been treated with the greatest courtesy, consideration and kindness by the Government of India and of Pakistan and also by the people. Greatly as this has contributed to the ease, not to say the comfort, with which I have been able to pursue my duties, there is one thing which would have been of greater value. But that the Governments found themselves unable to do. I refer to the formulation by the respective Governments themselves of plans or measures or proposals for the settlement of the dispute between them. From first to last the burden of formulating plans or proposals has rested upon me. Notwithstanding this I am unwilling to suppose that after all the examination which the problem has received the Governments will be unable to resolve it by negotiation. I trust that they will."

Liaquat Ali's Statement

Pakistan's Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan declared in a Press Conference on August 23 that India was responsible for the failure of the United Nations Kashmir Mediator Sir Owen Dixon's mission.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said, that a heavy responsibility now rested on the Security Council and added: "The Security Council must face facts and ensure that International Agreements are respected and carried out."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said, the failure of Sir Owen's mission was "not due to any lack of effort on his part, or due to want of co-operation on the part of Pakistan. I share his regret that his efforts were not successful."

The responsibility for Sir Owen's failure "lies squarely on the shoulders of India." Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan added, "The Government of India refused to agree to a programme of demilitarisation which is a necessary prerequisite for a free and impartial plebiscite and, indeed for any peaceful solution of the Kashmir question."

Pakistan's stand with regard to Kashmir throughout the three-year-old dispute had been "crystal clear and remains unchanged," he said. "Our constant endeavour has been to ensure the creation of conditions in the State of Jammu and Kashmir under which its people would be enabled to decide, free from all pressure and intimidation, whether the State should accede to Pakistan or to India.

"Pakistan's stand was accepted by the United Nations and the principle of a free and impartial plebiscite was embodied in the resolutions of the United Nations Commission of 13th August 1948, and 5th January, 1949, which have been accepted by both India and Pakistan and endorsed by the Security Council.

"Taken together, these resolutions provide for a cease-fire and demilitarisation of the State, preparatory to the holding of a plebiscite. In pursuance of these resolutions, fighting stopped on 1st January 1949, the cease-fire line was demarcated, and Pakistan was able to persuade the tribesmen and Pakistani volunteers, who had gone to the aid of their persecuted brethren in Kashmir, to withdraw. Pakistan was also prepared to withdraw its

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forces from Kashmir provided the Indian forces were withdrawn in accordance with the agreed settlement. The sole reason why the State has not been demilitarised is India's refusal to withdraw her forces. India also sought to jump the cease-fire line by demanding control over the northern areas.

"After the Commission had exhausted its efforts at mediation, and its arbitration proposal, which had been supported by President Truman and Mr. Attlee and accepted by Pakistan, had been turned down by India, the Security Council asked its President, General MacNaughton, to mediate between the Parties. General MacNaughton's proposals of 22nd December 1949, were accepted by Pakistan but not by India. Lengthy debates in the Security Council ensued before the Council adopted its resolution of 14th March, 1950, which was accepted by both Parties and which Sir Owen Dixon characterised as his 'directive.'

"The Security Council's resolution took into account the substantial measure of agreement on fundamental principles as embodied in the two resolutions of U.N.C.I.P., and Sir Owen Dixon was appointed United Nations Representative to assist the Parties in the preparation, and to supervise the implementation, of a programme of demilitarisation. It also authorised the U.N. Representative to place before the Parties any suggestion which, in his opinion, was likely to contribute to the expeditious and enduring solution of the dispute.

"Sir Owen Dixon's primary task, therefore, was to ensure the implementation of the Security Council's resolution. I readily accepted his invitation to meet him and the Prime Minister of India in Delhi for this purpose. All possible aspects of the Kashmir case were examined during our 17 hours' long discussions. Throughout this Conference, I was ready to fulfil all our obligations in letter and in spirit.

"I was prepared to agree to concrete proposals for withdrawal of the Pakistan army and reduction of the Azad Kashmir forces, provided India was willing to do likewise with regard to its own forces, the Maharaja's forces and the militia. I regret to say that India showed no desire to carry out a programme of demilitarisation and to release its military grip on Kashmir. Not content with obstructing the demilitarisation of the State, the Prime Minister of India put forward demands with regard to the northern areas and the administration of Azad Kashmir, which were not only unreasonable in themselves but were contrary to the agreed settlement. In these circumstances, I agreed with Sir Owen Dixon that no useful purpose would be served by continuing the discussions in Delhi.

"Sir Owen Dixon stayed on in Delhi for further discussions with the Indian representatives. He came to Karachi on August 2 and expressed a desire to explore the possibilities of a settlement. The suggestion which Sir Owen Dixon had chiefly in mind was a plebiscite in the Kashmir Valley and partition of the rest of the State between India and Pakistan. We were given to understand that a resolution on these lines would be acceptable to the Government of India. We told Sir Owen that Pakistan stood firmly by its position under the agreed resolutions of the 13th August, 1948, the 5th January, 1949, and the 14th March 1950, namely that the question whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir should accede to Pakistan or to India must be decided by a free and impartial plebiscite. We also expressed the view that the Indian move towards alternative solutions was solely designed to enable India to get out of its commitment for an overall plebiscite, and that there was no alternative scheme which could provide a fair, just and democratic settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

"Sir Owen fully appreciated our stand but felt that he would not have fully discharged his function as a U.N. Representative until he had exhausted all possible methods of a peaceful settlement. He, therefore, tried to explore the possibility of a scheme of partition combined with plebiscite in a limted area serving as a basis for discussion. But he soon found that India had no intention of agreeing to a free and impartial plebiscite even in a limited area.

"Apparently, India is not willing to risk a free and impartial plebiscite even in an area where it claims to have the largest measure of support of the local population unless Indian troops are in control, an Indian-sponsored administration is in charge and Pakistan is denied access to the plebiscite area.

"Now that the U.N. Representative has found that there is no possibility of agreement on any alternative solution, this must bring everyone back to the only solution on which there is an international agreement, namely, plebiscite in the whole State of Jammu and Kashmir to decide its accession to Pakistan or to India. The world must now recognise that there is no obstacle in the way of an overall plebiscite except India's refusal to honour its commitments under a solemn international agreement.

"Peaceful methods of securing this objective—negotiation, mediation, consultation, proposal for arbitration—have so far led nowhere. The occupation of Kashmir by Indian troops in support of the tottering tyranny of the Hindu Maharaja over a Muslim State against the will of its people was an act of aggression. This was clearly designed to bring about the encirclement and economic strangulation of Pakistan. The refusal of India to withdraw its troops in defiance of the Security Council's resolution is a challenge to the United Nations. A very heavy responsibility rests upon the Security Council. The Security Council must face facts and ensure that international agreements are respected and carried out. The Government and people of Pakistan will not rest until Kashmir is liberated and will determine their future, according to their own wishes."

Asked what would be the effect of the breakdown of the present series of Kashmir talks on the Indo-Pakistan relations, the Prime Minister said, "I have always held, and given public expression to this view, that real friendship between India and Pakistan is not possible so long as the Kashmir question is not settled justly and fairly."

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His reply to a related question whether he foresaw any deterioration of Indo-Pakistan relations as a result of the infructuous Kashmir talks was: "So far as we are concerned we look to each problem separately, and if we have entered into any commitments, we, as men of honour, will carry out those commitments to the best of our ability."

Pandit Nehru's Reply

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, said at a Press Conference on August 24 that with the failure of the mission of the U.N. Mediator on Kashmir, Sir Owen Dixon, "We go back to where we started from."

"If we are up against a blank wall in regard to a plebiscite," said Pandit Nehru, "it is because every time Pakistan warns by pressure to create conditions of special advantage to itself in regard to a plebiscite."

Pandit Nehru, answering questions, said: "The business of Kashmir gets curiouser and curiouser. I do not know how many of you are acquainted with Alice's Wonderland. In Alice's looking-glass, everything becomes gradually inverted and loses its natural shape and appears in a different form altogether. It seems to me, looking back over this Kashmir episode during the last two and half years, that all kinds of attempts are made to leave the real world behind and look at it through some looking-glass where everything is inverted.

"We said to Sir Owen Dixon, 'There has been a tendency on the part of Pakistan not to commit itself to anything but ask the other party to make various commitments and take advantage of anything said on the other side.' So what is the use of our discussing anything unless any proposal that you put forward is accepted by Pakistan as a matter worthy of discussion at least in its broad aspects, apart from its details or final commitments?

"Sir Owen Dixon went back to Karachi and we were informed by him that Pakistan rejected this completely and refused to commit itself even to the idea of considering it in that context because they thought that might weaken their position.

"Nevertheless, he said that Pakistan was prepared to talk about it. We pointed out to Sir Owen Dixon that that was a very unsatisfactory state of affairs. Then he indicated certain other conditions that he had in mind in regard to his proposal for a partial plebiscite.

"The major condition was a complete transfer of the present Government of Kashmir to a United Nations' authority.

"I confess that that took us completely by surprise, because in the course of the last two and a half years or more, no such proposal had been made at all and had it been made, it would have got short shrift from us at any time. It struck us as an astounding proposal from any point of view, so we said that we could not possibly consider it and that was the end of that proposal.

"So Sir Owen Dixon came to the conclusion after four or five days' talks that an overall plebiscite was not possible and then, exploring the possibilities on a partial plebiscite, he came to the conclusion that in the present context that too was not possible. So we go back to where we started from."

"Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan," said Pandit Nehru, "had laid stress on two resolutions of the United Nations Kashmir Commission dated August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949. Both resolutions were accepted by India after certain correspondence with the Commission and on the basis of certain elucidations given by the Commission. We stand by them completely today," Pandit Nehru added.

"Our point is that the various new proposals that have been made are contrary to those very resolutions as elucidated to us. To give you one instance, we laid the greatest stress throughout on the sovereignty of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir over the whole State, including that part of the State which happens to be occupied by Pakistan forces.

"That was agreed to. In fact the Plebiscite Administrator who was to be appointed was to be appointed by the Kashmir State Government and was to report to them, apart from reporting to the Commission.

"Now to be told that the Government itself, which was supposed to appoint and receive the report and all that, is to go and the Plebiscite Administrator becomes the Government and reports to himself, seems rather odd and rather an Alice in the Wonderland business."

In fact, said Pandit Nehru, every single thing that was agreed to by the Commission was sought to be reopened.

In the very first major resolution the Commission said that Pakistan had created a new situation by the fact of their sending troops to Kashmir. It was indeed a very new situation which was created and, therefore Pakistan had to withdraw them.

Pakistan had committed aggression and must go back before any other step was taken. Therefore, the Commission decided that Pakistan troops had to go and other Pakistan nationals and auxiliaries and tribal forces had to go.

The Commission was told that Pakistan nationals, auxiliaries and tribal forces had gone and Pakistan regular forces were actually going away.

Then the Commission said that India should reduce the number of her troops here because the necessity for such numbers had become less.

"There is not much for me to say about Sir Owen Dixon's statement. For a long time past there has been agreement on the question of holding an overall plebiscite, the idea of which, it is well to remember, originated from India.

"Now, while the plebiscite idea has been accepted all round, we have got jammed in the past year or more over the conditions that should precede the plebiscite.

"There was the question of the disbandment of the Azad Kashmir forces, the question of the northern areas and the question of demilitarisation.

"There was no agreement on that and as a result of four days' talk with Sir Owen Dixon, the old disagreements on those issues continued. Then Sir Owen

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Dixon came to the conclusion that it was not worthwhile pursuing any further his idea of an overall plebiscite and the matter practically ended there.

"Later he made a general suggestion to us, 'Would you be prepared to explore other avenues?' We said, 'Certainly we are prepared to explore any avenue which might lead to a settlement.' It was not a definite proposal but just vaguely he put forward the proposal for a partial plebiscite. We said, 'We do not like it and it can be criticised in many ways but we are prepared to consider it in case it might offer some solution.' But we said further that 'we could not consider it even broadly unless Pakistan was also prepared to consider it in the same way'."

"Observe the argument. At no time was it suggested that the question of Pakistan's withdrawal of her troops and our withdrawal was on the same level. It was recognised that the defence of Kashmir was our responsibility. It was recognised that there was aggression and there was the danger of aggression and we should not leave the door of Kashmir open to aggression. It was admitted that the number of Indian troops to be left in Kashmir must be looked upon from the security point of view.

"These were certain admitted facts on which we were proceeding all along. Then the difficulty arose about disbandment and disarming of the Azad Kashmir forces."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, said Pandit Nehru, was "completely wrong" when he said that India was trying to go back on something she had agreed to.

"There was nothing that we have agreed to in the course of our talks in the last two or three years—if we agreed to much that normally we would never have agreed to, we agreed to it because of our great desire for a peaceful settlement—that we are not prepared to honour.

"But we have made it perfectly clear right from the beginning of this Kashmir story that we are not going to accept anything which is harmful to Kashmir, which is against our pledges and which is derogatory to the dignity of India.

"That position holds. We have said that whatever may happen, it is the people of Kashmir who are going to decide their future. I mentioned this Alice in the Wonderland business. The aggressor comes. For the sake of peace we go on agreeing to one step after another, gradually the aggressor wants equality with us in everything and going a step further, the aggressor wants predominance in everything. It is an astounding position from any point of view of national or international law. I cannot conceive of any Government of India—I am not speaking for myself for the moment but any Government of India that may exist now or later—agreeing to the type of proposals that have been put forward for pushing out the present Government of Kashmir just to please Pakistan."

The present Government of Kashmir, said Pandit Nehru, was not put down there from the air. They represented the popular organisation and remained there because of their own strength and not because of legal sanctions alone.

"Undoubtedly we agreed to their functioning there two and a half years ago, but undoubtedly also we agreed because they represented a solid fact."

He was not aware of any Government anywhere, unless they were in a state of disruption, which would accept a proposal for handing over all the Governmental functions to a plebiscite administration or commission during the period of the plebiscite, which might be six months or thereabouts. The Government of India were not in a state of disruption and they did not propose to accept any proposal which was not only so contrary to their dignity and the facts of the situation and went against everything that had been agreed to in the last two years, but was bound to lead to all kinds of trouble because it was so patently a proposal for the appeasement of the aggressor. *Any such proposal meant an open declaration that 'you want the aggressor to succeed'* with all the psychological and other consequences. One did not go about changing Governments in order to ensure fair elections.

"If you do that, you do the very reverse and come in the way of a fair plebiscite. You create conditions which make the plebiscite unfair and unreal. You can very well imagine the kind of advantage Pakistan will get. They will say, 'We have kicked out India,' and the whole atmosphere will be changed. If you want to find out one thing which will make this plebiscite completely unfair, completely artificial and completely unreal, give effect to this proposal to change the Government. That is why I refer to this Alice in the Wonderland business. Everything is upside down. Proposals are made to bring about a fair plebiscite which make it more unfair than it could possibly be otherwise."

"Every time, we have said, have any kind of supervision you like. Bring in a hundred or a thousand observers and make them sit in every corner, every crossroad and every polling booth, wherever you like. But this business of the observer becoming the Government and what is implied in it is another thing. We have talked of the Indian Army in reduced numbers being in Kashmir for security purposes. Now the new Government of the day may not want to tolerate any Indian Army or State Army or State militia. I am not quite sure whether it will tolerate even a policeman. It is a complete uprooting of everything. Why? Because we must have a fair plebiscite. It seems to me really an extraordinarily illogical approach to this question. So far as the Government of India are concerned, it is absolutely impossible for them to accept it, whatever the consequences. There the matter ends."

Proceeding, Pandit Nehru said, "If an overall plebiscite, according to Sir Owen Dixon, is impossible—and may I add that not only because we did not come to an agreement but for a variety of other reasons Sir Owen himself did not think it a very feasible proposition—and if a partial plebiscite is ruled out, then where are we? *We start from the beginning and I think it is about time we started from the beginning and went back to some fundamental realities. There has been too much of proceeding along what I consider wrong premises.*

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"If you start on wrong premises, they lead to wrong conclusions. So I hope that we will remove some of the cobwebs in our thinking in regard to Kashmir, clarify the situation and consider it as it is and not as something which we imagine it should be."

Pandit Nehru said that right from the beginning, "*Our trouble has been the avoidance by the Security Council of considering this very basic question (who is the aggressor). After all, we are accusing Pakistan of aggression, our original complaint. It is a straightforward issue.*

"You remember we simply asked the Security Council to tell Pakistan not to help the raiders. It was a very simple request. Either our facts were correct or they were not. If they were correct, then the logical consequence followed. We made no proposal for doing anything injurious to Pakistan. All we asked for was 'please ask Pakistan not to help the raiders. Not to aid and abet them.'

"Pakistan continued to help the raiders. Then the Security Council passed a resolution calling upon both parties as far as possible not to do anything to worsen the situation. That was in the beginning of 1948. We went on telling the Security Council of this continuing aggression. We complained to the Security Council and to the Pakistan Government that we had evidence that Pakistan troops were also there. Pakistan denied it stoutly and the Pakistan newspapers expressed anger at India's statement that Pakistan troops were in Kashmir. But we had some Pakistan prisoners and war material and denial was very extraordinary.

"Then the Commission came round about May, 1948 and wanted to go to the area of military operations. It obviously became impossible to hide the fact as to who was fighting whom. Then in the middle of 1948 it was admitted privately to the Commission by the Pakistan authorities that they had got Pakistan regular armed forces in Kashmir. Of course, they said they were there to protect themselves against an invasion of Pakistan through the mountain passes of Kashmir. It would have been easier to send our armies to Tibet and Central Asia and come down on Pakistan through the Karakorum Pass. Anyway, Pakistan admitted something which even 24 hours earlier they violently denied to us.

"Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said yesterday that we have committed aggression in Kashmir. I am perfectly prepared for that case to be considered on its merits from every point of view, practical, legal and constitutional or any other. It is because that point was not considered that all this trouble has arisen. It seems to me that when the matter goes to the Security Council, they should consider it from that basic point of view."

"If we come up against a blank wall in regard to a plebiscite," said Pandit Nehru, "it is because every time Pakistan wants by pressure to create conditions of special advantage to itself in regard to a plebiscite." If Sir Owen Dixon's proposal to push out the Kashmir Government and the Government of India was accepted, it would mean 90 per cent of the victory for Pakistan, quite apart from the plebiscite.

"So far as we are concerned," Pandit Nehru went on, "even apart from our pledge previously, our whole method in regard to Kashmir is that the people of Kashmir will have to decide their destiny. They are doing many things there which they think fit and proper. Sometimes we may not agree with them, but we allow them to do it, because it is an autonomous Government cooperating with us in regard to certain subjects and conferring with us on other subjects and we cannot question them in their day-to-day administration."

In accepting a plebiscite, said Pandit Nehru, India had always made it clear that while the United Nations should come and see that the plebiscite was fair, they could not interfere in any way. Another point was that the plebiscite area should be left to decide for itself and no outsider either from India or Pakistan should come and interfere at the time.

"We are quite prepared to keep out of it completely," said Pandit Nehru, "and we have said that Pakistan should certainly keep out of it too."

"We laid the greatest stress on this because we wanted to avoid this plebiscite being utilised for communal propaganda and communal rioting. There will be no decision on merits in that case. We want that propaganda should be completely free in regard to the future of Kashmir but it should not be carried on a religious basis. Let it be on a political or economic basis or any other basis, but a religious appeal should not be made because that will lead immediately to trouble and that will not be a real decision. Let no man or woman from outside the plebiscite area, whether from India or Pakistan, go there during the period of the plebiscite."

Question : Sir Owen Dixon has said that from first to last, the burden of formulating plans or proposals rested on him. Why was that so?

Pandit Nehru : That was almost inevitable in the circumstances because, for one thing, for two and half years all kinds of proposals had been put forward and the matter had been thrashed repeatedly from every point of view. *Another difficulty was that Pakistan would not say a word. If we made any type of proposal, they seized hold of that part of it that was favourable to them, objected to the rest and made the favourable portion their jumping off ground.* They wanted commitments from the other side, leaving themselves completely free.

Answering another question, Pandit Nehru said : "I put the blame hundred per cent on Pakistan for the whole Kashmir trouble."

Pandit Nehru declared : "In spite of the failure of Sir Owen Dixon's mission, we have no intention on our part to indulge in military operations. We still want to settle the question peacefully. Of course, if we are attacked it is a different matter."

Pandit Nehru said that the Government of India would not allow the failure of Sir Owen Dixon's mission to affect other Indo-Pakistan issues. "We are going to deal with other issues on merit and shall try our best to come to a settlement," he said.

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GEORGE BERNARD SHAW
The Superman Come to Life

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Bernard Shaw is an old man who is still young; in an age when the young men are most of them very old. There is a real score for his negative eccentricities, when we can still see him making merry over cold water and cabbages, while men who might be his grandsons or great-grandsons are making themselves miserable over cocktails and champagne. . . . Hope, hearty conviction, the fighting spirit—these are things not so abounding among the youth of our time, that we can fail to salute them in the chief literary veteran of the age."

—The late Mr. G. K. Chesterton : *George Bernard Shaw.*

The above, it will be seen, is mighty praise, indeed: thus does royalty salute royalty. It is an intensely moving tribute from one celebrity to another.

"When the high heart we magnify,
And the sure vision celebrate,
And worship greatness passing by,
Ourselves are great."

Alas, Mr. Chesterton is no more. We could have dispared him in an age of small men. There was (God be thanked !) nothing small about *him*. He was Falstaffian in nearly every sense of the term. There was a largeness, a magnificence, even about his chivalry. Did he not, for instance, once boast that he had vacated his seat in a tram for *three* ladies ? And to recollect that the arch-reviler of the French Revolution should have been impelled to make such a "to-do" about "the age of chivalry being gone"! It must, to be sure, have disappeared *now*—with the disappearance, from our midst, of Gilbert Keith Chesterton. English Letters lost decidedly their most brilliant figure when, a decade or so ago, tiring of a mean world, a world incessantly given to cheese-paring, to counting its candle-ends (literally as well as metaphorically), he was in a desperate hurry to leave us—doubtless to commune with kindred souls in a more spacious universe.

G. K. C. and G. B. S.

I have brought in the name of G. K. C.—with malice *prepense*. There has never been anyone who was a fitter antagonist of Mr. Bernard Shaw, a foeman worthier of his steel, than he. G. K. C. was G. B. S.'s real foil: they were as strophe and anti-strophe. They met on the battle-field "like two clouds over the Caspian." Many were the intellectual bouts between these two giants ; and I consider it a great good fortune that it fell to my lot to be a keenly interested spectator at not a few of them. We all (I trust) remember those celebrated combats in the Mermaid tavern between Shakespeare and glorious "Ben," as reported by Thomas Fuller :

"Many were the wit-combats between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson which two I behold like a Spanish great galleon and an English man-of-war. Master Jonson, like the former, was built far higher in learning, solid but slow in his performance. Shakespeare, like the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk, but higher in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention."

Only, in my humble opinion, it was—notwithstanding his merely physical resemblance to a buxom Spanish galleon—G. K. C. who was the nimbler-witted of the two, and so "could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds." It was superb fun to watch these two wily disputants—both carrying great guns of wit and learning—going at each other like two heavy-weights in the boxing-ring.

My Partiality for G. K. C.

More often than not I found myself sharing Mr. Shaw's views on men and affairs but, if the truth is to be told, my heart was nearly always with Mr. Chesterton. Chesterton, to be perfectly candid, had one foible which not seldom set at naught his wonderful gift of repartee. He could (let it be said *sotto voce* !) be tiresome with his too, too, strident advocacy of his beloved Middle Ages—his special preserve, so to speak. But, loving the man as I did, and feeling in my bones, as it were, that, in *sheer* brain-power, he was the undoubted superior, I felt impelled to side with him rather than with Mr. Shaw, whose brain-power, needless to say, was nothing to be sneezed at, either. It may be that I was wrong in thus being partial to Mr. Chesterton. And it may be also that, having no brain-power of my own worth speaking of, I should not have had the presumption to set myself up as an infallible judge, or umpire, as between two such redoubtable opponents. But, then, the wind bloweth where it listeth, and there are some things that simply cannot be helped: some things in which, as Lowell said, we believe more than we can give a reason for. Did not Andrew Lang observe long ago :

"Each of us has an author who is a favourite, a friend, an idol, whose immaculate perfection he maintains against all comers. For example, things are urged against Scott : I receive them in the attitude of the deaf adder of St. Augustine, who stops one ear with his tail and presses the other against the dust. The same with Moliere ! M. Scherer utters complaints against Moliere ! He would not convince me even if I were convinced."
—*Essays in Little.*

G. K. C.'s Book on G. B. S.

There is no need for anyone to remind me that this is supposed to be an article on Bernard Shaw, not on Gilbert Chesterton. I shall bear it in mind at

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reasonable intervals, as the Master himself suavely retorted in his scintillating monograph on Mr. Shaw. Chesterton on Shaw! A Daniel come to judgment, indeed! The motto that I have appended to my article is from that book. Even if—as is eminently true of most books of Chesterton—it is more a revelation of Chesterton than of Shaw, it is still a revelation of Shaw, and by far the best revelation of him extant. My motto, as I have hinted, being from Mr. Chesterton I have deemed it only civil to mention his name in passing. I do not think that Mr. Shaw will complain. Why, then, should my readers? I would have given a great deal to read Shaw on Chesterton. But that pleasure, for some inscrutable reason, has been denied to us. Of the two Shaw is the older man and the more considerable author: we shall, therefore, have to be content with Chesterton on Shaw, all the more so as every sentence that Chesterton wrote vouchsafed to us, as I have already noted above, a glimpse as much of himself as of Shaw. Chesterton was the wisest interpreter that Shaw has ever had so far: the most sympathetic as well as the most penetrating. Everyone else's interpretation is bound to look footling in comparison with that!

G. B. S.: 94

On July 26, the doyen of English Letters completed 94 years of his strenuous sojourn upon what the poet has called "this Chequer-board of Nights and Days." It must be the ardent wish of all those to whom literature makes an instinctive appeal that the Zeitgeist, Life-Force, *élan vital*, what you will, would so far oblige as to spare him to us until he completes his century at the least, if not, indeed, the three hundred summers that he himself solemnly specifies as the minimum life-span of his beloved Supermen. If, as he insists, mind and not body is what counts in this mysterious business of evolution it should not, I venture to think, prove to be insuperably difficult. For Mr. Shaw is all mind: he is one solid mass of intellect. I have often toyed with the notion that when the Philosopher-Prince in that celebrated rhapsody of his—

> "What a piece of work is man: How noble in reason: How infinite in faculties: in form and moving how express and admirable: in action, how like an angel: in apprehension how like a god: the beauty of the world: the paragon of animals!"—

he must have had an inexplicable prevision of the sage of Ayot St. Lawrence.

Mr. Shaw himself speaks somewhere of his having "cut cerebral capers" in this or that play of his. He has, let me gently remind him, done nothing else since he broke loose from his comfortable berth in the firm of a land-agent in Dublin in that fateful March of 1876 to win laurels in London as a literary figure—"of importance in his day," as Browning would have put it. "Cutting cerebral capers" is the *mot juste*—or, rather, they are the *mots juste*: in other words, performing intellectual acrobatics on the political, scientific, economic, and theological trapezes. It has been a merry game throughout, and he has eminently deserved all the chuckles he has got out of it: so, let me add, have his innumerable readers.

Irish "De Haut En Bas"

The most important fact one has to remember about Mr. Bernard Shaw is, of course, that he is an Irishman: he is Irish *de haut en bas*. Nor is anyone who reads his voluminous prefaces to his plays ever left in the least doubt about it. I like Irishmen "more than somewhat," and I can bear no grudge against any son of Erin for pointedly drawing our attention to the fortunate circumstance of his being a son of Erin. Well, I am a Hindu, and am proud of being a Hindu. It is not at all a bad trait in a man's character to glory in his birth and state. But, all the same, one may have too much of a good thing. Speaking for myself, I would have liked Mr. Bernard Shaw anyhow (that is, even if he had not been born an Irishman), if only for his inimitable English prose style: though, curiously enough, he himself affects to set very little store by it. What Emerson says of Landor may, with equal justice, be said of Shaw also:

> "Of many of Landor's sentences we are fain to remember what was said of those of Socrates, that they are cubes which will stand firm, place them how or where you will."

What Elizabeth Barrett Browning also says of Landor is true, once again, of Shaw himself:

> "In marble, indeed, he seems to work, for there is an angularity in the workmanship, whether of prose or of verse, which the very exquisiteness of his polish renders more conspicuous."

Undue Stress on Being Irish

With me a writer possessing such a bewitching manner of "putting it across" has already won more than half his battle. Add that he is Irish, and I am prepared to eat out of his hands. An Indian likes an Irishman instinctively: have not both had a taste of the rough side of the English jack-boot? I have always regarded Irishmen with considerable affection, and I should have been pro-G.B.S. even if he had not wielded an enchanting pen. But, wielding an enchanting pen, as he does, I have nothing for it but to be all over him and to hug him to my bosom with hoops of steel. That is why I feel that he would have done well not to underline the fact of his being an Irishman to the extent that he has done. His object in being so insistent upon it is, no doubt, the perfectly laudable one of stressing the width of the gulf that separates him from Englishmen as a class. I cannot, however, bring myself to believe that the gulf is so very wide. Besides, Mr. Shaw is not

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typically Irish. The *typical* Irishman is a Catholic: Mr. Shaw is a Protestant. Nearly as wide a gulf, let me suggest, separates a Protestant Irishman from a Catholic Irishman as both from a true-blue Englishman. That Mr. Shaw himself has more than a faint suspicion that the Catholic Irish are the typical Irish is evidenced by this remark of his in one of his prefaces to his plays:

"The Island of the Saints' is no idle phrase. Religious genius is one of our national products; and Ireland is no bad rock to build a Church on. Holy and beautiful is the soul of Catholic Ireland: her prayers are lovelier than the teeth and claws of Protestantism, but not so effective in dealing with the English."—Preface to *John Bull's Other Island.*

G. B. S.: Home-ruler

It is fortunate that, though a Protestant, he is not an Orange-man—if, by that term, is implied a Belfast Tory. I think he says somewhere that, though it is the rule for a Protestant Irishman to be an anti-Home-ruler, he is apt to become a more fierce pro-Home-Ruler even than a Catholic Irishman once he sees the light and enters the Radical tabernacle. Well, Parnell was a Protestant, so perhaps we may take Mr. Shaw at his word. About Mr. Shaw's own political alignment, however, there can be two opinions. he is a Home-Ruler—"with knobs on." Now Ireland is a free country, though, to be sure, there is still that running sore in its body-politic—namely, Partition. It is evident, as recent Indian history amply testifies, that, when the British depart from a country on which they have had a stranglehold for a countless number of years, they do so only after vivisecting it to their hearts' content and leaving a sort of "fifth column" behind: they rarely depart from it with good grace. Nevertheless, Ireland is a free country now—a *much* freer country, let me mention in passing, than our own, with all its "symbolic links," "sovereign independence" coupled with "membership of the British Commonwealth," and all such *abracadabra*—and the vexed question of Home-Rule has ceased to bother anyone. And if it has ceased to bother anyone it is, in no small measure, owing to Mr. Shaw's valiant championship of the cause. All politically dependent people will do well to read, mark, and inwardly digest his masterly preface to his play, *John Bull's Other Island.* As political pamphleteering it is, indisputably, in a class by itself: it forms "a vast species alone," as Cowley said of Pindar. It is so fundamentally sound in its central thesis as to deserve being bound by the young student of politics for a frontlet on his brow and a talisman on his writing wrist.

A Political Testament

In that preface Mr. Shaw demolishes the case for one country dominating another once and for all. I can quote passage after passage from it, piling Pelion on Ossa, as it were, but my space is strictly limited. It is difficult to write a *short* article on G.B.S. He never could write a short article himself, or a short play, or a short preface—least of all, a short preface. His reading is vast and his memory capacious; and, as for his quality of writing, he writes as the Heavenly Choir itself. One idea leads on to another and this to another still—until, before we know where we are, we have a veritable tome to handle. But we diligently peruse these ponderous tomes nevertheless—on account of the excruciatingly entertaining way in which he writes them. Mr. Shaw can be excruciatingly entertaining on *any* topic: else, read his *Revolutionist's Handbook,* which is a sort of tail-piece to his magnificent prfeace to *Man and Superman.* He can write on anything—from a lady's commerce with her looking-glass to man's intercourse with his Maker; and can write on it *con amore* and not from any oppressive sense of duty.

So it is a little difficult to select passages for quotation from his writings. Take his preface to *John Bull's Other Island,* for instance. There are at least a score of pasages crying out to be quoted and all of them more or less equally good. But I shall quote this one in preference to the rest:

> "King James the First proved so cleverly and conclusively that the satisfaction of natural rights was incompatible with good government that his courtiers called him Solomon. We, more enlightened, call him Fool, solely because we have learned that nations insist on being governed by their own consent—or, as they put it, by themselves and for themselves—and that they will finally upset a good government which denies them this even if the alternative be a bad government which at least creates and maintains an illusion of democracy. America, as far as one can ascertain, is much worse governed, and has a much more disgraceful political history than England under Charles I; but the American Republic is the stabler government because it starts from a formal concession of natural rights and keeps up an illusion of safeguarding them by an elaborate machinery of democratic election. *And the final reason why Ireland must have Home-Rule is that she has a natural right to it.*" (My italics.)

G. B. S. and Ireland

I should like to linger over this play (*John Bull's Other Island*) a while longer. It was the first play I read of Mr. Shaw. That was decades ago, and then I read it again more recently. Nor am I making an affidavit that, wind and weather permitting, I shall not read it a third time. I like that "Other Island" even if I do not like "John Bull," and I like Larry Doyle (though a long residence in London appears to have turned him into a prig) and even Matthew Haffigan, that "gnarled snag of a man," as C. E. Montague called him. I may be wrong but I feel

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that there is a lot of Larry Doyle in Mr. Shaw himself. I wonder whether *every* Irishman—like Mr. Shaw and Sean O'Casey and Larry Doyle in this play—is disinclined to return to Ireland once he leaves its elfin shores. Mr. Shaw has recorded that after leaving Dublin in 1876 he set foot there for the first time in 1905—and that, too, "only at the instance of his wife."

The Skeleton in the Family Cupboard

Mr. Shaw's memories of his early Dublin life seem to be the reason for his being so "allergic to" revisiting his native country. And yet Mr. Shaw's lines were not cast in such hard places! He did not belong to the "submerged tenth" of society. It is true that he was not born in the purple, either. Still, he was "a younger son of a younger son," as he has been at considerable pains to inform us, and the wolf was nowhere to be seen near the door. It might not have been Paradise, but neither was it "the other place," and the most of us could, I have no doubt, have contrived to be moderately happy in such circumstances. There was, however, that trouble about Mr. Shaw (senior): that was the one major crumpled rose-leaf under our hero's bed. His *paterfamilias* was given to a little tipsiness: he was often under the weather. As his son confesses pathetically:

> "If you asked him (my father) to a party he was not always quite sober when he arrived; and he was invariably scandalously drunk when he left. Now a convival drunkard may be exhilarating in convival company. Even a quarrelsome or boastful drunkard may be found entertaining by people who are not particular. But a miserable drunkard—and my father, in theory a teetotaller, was racked with shame and remorse even in his cups—is unbearable. We were finally dropped socially. After my early childhood I cannot remember ever paying a visit to a relative's house. If my mother and father had dined out or gone to a party their children would have been much more astonished than if the house had caught fire."—Preface to his novel, *Immaturity*.

G. B. S. in London

London made Mr. Shaw, as it has made many another of his countrymen, and it is worth recording that even in London his lines were not cast in hard places: for was there not his mother to support him? He has made much of the fact that, instead of *his* supporting his mother, *she* supported him. It is not for us to cast a stone at him for thus reversing the normal procedure. Self-confessedly, other men are not like him. Did not a physician assure him once that his eye-sight was perfectly normal—"normal sight conferring the power of seeing things accurately, and being enjoyed by only about ten per cent of the population, the remaining ninety per cent being abnormal?"

I have written that London made him, as it has made many another of his countrymen. I should have written, rather, that it was that distinguished dramatic critic and translator and populariser of Ibsen in England, the late Mr. William Archer, who, more than any other individual, made him. It was he who pulled the right strings, at the right time, and established Mr. Shaw as the dramatic critic of the *Saturday Review*. After that—but *only* after that—Mr. Shaw made himself. It is a moot point whether he could have made himself but for this fortunate accident: because, all said and done, the starting-point of his fame and career was this same appointment of himself as the *arbiter elegentiarum* of European drama on that famous weekly. The *Saturday* (now, alas, no more) specialised in dramatic critics: the list runs from Shaw to Agate. And Agate has confessed that what induced *him* to forsake calico-selling for the far more onerous job of play-boosting or play-damning was the reading of G. B. S.'s dramatic criticism in the *Saturday*!

The Acorn—And the Oak

Frankly, I have not read that criticism. But I have read *Agate's* dramatic criticism—heaps and heaps of it—and what I feel is that if the disciple could write such magnoperative stuff the master's productions must have been epoch-making, indeed! I have written in my book on *Journalism* that, as far as English journalism, at any rate, is concerned, it is the father, mother, and wet nurse combined of English literature. Most considerable English authors started in life as journalists. It was quite appropriate, therefore, that Mr. Shaw should have commenced his journalistic career in the hospitable columns of the *Saturday Review*: it was as good a jumping-off place for his future marvellous success as any other, and a much better jumping-off place than most others. For from that tiny acorn have grown such giant oaks as *St. Joan, Man and Superman,* and *Back to Methuselah*.

"The Discussion-Drama"

Though Mr. Shaw has been many things in his time—I do not mean in the sense of that Duke of Buckingham who, it has been alleged,

> ". . . in the course of one revolving moon
> Was chymist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon"—

though Mr. Shaw, I repeat, has been many things in his time he will, there is no doubt, be remembered chiefly as a dramatist, and as a dramatist who broke entirely new ground in the theatre. To him largely belongs the credit for inaugurating what have been called the "play of ideas" or the "discussion-drama." Stated in such bald terms, of course, it may very well be a fruitful source of confusion. It can hardly be that, before his advent, plays had been completely devoid of ideas or the discussion of them. The English theatre could not have been as deplorably bad as all that. Nor can I bring myself to believe that every sentence of Mr. Shaw is brimful of lofty sentiments. It is one thing to laud a man for certain brilliant and timely innovations; it is quite another to praise him

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without discrimination and to label even his geese swans. Besides—although, to be fair to him, this has been done by him on more than one occasion—it is rather difficult to visualise a play that is so full of the Aristian "cogitabundities of cogitation." It cannot be a play, properly so called, if it is overflowing with

"Thoughts hardly to be packed
Into a narrow act,
Fancies that broke through language and escaped."

A Play's Primary Function

There must, if I may say so, be a teeny-weeny framework of action within which those tremendous celebrations can find full scope for functioning. Mr. Shaw, I must confess, confutes me here with his *Getting Married*. Like the Cheshire cat which is said to be all grin and not enough of cat, that play is all discussion and not enough of play. That does not, however, invalidate my contention that the *primary* duty of a play is to be as compact of action as possible—without any noticeable detriment to its copious cornucopia of ideas; and this in spite of what that profound scholar, Mr. F. L. Lucas, deems fit to say on the subject in his beautiful book on *Tragedy*:

"With primitive man, to think is to act; with his rather more civilised successors, to think is at least to speak; but today the human feelings we dwell on are often submerged in silence, often in subconsciousness. At crises men gaze into the fire, with perhaps a few inadequate sentences. What they are thinking only the novelist can tell us; and he does, to endless length. *But the dramatist finds it hard to control this crowded traffic of our congested souls.*" (My italics.)

Shaw's Influence on the English Stage

I am, frankly, a heretic in this matter. Mr. Somerset Maugham administers the *coup de grace* to the idolisation of Mr. Shaw as the innovator of the discussion-drama. In his revealing autobiography, *Summing Up*, he has no hesitation in saying that the influence of Mr. Shaw on the English stage of today has well-nigh been devastating. He further opines that Mr. Shaw has succeeded on the stage, *not because* he is a dramatist of ideas, *but because* he is a dramatist. Mr. Maugham is himself a dramatist of considerable repute and, as such, has a peculiar right to be heard in this connection. I worship Mr. Shaw like most persons, but worship him "this side idolatry." I am certain that he has not written a slovenly sentence in all his life; but I am certain also that he has written many that he need not have written. His Preface to what he himself regards as his finest play, *Man and Superman*, is, judged by whatever standard, a wonderful piece of workmanship. It is my considered opinion, however, that it would have been an even more wonderful piece of workmanship if he could have brought himself to delete huge chunks from it. One does not wish to mention it, of course, but one *does* get bored now and then by his endless divagations. The amusing story has been told of Swinburne flinging himself on the floor at Dr. Jowett's feet and exclaiming:

"Master, I have never thanked you enough for cutting four thousand lines from 'Bothwell'."

Congenitally prolific writers like Mr. Shaw would do well to remember it when they are in the throes of composition. Coming back to the play of ideas it may interest my readers to note what that eminent dramatic critic of the London *Times*, the late Mr. A. B. Walkley, has to say on Mr. Shaw's contribution to it:

"It is better not to enter into so dangerously controversial a subject as the value of Mr. Shaw's criticism of life; nor is there any need, seeing that he fails to express it in terms of drama. The essential law of the theatre is thought *through emotion*. No character exhibits real emotion in those fascinating exercises in dialectic which Mr. Shaw miscalls plays."

His Decision to Leave Dublin for London

I have mentioned that, forsaking a fairly comfortable berth in the firm of a land-agent in Dublin in the fateful March of 1876, Mr. Shaw the Unpredictable left Dublin for London. Why did he do so? He himself furnishes the answer, and furnishes it, too, without any *mauvais honte*. He had already begun to experience a strange longing for writing: a malady most incident to callow youth. Words early began to make an irresistible appeal to him: their sounds and their nuances. He lisped in numbers, for the numbers came. Finding himself thus a prey to this malady he took the only step that was feasible in the circumstances: he hied himself to London, the intellectual metropolis of the world as well as, in his own expressive words, "the literary centre of the English language and for such artistic culture as the realm of the English language (*of which I proposed to be King*) could afford." That, *and nothing less*, was the impulse that prompted the future author of *St. Joan, Man and Superman*, and *Back to Methuselah* to make the pilgrimage to London and there to choose a career to which, as everyone knows, many are called but few chosen. Our hero, needless to say, saw to it from the very first that he would be among the few chosen and not among the many that fell by the wayside. He aspired to be "the king of the realm of the English language." Who dares to suggest, at this time of day, that he has not succeeded in his overpowering ambition and that, in his hands, English prose has not

". . . become a trumpet; whence he (has blown)
Soul-animating strains?"

A Lord of Utterance

Mr. Shaw, undoubtedly, is a lord of utterance: he writes like one that has been inspired. Curiously

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enough, he has passionately disavowed any intention of becoming a stylist, properly so-called: he denies having added even a single cubit to his stature in this line by taking thought: there had never, it appears, been any heart-rending struggle for the *mot juste* in the Flaubertian connotation of the term. On the other hand, we are asked to believe that words came to him, more or less, "in profuse strains of unpremeditated art": they were there to be picked up, and he picked them up. To put it differently, he has always scored to be a votary in the shrine of *l'art pour l'art*. Conscious effort has rarely formed part of his writing technique. With him the idea has always been more important than the vehicle for it, and he has given expression to the view that, provided the idea is there in the first instance and that it is not too catch-penny, the vehicle for it will be forthcoming in due course and without much expense of spirit in a waste of effort. It is clear from all this that in the eternal battle between "matter" and "manner" he has elected to throw his whole weight (none too inconsiderable) on the side of the former.

Mr. Shaw's Dictum

Mr. Shaw puts his case thus :

> "Effectiveness of assertion is the alpha and omega of style. He who has nothing to assert has no style and can have none: he who has something to assert will go as far in power of style as its momentousness and his conviction will carry him. Disprove his assertion after it is made, yet its style remains."

He proceeds :

> "Darwin has no more destroyed the style of Job nor of Handel than Martin Luther destroyed the style of Giotto. All the assertions get disproved sooner or later; and so we find the world full of magnificent debris of artistic fossils, with the matter-of-fact credibility gone clean out of them, but the form still splendid. And that is why the old masters play the deuce with our mere susceptibles. Your Royal Academician thinks he can get the style of Giotto without Giotto's beliefs and correct his perspectives into the bargain. Your man of letters thinks he can get Bunyan's or Shakespeare's style without Bunyan's conviction or Shakespeare's apprehension, especially if he takes care not to split his infinitives."—Preface to *Man and Superman*.

His Own Example Belies His Doctrine

There is, of course, a lot to be said for this view of the matter; and, even if anything can be advanced against it, Mr. Shaw will still win his point by the simple fact of his own illustrious example. He wishes to prove that art is principally didactic and that, such being the case, it can afford to dispense with all frills and furbelows, with all merely adventitious aids to expression. It is true that he himself has always had a message—a red-hot message—to impart and that, while striving to impart it, his mind has never ceased to burn with a hard gem-like flame: he has been the most didactic writer of his generation. Has he not, for instance, somewhere confessed his wholehearted preference for "the cart and the trumpet"? We, however, do not go to him now for the purely doctrinal content of his plays and prefaces and pamphlets: we go to him for his delightful style, for the fascinating manner in which he propagates those doctrines. Mr. Shaw's English prose is so seductively beautiful that it is really difficult for us to believe that, once the substance of them had been decided upon, his books wrote themselves. Writing is an art like another. If anything, it is the most difficult art of all. It has its own rigours, if also its own ardours. There are some well-defined courses of study for the other arts; and with all these, surprisingly few persons are ever able to make a name for themselves. In regard to style, however, there are no recognised text-books, the guiding hand is nowhere distinctly seen. The writer has nothing for it but to fall back, in the last resort, upon his own resources ; and to make his spoon or spoil his horn, according to circumstances. Mr. Shaw, nevertheless, is entitled to his views ; but let me venture to suggest that his own example incontrovertibly belies his precept.

C. E. M. on G. B. S.

It is only fair to note here that nothing in this world is perfect and that Mr. Shaw is not an impeccable artist in words. The late Mr. Dixon Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* once came down heavily upon him in the matter of his idiosyncrasies of style; and the late Mr. C. E. Montague, himself a no mean authority on diction, while praising what was to be praised in our author, was constrained to enter this mild caveat against him :

> "But Mr. Shaw's writing, while it has no stupidities, has no beauties; the fairies seem to have made a very strict arrangement before his birth, that the ones with force, lucidity, and mordancy to give away to new-born infants should all be there, and that all the ones with sensuous lovelinesses of any kind in their gift should stay away."—*Dramatic Values*.

Conclusion

I shall now conclude my article: "even the weariest river winds somewhere safe to sea" at last. I have confessed that it is not easy to write a *short* article on Mr. Shaw's voluminous output. Mine has been long enough in all conscience: yet I have been compelled to omit all reference to the interesting and instructive theses embedded in *Man and Superman* and in *Back to Methuselah*. Mr. Shaw believes in Supermen: I do not. We have been condemned to see some Supermen in our time: they have gone the way of "the many Ninevehs and Hecatempoli." Mr. Shaw has performed not a few astonishing somersaults in his political convictions; and one of these has been

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his mystifying recantation of his old full-blooded faith in democracy in favour of an unstinted glorification of dictatorship. His play, *Geneva*, and, to a lesser extent, his play, *The Apple-cart*, fully bear me out on this point. His Battler and his Bombardonne are now less than the dust beneath the chariot-wheels of that much-despised human being, "the man in the street." In *Man and Superman* he gives full vein to his pet notion that, in this enternal amorous game, it is not, as is commonly supposed, the man who pursues the woman but the woman the man. In his previous play, *You Never Can Tell*, we had been given a rather piquant foretaste of this same pet notion of his. Gloria in the earlier drama and Ann in the later throw all womanly delicacy to the four winds when they find that their men are about to give them the slip. I think Mr. Shaw has done well to put "woman" in her place: of late she has been getting a little beyond herself.

But no one, I am certain, can have any wish to put Mr. Shaw in his place. Others abide our question: he is free. He is his own Superman come to life: our prayers to the ubiquitous "Life-Force" must be that he may live long enough to be his own Methuselah.

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LONDON AND THE FESTIVAL OF BRITAIN

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

It is difficult for one who is a Londoner by adoption to try to write about London. How can one reckon up one's feeling for this ancient, heroic, tolerant, grimy, be-jewelled city!

During the war Londoners were surprised to discover the strength of their own feelings. Today London is once more in the news. The Festival of Britain opens next May and its main Exhibition will be on the Thames. Work on the site is going on apace and public interest is quickening. Architecture, a feature of the Festival, is off to a flying start with the design of the Exhibition itself. At last the steel scaffolding and the wooden planks are beginning to make sense in a group. An excellent concert hall takes comfortable shape or what seems like a soaring amphitheatre opens its arms in a sweeping embrace. There have been plenty of people—and not all of them jaundiced—who have poured cold water on the idea of this Exhibition. But they have not dismayed the architects.

The Festival of Britain, says the official literature, will put the whole of Britain on show. So much was obvious, but how many people realise that there is a moral purpose as well as an outward show? The King sounded that note when he described the event as one which 'may be outstanding in our lives . . . and in the anticipation of which each one of us can share.' In the same key, officialdom says of the Festival that it is intended 'to be seized upon as an occasion to initiate or complete projects of lasting value to the community, so that the nation as a whole, and each locality within it, may be left a little better off at the close of the year than it was when the year began.'

Parliament Square

London at all events is direfully and drastically intent on brightening up the 'locality'! There never was—and may never be again—so gigantic a spring-cleaning. Roads up, traffic diverted, buildings being repaired, houses being washed and the air hideous with the sound of pneumatic drills: these are the commonplaces of everyday existence. Pity the poor foreigner who chose to visit England 'in peace' this year rather than join in next year's scramble. As I write I am looking out into Parliament Square. The Victoria Tower is in a cage of scaffolding. More scaffolding cuts the sky-line near the Lords. Old Westminster Hospital is in process of coming down. And the famous Square itself is all cut up and re-designed and is a desert of foremen's huts and derelict grass where puzzled statues are taking up new positions. Only the Abbey along one side, and the famous catalpa trees—now in bloom—are lovely as ever.

Still all this is passing and next year London will look like the sweep in the advertisement who has just had a bath. Where will our visitors go in the times left over from seeing the Exhibition? Thinking along these lines I looked at a famous guide-book. It is crammed with places and pictures but the most beautiful statue in Whitehall—or in London or in England for that matter—is quite left out. This is the exquisite contemporary statue of Charles the First on his horse. During the Commonwealth it was given to a blacksmith to melt down. He hid it and paid for its keep by selling alleged bits as keepsakes. After the Restoration, Charles came out again. The time to see the statue is at night when the King rides under the stars. A modern poet, Lionel Johnson, has written on that theme.

The Temple

From Whitehall, it is not far to walk to the Temple. Better to enter it from the Strand, down Middle Temple Lane, than to walk along the Embankment and come on the complete picture. To look at it from the river is to receive the full shock of the damage done by the blitz, but *inside* the Temple the

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old spell remains. There courts and terraces and steps still feel like another and timeless world. A ruined hall—or a desolate blank—may be just out of sight, but you can still sit under the trees in a shady corner and enjoy the peace of the mellowing buildings. Barristers hurry by all looking alike, but perhaps one may turn out to be a friend who will take out a key and let you into that locked-up garden. At last the time comes to go and see what has happened to the Temple church. There, thank God, it is not as bad as was once feared. The old, round shape is still intact and repairs are in progress. Remembering the beautiful lines of terribly wrecked hall—and in contrast the plain and honest but much too low lines of the temporary Middle Temple library—one prays that the Temple may be restored but never merely adapted.

Wren's Churches

When early in 1941 fire bombs rained down on the City of London comparisons were made with the Great Fire which raged for five days in the time of Charles II. Alas, there was one principal feature which they had in common and that was the destruction of churches. In the first Great Fire eighty-seven churches were lost. Small wonder that the Lord Mayor, according to a contemporary diary, 'went about like a mad cook with his handkerchief, perspiring and lamenting himself'! But terrible as that fire must have seemed to an eye-witness, glorious succour was at hand. Sir Christopher Wren, London's greatest architect for all time, was alive, on the spot, and friends with the King. Within a few days he had drawn up a plan for a new city and within twenty years twenty-eight of his lovely churches were taking shape. And all these churches were but trials and essays for the great project of St. Paul's Cathedral. 'It was his work on the city churches,' it has been said, 'that helped to develop that superb gift for space composition that distinguishes the completed St. Paul's.'

Many of his churches were to become famous not only for their beauty but for their associations. Constant features in a changing background, they presided over the atmosphere, weaving an indescribable charm over working 'in the city.' Clerks ran in at launch-time for a week-day service—or an organ recital—or sat outside in the sunshine, eating their sandwiches and absorbing the beauty around them. Three were especially famed—St. Lawrence, Jewry; St. Mary-le-Bow; and St. Stephen's, Walbrook.

St. Lawrence, Jewry, is lost and a long tradition is broken. Every year, before the election of a new Lord Mayor, the Lord Mayor and the Corporation would come to take part in a special service.

Lansbury

St. Mary-le-Bow, now a shell, had several kinds of enchantment. Above all there were the bells! In the fourteenth century the bells of an earlier church chimed out to Dick Whittington, re-calling him to London to become three times Lord Mayor. The bells of Wren's church had a special and particular virtue: to be born within the sound of them was the only valid title to the status of Cockney. In our own day Bow Church was associated with another great Londoner, George Lansbury. There he worshipped and there I attended his funeral service.

St. Stephen's, Walbrook, has been described as extraordinarily subtle and ingenious. A bomb fell in front of it, blasting the church and buildings on either side, and now all are under repair. It is to be hoped that the church is open again when Exhibition time comes round, because it is the arrangement of its interior spaces which is especially praised. In any event, though, it is worth looking at from outside. And it is easy to find because it is tucked away in a street just beside the Mansion House. As you enter that street, the tower stands up like a lighthouse but with the grace of a flower.

The name of Wren is linked with his churches in the City but perhaps—in salute—we may digress to Westminster. There he built a simple, lovely parish church, St. James's, Piccadilly. It was terribly struck by a bomb and repairs may take too long for it to be ready in time. Wren said of it: "I think it may be found beautiful and convenient, and as such, the cheapest of any Form I could invent." How eminently practical was this great architect. Here evidently were no space problems to be overcome and he decided to concentrate entirely on the congregation. The task he set himself was 'to make a single Room, so capacious, with Pews and Galleries as to hold above 2,000 persons, and all to hear the Service, and both to hear distinctly and see the Preacher.' What clarity of aim and, one cannot help thinking, what a long, long way Wren had come from the mystic architecture of pre-Reformation cathedrals. But here we must leave him.

Dockland

Whitehall, and the Temple, and the City. Where should a visitor go now? St. Paul's and the Tower are very near, but each should have the best part of a day and the Tower, in any event, should be approached from the water—by river 'bus. So why not go for a drive through dockland and then over the ferry to Greenwich. Every inch of the ground is eloquent of the past. Along St. Katherine's Way and Wapping High Street, where the Press gangs used to operate, steep little streets of stairs lead down to the water. These stairs have lovely names—such as Hermitage Stairs or King Henry's Stairs—but no one now can tell you their history. On the other hand, the fame of two docks will never die: one is at Shadwell where Frobisher and Drake provisioned

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their ships, the other is Execution Dock. At Execution Dock, in former times, pirates were tied to stakes and left for three tides to go over them. As late as 1701 a famous pirate, Captain Kidd, was hanged here, and to this day American syndicates are after his hidden treasure. This was buried on an island in the South China Seas and its whereabouts revealed when a small parchment map was found 'in the false bottom of a chest marked with the names of Kidd and his wife.'

Pirates may prosper but the typical seaman is poor. In Dockland the raids destroyed one of his principal landmarks which was a pawn-shop owned by a man named George Dicker. All over the world he was known as the seaman's pawnbroker and it was said that his tickets changed hands in Singapore as they did in London. Illuminating comment, this, on the seaman's struggle for existence.

The docks were a target area and two-thirds of Poplar—where George Lansbury made history when he was a Poor Law Guardian—was destroyed. Today the biggest single stroke of imagination, on the part of the Exhibition Committee, is the decision to build a model village in Poplar and call it Lansbury. This village is to form an actual part of the Exhibition and should be near-ready next year. Indeed the official literature speaks as if it would be completed. 'Thirty acres,' it says, 'will in 1951 become a thriving community with shops, schools, two churches (one Roman Catholic, one Congregational), a market place and three public houses.' What a glorious memorial to George Lansbury—and what, one wonders, would he think of the proportion of two churches to three pubs.

To get to the ferry is a drive past all the principal docks. George the Fifth Dock is the largest excavated dock in the world and it is romantically sited at Galleons' Reach. But there is nothing romantic about an efficient modern dock and, if the ghost of Drake should re-visit the river, what would he make of our present day kind of galleons? Surely he would prefer his own times when the handling of a ship was far more an art than a science and when safety at sea was not a matter of radar but of guts and of God.

History has never moved away from the City of London but across the water it is a different story. For hundreds of years the people on the South Bank—of Southwark and Deptford and Greenwich to name a few of the ancient places—played an equal part with those on the other side. Their fortunes were linked by Old London Bridge which stretched between the city and Southwark. There had been a bridge at this spot since Roman times and for centuries it was the only one. Thus in an almost literal sense this bridge was the watershed of London's history, as life ebbed and flowed through Southwark. Pilgrims passed on their way to Canterbury, kings to make war on the Continent, Princesses who came over to marry our Kings. Indeed the South Side of the river was where all the fun began. Rebellions invariably opened on Black Heath; Marlowe, Ben Jonson and Shakespeare appeared in the theatres on Bankside; at Deptford and Woolwich were the royal dockyards; Kings and Queens lived at Greenwich and one of them, Charles the Second, built the Royal Observatory.

Greenwich

All the Tudors except the first—Henry the Seventh who had to conquer his way to the throne—were born at Greenwich. Elizabeth especially loved the place. (Born at Greenwich, made a never-to-be-forgotten speech at Tilbury, died at her palace on the river at Richmond! What a part the Thames played in the life of our great Eliza . . .). Her palace is gone but instead there is the lovely colonnaded 'Queen's House' which was begun by the wife of James the First and completed by her daughter-in-law Queen Henrietta Maria. The architect was Inigo Jones—that genius with a name like the opening of a song.

Greenwich Palace proper became derelict during the Commonwealth and when Charles the Second was King he began to re-build. But it is to William and Mary, who came soon after him, that we owe the existing magnificent group of buildings. It was they who transformed Greenwich. In place of a palace they had a grander scheme—'a hospital for the relief and support of seamen.' The immortal Wren was to be its architect and he gave his services free. (Immortal is the word for Sir Christopher. He was seventeen years old when Charles the First was executed in Whitehall. When he died, at the age of ninety-one, George the First was depressing the Throne . . .). The Hospital is now a Royal Naval College and houses a national maritime museum which can be visited. Only to look down on it from Greenwich Park is worth while. It is one of the sights of London and there is a painting of it in the Tate Gallery.

Southwark

Old London Bridge survived into the middle of the eighteenth century. Then, with a fine sense of drama, the houses built upon it fell into the river. It was the presence of these houses that had carried over the life of Southwark into the City. But in the eighteenth century new bridges were springing up along the Thames and the Industrial Revolution was not far off. The South Bank was losing its importance and would soon be left to its fate. That fate was to be overwhelmed in a rush of shoddy and unrelated 'development' which followed in the wake of the new industrialism. Soon most of the beautiful old

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houses would be pulled down or submerged in a flood of mean streets. (And the blitz was to continue the destruction of what we had valued so lightly). At least, there is one comfort: though the places have decayed, the men have not. They keep their ancient vigour—Deptford produces heavy-weight boxers and Charlton has a famous foot-ball team. At Charlton too at least one family has hung on through the ages. Charlton House, in the thirteenth century, came into the possession of the Wilsons. They are there still.

It seems to be the habit for visitors to Southwark to finish up their tour with a drink at the George and Dragon. This is one of the oldest of our balustraded inns and it is an indulgence to sit in the court-yard, beneath the graceful galleries, and imagine the scenes that must have passed here. Inside the pub literature is on sale. It proves to be the diocesan magazine for Southwark Cathedral, and its cover is decorated with a picture of Old London Bridge. At the south end of the bridge the heads of executed traitors used to be set on pikes, and in the present picture there are no less than sixteen severed heads menacing Southwark! The southern end of the bridge was chosen, evidently, because it was the most troublesome. Well, may the 1951 Exhibition restore the fortunes of the old indomitable South Bank.

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INDIAN AGRICULTURE
Its Place in National Health and Economy

By D. SESHADRI SASTRI, B.A., B.L., Advocate

"Farmer was the first man and he will be the last man." Much has happened since Hyde Bailey, Dean of the Agricultural College at Cornell University, wrote the above words, to emphasise their immense significance. There is the eternal and classical relationship of man to the earth and his ultimate dependence upon the earth. Food has become man's major preoccupation and the land provides man's ultimate security. Owing to world famine caused largely by war, devastation, droughts and dislocation of distribution, two-thirds of the world's population suffer today from serious malnutrition. At least a fourth to fifth of the world's population live perpetually at a starvation level, born and dying without having enough to eat for a major portion of their lives.

The Malthusian theory of over-population has come too true. It has now become clear that the population of the world has outstripped the means of its subsistence or at least approached a balance so precarious that a drought or a dislocation of transport in any part of the world can produce famine over a large area. In India, millions of people suffer all their lives from slow famine and die by the millions even in non-famine years, either of actual starvation or of the weakness and disease arising from severe malnutrition.

The rule that as living standards decline the birth-rate increases has come too true in our country, the highest birth-rate being at the lower economic levels and consequently in the levels where food and diet are limited. So, we see in India increase of population at approximately ten millions a year. The more the malnutrition, the greater is the frenzy of breeding and reproduction in order to carry on the species. This may appear paradoxical but the livestock breeders know full well that with a fat bull or fat cow, fed upon a rich diet, the rate of fecundity is much lower than with thinner animals.

The ratio of all possible agricultural land in the world available for producing food under any existing methods of agriculture is about two acres per person. Under this ratio, even if every individual in the world has had his proportionate share of food the world would still be unable to feed itself on any but a near starvation diet of cereals. This is particularly so in considerable parts of Asia and Africa where the population is increasing quite out of proportion to the total area under cultivation. High protein foods and fruit diets have necessarily therefore to be abandoned in India and we should all have to live on a meager diet of rice or wheat, cereals and occasional vegetables. Among the vegetarians, only the rich really know the luxury of fruit diet and only the rich among non-vegetarians could enjoy the luxury of meat, poultry and dairy products, because the price of these things either through their scarcity or owing to the high cost of their production is far beyond the income of 95 per cent of the population.

In very few areas in the world, notably France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Japan, is there an agriculture of maximum maintained production of potentiality per acre. Elsewhere, over vast areas the production has been steadily declining. This is particularly so in newer areas which were largely counted

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upon to feed the world, *viz.*, the United States, Australia, the Argentine, Canada, South Africa and Venezuela. This is so, because of the devastation caused by poor, destructive and inefficient agriculture and by wind and water erosion. The declining production per acre, especially in India and other Asian countries, is serious in the economic sense as well as in the sense of food production. By mathematical formula, the less food produced per acre, the more the cost of production is increased. This fact lies behind the rising cost of food for the last generation or more. It lies largely behind the demands for higher and higher wages as the cost of living, of which food is the basic item, increases. It is also largely responsible for the 'creeping inflation' which has been in progress during the last two generations and which becomes steadily more apparent as the population increases and the production per acre of food declines and costs of production increase. Food costs rise steadily because of declining production and increasing production costs per acre. High prices limit consumption and create artificial surpluses, especially in the realm of quality and highly nutritious foods. There are no real 'surpluses of food' in this modern world. Rises in industrial wages do not really compensate, since inevitably they are passed on to manufactured commodities, which in turn increases costs for farmers and consequently costs of his economic survival and his production; and ultimately imperil the living standards of all. It is this fundamental which renders all stop-gap remedies in terms of money rather than by production and abundance, utterly futile. The remedy therefore is more efficient and productive agriculture, better means of transport and consequently better distribution. An efficient agriculture, specially mechanised, with proper land use and respect for the soil could produce much the same result in the field of food and fibre as industry has achieved in the field of industrial commodities. It is a little terrifying to consider that at this time the population of the world is increasing at the rate of twenty-five people per minute. That fact makes agriculture and really efficient good agriculture seem more important than it has ever been in all the long history of the world.

The mineral deficiencies of poor or worn-out soils affect not only the living standards of people attempting to make a living on it but also standards of health, vitality, intelligence and initiative which are so fundamental a part of the real wealth of a nation. The formula for a well-balanced soil capable of producing healthy plants, animals and people, as we know it today, should contain abundant organic material in the process of decay, bacteria, moulds, fungi, earth-worms, calcium, phosphorus, potassium, nitrogen and a whole variety of trace elements, such as manganese, magnesium, boron, copper, cobault, iron and at least twenty others. It should be a soil in which the whole eternal cycle of life, growth, death and re-birth should be constantly in progress. Plants exhibit symptoms of malnutrition or lack of mineral balance in their diet in exactly the same fashion as animals or people. The organic material is a great absorber and conserver of moisture and is therefore vital to any soils upon which food crops may be grown. Organic material is also vital to the fertility even of land which must be drained to be rid of too much water and land where unlimited supplies of water are available for irrigation. Since calcium is a vital part of soil balance, its place becomes of great importance in the process of unlocking fertility, partly because chemically it has a greater affinity for most minerals and trace elements than have iron and aluminium, and mostly because it snatches the minerals and elements vital to the health and growth of plants from combinations with iron and aluminium in which they remained virtually locked up and unavailable. In combination with calcium, all these minerals and elements exist in a form highly available to plant life. Calcium then is one of the keys to unlocking hidden and unavailable fertility. Moulds and fungi contribute to the breaking down of minerals and their transmutation into availability to plants and together with bacteria they play an important role in the unlocking of inexhaustible fertility. Sir Robert Howard's latest book *Soil and Health* has contributed more than any other authority to the establishment of the important place which moulds and fungi play in the foundation, restoration and maintenance of soil fertility. But none of these bacteria, moulds and fungi can exist or multiply save by the presence in the soil of organic material in the process of death, decay and re-birth. Therefore, organic material in whatever form, becomes of vital importance to the productivity of any soil and particularly to the availability of the native minerals and element in that soil. With calcium, organic material provides the key to that cycle of birth, growth, death, decay and re-birth which makes the mineral content of the soil whatever it may be, available to the plants and consequently to animals and to people. Deficiency in potassium is almost universal throughout the country. Nitrogen produces a rank growth. Potash produces the growth of stalk which can support the rank growth and contributes something to the yield of grain. But potash is linked closely to organic material and the deficiency of organic material is probably our greatest soil deficiency and one which is increasing.

By keen observation and intensive experiments, one is led to think that laws of a well-maintained and productive agriculture are largely based upon balance and upon laws very nearly as absolute as those of

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astronomy, mathematics or physics. The balances appear to be three, (1) between minerals and organic materials, (2) between the major elements, nitrogen, phosphorus,, potassium, and calcium, (3) between the major elements and the so-called trace elements, manganese, copper, magnesium, boron, cobault and a score of others. When any segment of the cycle-moisture, bacteria, moulds, fungi, mineral balance, organic materials and the calcium content (which is perhaps the most valuable element in mineral balance) breaks down, the whole chain is broken, and one by one the various links collapse, bringing about the rapidly declining production and eventual sterility which is characteristic of so much once good and still potentially good agriultural land in India.

In the past, the relation between agriculture, medicine and surgery was regarded as a fairly remote one. Such facts as the necessity for calcium and phosphorus in the growth and functioning of the human body have long been known. However, it has been widely recognized only recently, that the shortage or near absence of these major elements from worn-out soils can affect whole areas and affect the growth, health and intelligence of the people living upon soils either originally deficient or bady depleted of these minerals. The effect of minerally depleted or unbalanced soils upon cattle is by now well established. In the realm of the so-called minor trace elements it is rapidly becoming a recognised fact that deficiencies of these elements in soil and consequently vegetarian products may produce derangements of health, resistance, vitality, intelligence and in particular of the functioning of glands. The trace elements include notably iodine, flourine, manganese, magnesium, boron, cobault, copper, zinc, sulphur and many other minerals. It is only recently that a few agronomists have begun exploring the whole relationship of mineral balance to the health and productivity of soils. This lack or unbalance of minerals over large areas of the land's surface limits greatly the future food production of the world.

One hears in India often enough observations from travellers and superficial observers to the effect that there seem to be vast areas of lands which are still open to cultivation and there seem to still be unlimited supplies of food-producing land not being utilised. The answer, known only to those whose business is agricultural land, is that those areas which have not been utilised or on which unsuccessful attempts at agriculture have been made are most of them unbalanced or comparatively unproductive soil because of mineral lack or difficult soil structure or aridity. In their present state they cannot be cultivated with any profit and the expenditure of money in making them cultivable by the addition of minerals and organic material is so great that their conversion into productive soils, is in a majority of cases, economically impossible under existing conditions. That is why it becomes vitally necessary for reasons not only of national or international economy but of health and social conditions that the destruction of existing good agricultural land through erosion or poor and wasteful agriculture be checked and that available possible agricultural land be made to produce its maximum without destruction of its fertility or mineral balance.

Too many farmers are cultivating two, three and sometimes as high as five acres to produce what one acre shall if properly farmed produce. Too many farmers when they seek to increase production and income, go out and buy other lands, instead of gaining the increase by properly cultivating the land they already possess. The farmer who cultivates 5 acres to produce what one acre should produce, is destined for eternal defeat, for his costs in labour, taxes, interest, time, wear and tear are five times what they should otherwise be and will constantly defeat him. Expansion horizontally in terms of land, rather than vertically in terms of production, is economically unsound and spells disaster.

How best then is maximum food production to be achieved and what is the role of the State and of the young men of the country in achieving sufficiency in food? The young men of the country must take to agriculture in very large numbers and must study agricultural science in all its theoretical aspects and practical appliances.

I. The Central Government, as in Soviet Russia should set up a Central Academy in agricultural science and food chemistry, and an eminent scientist should be appointed as its Academician. Regional research stations should be established in the various States of the Indian Union and a large number of scientists should be employed by the State and their services must be exclusively harnessed to agriculture. A thorough examination of the soils should be undertaken and the scientists in charge of the various regional stations should be made to devote their whole time to devising ways and means of (1) soil conservation, (2) checking run-off water and erosion, (3) soil restoration—the restoration of both organic materials and minerals and maintenance of their balance, (4) resistance to disease, attacks of insects to crops. Scientific methods must be evolved so as to utilise to the best advantage all available knowledge regarding soils. A scientific soil survey should be undertaken and elaborate blue-prints of the lay-out and of the mineral contents of the soil should be prepared as has been done by the department of agricultural settlement, Jewish Agency, Palestine.

II. Young men of the country should be made to undergo practical training, in addition to the theoretical instruction imparted, under these Regional Scientists for a period of at least three years. The services of these young men must be made available to the

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farmer. The jurisdiction of these young men, who might be termed Demonstrators, should not exceed two or three villages, and invariably they should be directed to live in a village and get into intimate touch with the peasant. The Demonstrator should shed his aloofness, learn to move freely with the agriculturists. He must speak the language of the peasants, must inspect the farms once a week and disseminate all his knowledge to the peasants. All too often, the farmer is told to adopt certain practices because he will get better yields, make more money or even improve his soil but all too rarely is he told why this is so, or are the processes by which improvements and better yields come about, explained to him. If more were explained to him of what goes on in soils, in plants and in livestock and explained to him in an interesting and stimulating fashion, progress towards a better agriculture would be infinitely more sound and rapid. The good farmer is no fool and he need not be treated as a child. I know of no element in our population more intelligent or more eager for information than our average good peasant. He can understand 'the mysteries' if given half a chance. The Demonstrator should treat the peasant or the farmer with sympathy, understanding and consideration, and place his services unreservedly and unstintedly to make the farmer a combination of specialist, scientist and businessman. The aim of the educated young man should be to have an efficient and really abundant agriculture.

III. The State should set up Regional Seed-testing Laboratories and should undertake and ensure a timely supply to the farmer, pure seeds of improved varieties at the prevailing market rate, of good selective germinating capacity and freed from disease and insect attack. The importance of good seed is very often neglected and very often the effort of a whole year gets wasted if the seed is not carefully selected and supplied to the farmer in time.

IV. The State should supply at favourable rentals mechanical appliances to every village; bull-dozers, tractors, cultivators, ridge-ploughs, etc., and skilled workmen must be employed by the State to work the mechanical appliances.

V. State Co-operatives must be established on a large scale, and marketing arrangements of agricultural produce at reasonable market rates must be undertaken by the State.

VI. Private farms must be encouraged by the State by granting subsidies in the first instance with provision for recoveries in easy instalments. A well-managed small farm with vegetables, fruit trees and selective good crops provides not only a source of large saving in the family food budget but it is also a source of health, recreation, outdoor life and general contentment for the whole family.

Unless the State applies itself seriously to the above tasks all talk regarding food sufficiently and all campaigns regarding 'Grow More Food' will end in failure and our Indian Agriculture will continue to be wasteful and extravagant. Our food costs will mount and the peasant's margin of profit will decrease. We are living in a world of machines and its teaming ill-fed millions and what we need today is better integration; and some relation to reality and the practical aspects of the earth.

Out of the earth we came and to the earth we return and it is earth itself which determines largely our health, our longevity, our vigour and even our character. In the broadest sense, any nation is as vigorous and powerful as its natural resources; and among them the most important are Agriculture and Forest, for these are eternally renewable and productive if managed properly. Upon these and largely upon agriculture depends another vast source of any nation's power, the health, vigour, intelligence and ingenuity of its citizens. In a world and in a nation where the acquisition of vast money fortunes is fast becoming an impossibility, a farm is a good place to be and agriculture is a good field in which not only to find security but satisfaction in living.

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THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA

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By K. K. BASU, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law

"The Constitution is what judges think it is."[1] Legalism is its very life and its interpretation must be by a competent court with the assistance of lawyers. We notice with regret that Prof. Banerjee[2] has seen fit to take exception to an alleged speech of "an eminent Calcutta lawyer" who searches for the powers of the President of India exclusively in "the letter of the law." The eminent Professor borrows a phrase from Maitland to suggest that such an outlook would be necessarily "untrue to fact." He seems not to have appreciated that this borrowed phrase was in fact used to indicate that the views of an eighteenth century lawyer were inapplicable to more recent developments of the English Constitution. In such a case all views, lawyers' equally with those of laymen's must have been "untrue to fact." But in a written constitution, as ours is, if the text is explicit it is conclusive and a power not conferred must be assumed to have been withheld. Hence no view other than the one ascribed to "the eminent Calcutta lawyer" is, in the nature of things, possible. We do not know if Principal Sharma is a lawyer. He is not, at least, a practising lawyer. But throughout his article[3] very properly he faithfully adheres to "the letter of the law." A lawyer's view even of the English Constitution is no more "untrue to fact." A lawyer, more than others, must be conscious of the interdependence of conventions and legal rules in the English Constitution. Only, unlike laymen, he does not confuse them as being rules of the same nature. He realises and dwells on the distinction. Such a view may not accord with Political Science which, being given to generalisations from all constitutions only beats about the bush. In the picturesque though somewhat sarcastic language of Maitland, "Political Science is very apt to look like sublimated jurisprudence." But this view is easily and fully appreciated by those[4] who have sound practical knowledge of the working of the English Constitution.

The inherent impossibility for conventions of the English type to wind themselves round a written constitution should by now be abundantly clear. An unambiguous provision of a written constitution can never be rendered obsolete by mere desuetude or contrary practice. In this it differs from the case of the veto power of an English King. Nor is there any room for conventions which are in conflict with the provisions of a written constitution, either express, or implied of necessity. Precarious also is the validity of even a practice which is not in such conflict. Such a practice can never aspire to be anything more than a mere statement of what has been a convenient rule of conduct, and holds only until a departure therefrom becomes desirable. When occasion arises it is unceremoniously jettisoned and none so poor to do it reverence. If example is needed such example is furnished by the long-standing practice of a U. S. President not seeking re-election more than once, or of a U. S. Vice-President not being raised to the office of President. Historically they had been thought to be conventions almost of the English type[5]; but the one was quietly dropped, and the other was whittled down by numerous exceptions, as and when it became necessary to do so. On a question as to the power of a component state of the United States to provide for Local Government within its territory, Cooley J. is reported[6] to have assented to the view that an unwritten body of rules behind the framework of the Constitution was possible. His actual decision, however, rested entirely on the interpretation of the relevant Article of the Constitution, and his *obiter dictum*[7] found favour neither with his colleagues on the Bench on that particular occasion, nor with any other jurist ever since.

Prof. Banerjee's views seem to rest upon a fallacious assumption that conventions may control or regulate the working of a written constitution.

The argument of Prof. Banerjee[8] that the conventions of the English cabinet system are *ipso facto* attracted to our Constitution, because a parliamentary system of government has been set up here, is likewise untenable. Regardless of the impossibility of the growth of conventions under a written constitution, the above view seems to be based on a further assumption, equally faulty, that a parliamentary system of government necessarily imports a government on the English model. Principal Sharma indicates[9] that the pattern of our executive government is really French and not English. Moreover, even if feasible, an adoption of the English conventions relating to cabinet government will conflict with some of the express provisions of our Constitution. As an illustration let us take Article 78(c) of our Constitution. This article contemplates a contact between the President and individual ministers without the intermediation or intervention of the Prime Minister. Such a procedure will scarcely go with the conventions that have grown up in England as a result of the successful protest against King George III claiming a very similar

1. Hughes C. J.: *Addresses* (1908), 139.
2. *The Modern Review*, (Vol. 87), 1950, pp. 450-55.
3. *The Modern Review*, (Vol. 88), 1950, pp. 39-43.
4. Asquith in the House of Commons, 12nd December, 1909.
5. Tiedeman: *Unwritten Constitution*, 102 sq.
6. *Le Roy v. Hurlbut*, 24 Mich. 44.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 105-7.
8. *The Modern Review, ibid*, p. 454.
9. *The Modern Review, ibid*, p. 39.

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power.[10] And when Principal Sharma[11] hints at the possibility of a discord among the ministers arising from an operation of the above provision he apparently has in view the difficulty of working it into a scheme of government of the English type. In any event, it is doubtful if conventions that have reached slow maturity in one political climate can at all bear transplantation to another.

Both in origin and effect a written constitution radically differs from an unwritten constitution. It (a written constitution) evolves from the charter of a corporate body.[12] It proceeds on the basis of what is technically known as the doctrine of *ultra vires*, viz, that each department of government possesses only a specified delegated authority which cannot be transgressed. It is drafted with utmost precision and circumspection, and is never interpreted in any narrow or pedantic sense,[13] so as to admit of any possible *lacuna*. But should in fact a *lacuna* be found there seems to be no remedy to cure it except by amending the Constitution itself. The above implications of a written constitution are fairly familiar to lawyers, and but for apparent misunderstanding of these implications they need not have been repeated. That this misunderstanding should occur is all the more surprising as we in India have lived for generations under written constitutions. It is certainly not expected that laymen will study the Constitution with that meticulous and sifting care which a practising lawyer is obliged to give to it, but the approach to its interpretation should not be different. Introduce notions and theories peculiar to the unwritten constitution of England to the interpretation of our Constitution and a palpably wrong approach is made.

The key to the President's powers is in Aricle 74 of the Constitution. This Article reads :

"74. (1) There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions.

"(2) The question whether any, and if so what, advice was tendered by Ministers to the President shall not be inquired into in any court."

From the expression, *whether any*, in clause (2) above-mentioned, it may plausibly be argued that there may be cases where no advice has actually been tendered to the President. But whatever may be the possibility of such unadvised exercise of the President's functions under the Constitution, an unaided exercise of his functions is precluded by the clear language of clause (1). *Aid* signifies collaboration, and necessarily includes *advice*. If, therefore, any function of the President under the Constitution has to be exercised at all, it must be done with such *aid*, unless the Constitution itself provides otherwise, either expressly, *e.g.*, in Article 53(2), or by necessary implication, *e.g.*, Article 75(1) and (4). Exercise by the President of any of his functions under the Constitution without such aid, except as aforesaid, clearly amounts to a violation of the Constitution for which he is liable to be impeached.[14] This is because of the violation of an express provision of the Constitution, *viz.*, Article 74 and not of "traditional maxims of parliamentary government" as has been wrongly supposed. A charge against the President of an alleged violation of the *spirit* of our Constitution or, for the matter of that, of "traditional maxims of parliamentary government" will not be sufficiently specific to ground an impeachment, which in spite of what Prof. Banerjee suggests,[15] is in substance a trial at law. It has been so throughout the history of such proceedings in England[16] and U.S.A.[17] though the procedure, prosecutors and the judges have been different from those in ordinary criminal prosecutions.

Impeachments, however, are matters of serious political consequence. Nor can they, nor ought they to, be lightly set in motion. The very drastic nature of the remedy makes its frequent invocation, or for matters of minor importance, impracticable. And had there been no other provision in our Constitution, equally effective to ensure the good behaviour of the President, Article 61 would have defeated its own purpose. Fortunately, we have Article 53(3)(b) under which the Parliament can at its discretion denude the President of his executive powers, either partially or wholly, by simply providing for their exercise by another person or authority. On a correct analysis it will be seen that this Article provides a practical, and therefore more effective, check on any act or omission on the part of the President, whether amounting to a violation of the Constitution or not. Thus, the control of the Parliament on the President is more comprehensive, and extends also to cases beyond the purview of Article 61. This control again may be given effect to by a simple legislation unlike the cumbrous and long-drawn procedure of impeachment. Very few Presidents, in the circumstances will risk incurring in any manner the displeasure of the Parliament *i.e.*, of the majority party therein.

That the President is the constitutional head of our State follows directly from the provisions of our Constitution as explained above; and, for establishing the proposition it is not necessary, even if it were at all permissible, to travel beyond "the letter of the law."

10. Baldwin in the House of Commons, 8th February, 1932.
11. *The Modern Review, ibid*, p. 41.
12. Brook Adams : "The Embryo of a Commonwealth", 54. *Atlantic Monthly*, 610.
13. *James v. The Commonwealth*, 1936, A.C. 578, p. 614.

14. Art. 61.
15. *The Modern Review, ibid*, p. 455.
16. *Halsbury's Laws of England*, Hailsham Edn., Vol. VI, p. 638n.
17. 26 *Harvard Law Review*, pp. 699-705.

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FILM AND EDUCATION

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The advent of the Film in its obvious and superficial role of providing amusement and information has brought new values to our social life and habits. It has proved to be more exciting than newspapers and more vivid and stimulating than the reading of books. To the illiterates and the half-educated youths, the film has a special appeal, as it presents a lot, within a short time, without the drudgery of wading through pages of printed matter. Its popularity has been enormously exploited commercially by a class of speculators, by tempting our young men and women, by the lure of predominating sexual appeals. In this way a lot of mischief has been done to the mental and moral make-up of our immature youths. This mischief must be counteracted by State control. The obvious remedy is to have special films for boys and girls under the age of 18 years and to forbid their visits to the films for adults and grown-ups.

If properly guided, controlled, and handled by competent and qualified experts, the film could be turned into a useful and effective means of education and a medium of stimulation and development of the best phases of our national life and culture. It could be made to function as an effective instrument of propaganda for the best phases of Indian culture, both at home and abroad. To secure this transformation of its popular and mischievous role into a valuable educative and cultural function, the active co-operation of our best educational experts, working in the orthodox fields of education, is imperative. They need not join the film trade—the business of film production—but their help and guidance could be sought to develop the film in its supremely educative and cultural role.

Sometimes, Indian cultural themes have been exploited by our commercial producers, but, invariably, they have received very incompetent and vulgar treatment in the hands of producers and directors with no pretence for even a superficial grounding in Indian culture or Indian art-history.

By securing the guidance and active co-operation of competent educationists, it is possible to produce films of the highest standard presenting the best phases of Indian culture, fit to be exhibited in Europe and America. If guided and controlled by competent experts, our Indian films by visualizing Indian culture could be made to render more valuable services than what our distinguished Indian visitors are rendering in foreign countries. At any rate, they could provide valuable aids to our cultural missions abroad.

It is possible to present the stories of our epics, and our didactic legends, such as the *Jatakas*, the *Hitopadesa*, the visual presentations of Indian melodies, the lives of our saints and heroes, our old dramatic 'masterpieces,' our historical pageants, in appropriate and correct atmosphere and environment, set down with meticulous details of costumes, furniture and architecture. In the hands of competent experts it is possible to make the "splendour that was Ind" re-live again before our eyes. To inspire and sponsor such projects would be rendering the greatest service to the cause of education and national development.

It may be necessary to subsidize the production of such cultural films as the commercial producers may not undertake such ventures. As they must be afraid that in the beginning such productions may not be popular to the young film-fans with their tastes already corrupted by the over-feeding with soddy sexual stuff. But a cry of halt must be sent out to stop the incessant spouting of dubious stuff under the pretence of information, education and culture.

If the present film-producers are taken to be what they claim to be, namely, the agents and instruments of education, then they must employ trained educationists, just as our schools and colleges now insist on engaging only trained teachers, Bachelors of Training. The other analogy is the licence now necessary for a trained compounder to dispense medicines at our dispensaries.

Our film-producers have been recklessly dispensing film stuffs of a very dubious quality without the co-operation of competent and trained educationists. My major complaint against the current productions is that they seldom give the necessary scope to the visual artist. From beginning to end, the business of film-producing is the special function of the trained visual artist. Cinematography is the science and art of "picture-making." Our Indian producers, as a rule, boycott the competent visual artists, artists who could help to build *real* pictures in the real sense of the term. As a consequence, the majority of our productions *visually* considered are bad and sometimes very ugly pictures. They are corrupting and undermining the latent sense of beauty of our average citizens and preventing them from appreciating the beauty of real pictures. This denial of the fundamental presentation of beautiful forms in effective and vivid pictures is making the film-goers insensitive to real masterpieces of pictorial art, our great heritage of the great schools of Indian painting.

As a practical course, I would humbly suggest the setting-up of a properly-equipped Academy of Film Art Research for imparting the necessary visual education and to turn out competent producers well-grounded in the principles of visual art. At the Calcutta University, we have organized a scheme

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of elementary training for the visual arts. This could be developed into a full-fledged teaching institute for producing trained film-artists and producers with a special grounding in pictorial art, art-history, and archaeology. There should be a rule that the commercial producers shall not be allowed to produce any film without the service of a trained "picture-man," holding a diploma from the proposed academy.

In my humble way I have attempted to neutralize the evil effects and the injury to our visual powers of appreciation, which the continual presentation of "pictorially" bad pictures has been inflicting on us and damaging our aesthetic faculty. I have organized a small society called the Rupa-Rasika-Sabha which, in the course of its short life of about eighteen months, arranged for sixteen illustrated lectures presenting the best masterpieces of painting, sculpture and architecture, commented on by expert interpreters. Though widely advertised with open invitations to all, our illustrative lectures have never been attended by any members of the large group of film-directors, who claim to produce masterpieces of machine-made "pictures."*

* Memorandum submitted by Prof. O. C. Gangoly before the Film Enquiry Committee.

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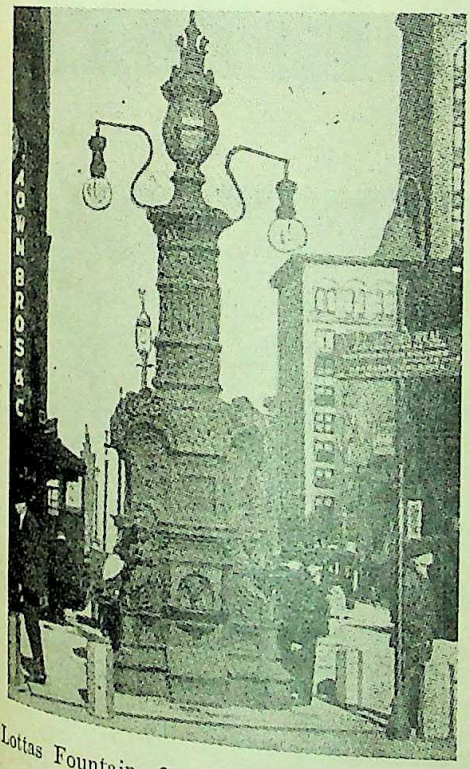
SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN LIFE

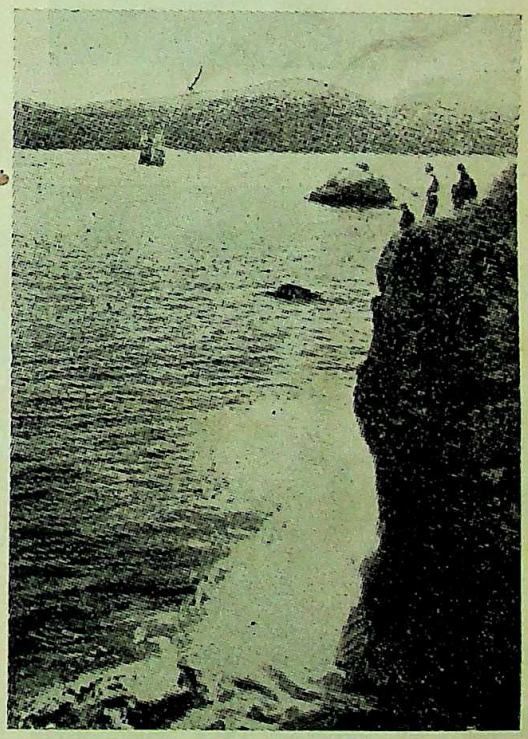
By SUNIL PROKASH SHOME

A stranger, who wants to travel in America, must not confine his observations to the metropolis. He must go into the country; he must visit farm-houses and cottages, and wander through parks and gardens; along hedges and green lanes; he must loiter about country churches; attend fairs and other rural festivals; and meet the people in all their conditions and all their habits and humours.

In some countries the large cities absorb the wealth and fashion of the nation; they are the abodes of the elegant and intelligent society only, and the village is inhabited almost entirely by boorish peasantry. In America, on the contrary, the metropolis is a mere gathering place, or general rendezvous of the polite classes where they devote a small part of the year to hurry and gaiety, and having indulged in this kind of carnival, return again to the apparently more congenial habits of rural life. The various orders of society are therefore diffused over the whole surface of the United States, and the most



Lottas Fountain, San Francisco, California


Fishing Rocks, Lands End, San Francisco, California

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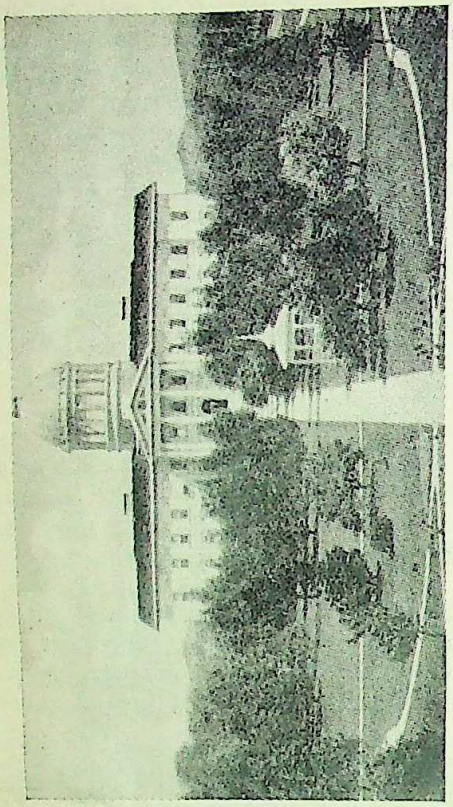
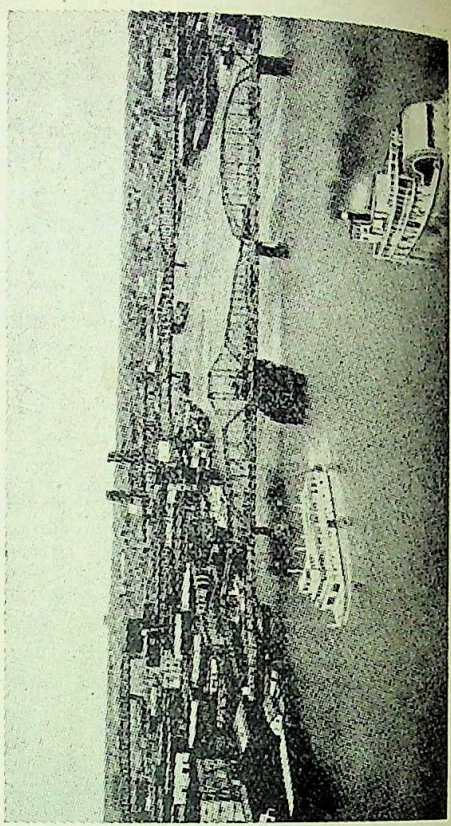
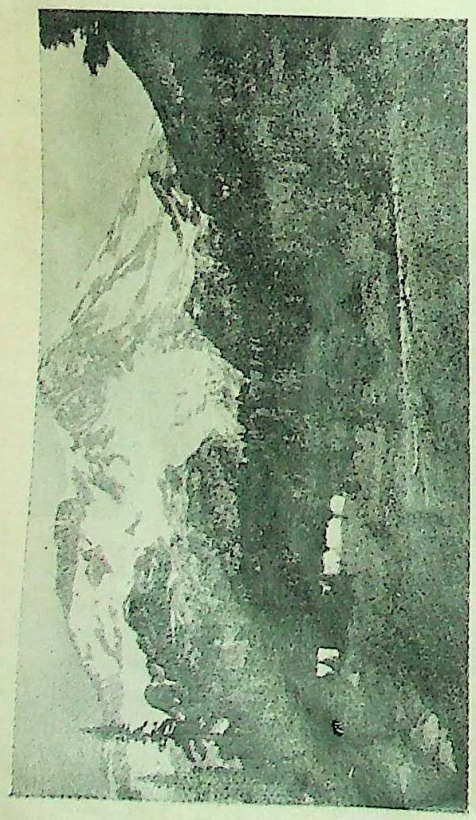


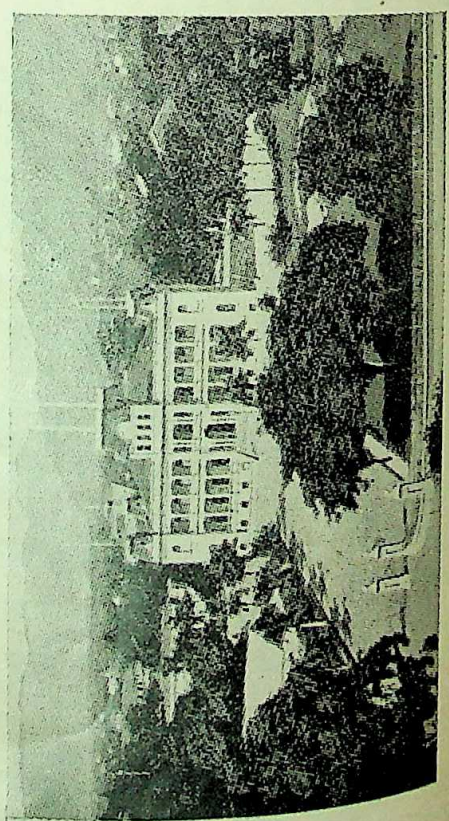
State Capitol, Salem, Oregon



Portland Harbour, Portland, Oregon



Mount Rainier, Washington



Capitol at Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands

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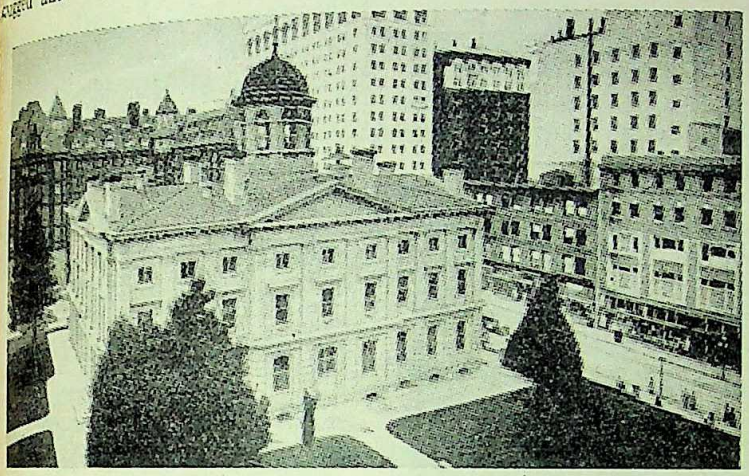
...ered neighbourhood affords specimens of ideas of order, of quiet, of sober, well-established principles which represent peaceful existence.

The first element that one should note in America is the physical immensity of the country. America is larger than India, but that comparison does not evoke the full image of the Titan. This immense country was rugged and virginal only three hundred years ago.

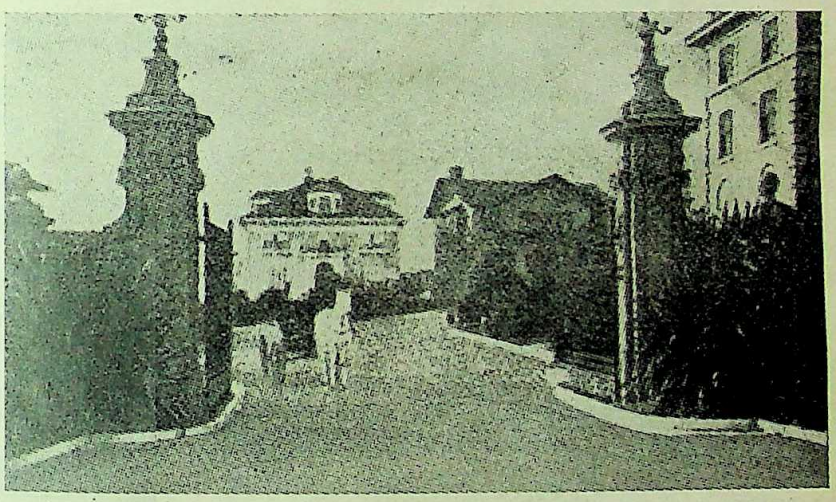


Government Building, Portland Hotel, N. W. Bank and Meir and Frank Building, Portland, Oregon

The lore of the Aryan pioneers who tamed India is now remote from our consciousness. But the saga of the sturdy pioneers who broke the American frontier is still a matter of family traditions. America is the world in miniature. It is, like India, a melting pot of races and religions, colours and creeds. Fresh racial stocks continued to pour into the melting pot. And yet what emerged was not a hybrid but an authentic type—the American.

The characteristic of the American life is to be found in the obliteration of differences between rural and urban life. In America even a hamlet is a city in miniature. It has paved roads, cinemas, radios, a hospital, a school, the town hall, and even a local dramatic society. A farmer, off his work, wears clothes in the style of Hollywood stars, and he has the musical tastes that match with the tastes of those who frequent New York's Metropolitan Opera House or Chicago's Grand Opera House. The result is this: many people in America prefer to live in villages, while in India few educated persons care to go to villages in spite of patriotic appeals.

The taste of the American in the cultivation of land, and in what is called landscape gardening is unrivalled. They have studied Nature intently, and discovered an exquisite sense of beautiful forms and harmonising combinations; and what delights me, is the creative talent with which the American decorates the abodes of village life. The rudest habitation, the most unpromising and scanty portion of land, in the hands of an American of taste, becomes undoubtedly a little paradise. With a nicely discriminating eye he seizes at once upon its capabilities, and pictures in his mind the future landscape. The sterile spot grows into loveliness under his hand; and yet the operations of art which produce the effect are scarce to be perceived. The cherishing and training of some trees; the cautious pruning of others; the distribution of flowers and of tender and graceful foliage; the introduction of a degree of taste and elegance in rural economy—the trim hedge, the grass-plot before the door, the little flower-bed bordered with snug box, the pot of flowers in the windows—all these bespeak the influence of taste flowing down from high sources and pervading the lowest levels of American life.



Entrance to Presidio Terrace, an exclusive residential district, San Francisco, California

Although America is a land of great trusts and combines and corporations, it has also a cult of creative artists who belong to the liberal revolt. Sometime ago these were described as the "muckrakers" and now they are called progressives or leftists. Their aim is to hit big fortunes and to extol the common man through the medium of their literature. Many have attacked the so-called Robber Barons, and noteworthy among them are Doss Passos, Steinbeck, James T. Farrel and Upton Sinclair.

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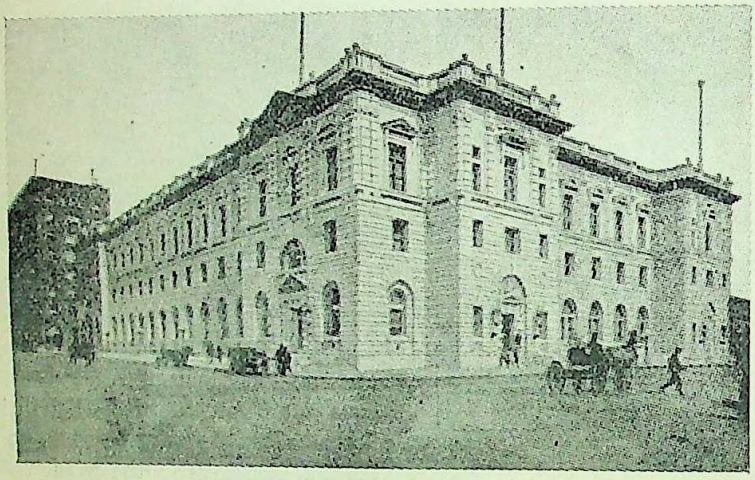
American literature offers an open-door policy to all writers and artists. Most cultures of the world are suspicious of foreign ways. Most professions are intolerant of foreigners. America has accepted and even glorified foreign writers residing on its soil and writing in English. I can cite many names but I shall limit myself to only two writers who are no strangers to thinking Indians—the late Dhana Gopal Mukerjee of India and Lin Yutang of China. America's literary tastes know no national boundaries; they are truly catholic in the non-religious sense of the term.



Post Office, San Francisco

The backbone of American life is the middle class. The mass of the American people belong to the middle class, while the mass of the Indian people belong to the masses. In other words, there is no appreciable middle class in India. Literature in America, therefore, is less class-conscious than in most countries of Europe and Asia. Most of the workers of America still think of themselves as potential millionaires. The myth of the social ladder still persists. The central note of American life is, therefore, success and progress. The American mind refuses to regard even the sky as the limit. It is the most optimistic mind in the world.

In America, the intellectual labour of a man or woman is rewarded, which ought to sound reassuring in this land of literary penury. And in quite a few cases literature brings high rewards. Some American novelists are as rich as industrialists. That is because book business has almost become an industry, like almost everything, else in America. The mass production and mass enjoyment of a successful book have been possible mainly through the various book-clubs whose business it is to guess beforehand what the public will like and then make the public like it. The greatest writers of the world gravitate to America in search of gold. So competition is very stiff, and standard extremely high.

The American theatre is the liveliest that I have seen anywhere. I have seen English dramas, and some Chinese and Japanese plays. I know all too much about the Indian theatre not to feel pained. Of all the national stages I have seen I like the American stage most. Even today, America can boast of such playwrights as Eugene O'Neill, Robert E. Sherwood, and William Saroyan.

Facts as such have some magic quality in America. Know the facts and the problem will be solved—that is the American credo. Americans are the world's best fact-finders, but they are not as good theorisers as the Germans or the Russians. The worship of facts has elevated the common man and today the industrialisation, nationalisation, and hundred other plans derive their strength from the American preoccupation with facts.

Lastly, the greatest thing about America is that it always looks to the future and seldom to the past. This has developed a certain consciousness that raises the American life to exhibit elegance and strength and robustness of mind which have a salutary effect upon the national character.

The writer with a friend at Corvallis, Oregon, U. S. A.

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KATHAKALI—THE WORLD'S MOST ELOQUENT PANTOMIME

By "ART-LOVER"

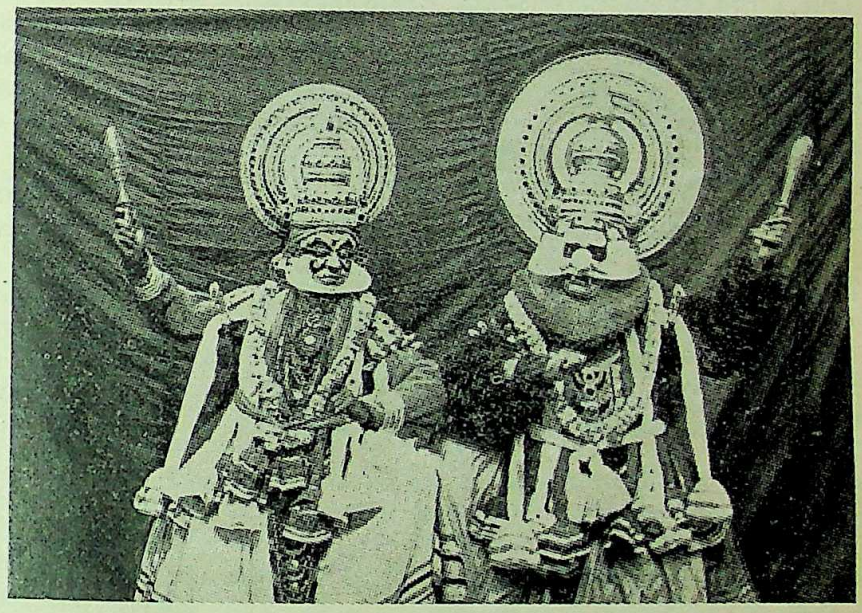
Among the many schools of dancing based on Bharata's *Natya Shastra** (the ancient Indian dance scripture claiming its origin to Lord Shiva himself) existing in the different corners of India, Ceylon, Burma, Siam and the East Indies, Kathakali calls for the severest training and provides the largest scope for creative imagination.

The origin of Kathakali is a widely disputed point, but many research scholars attribute its parentage to the Rajah of Kottarakkara (in Travancore) who organised a popular entertainment called "Ramanattam" about the end of the 15th century, which later gained this new nomenclature, which literally means "Story-play."

In Kerala, its homeland, Kathakali is presented in the form of dance dramas at temple festivals and at ceremonial functions in aristocratic households. It is at home enacted by males only, late in the evening hours, when the common-folk of the village spend a sleepless night enjoying the sacred art that is their national heritage. There are some dramas which take up to 12 nights, but the present trend is to scissor them.

The stage for a Kathakali performance centres round the traditional Hindu (cocoanut) oil lamp made of bell-metal and generally about five feet in height, which will be sufficient to light the small stage and give it a peculiar stage effect. Electric lights have been found to kill the very atmosphere of a Kathakali show. There is no curtain or screen on the background, nor are there any "settings." The front cloth curtain is stitched in thick coloured cloth with some artistic design in the centre and a decorated border and is held in hand by two men. When the dance act commences, the curtain is removed and is again stretched when the act comes to a close. Removing the curtain itself is a part of the act ("Theranottam") and the dancer slowly holds it by hand and artistically exhibits his person gradually. There is no privacy either about the stage or green room and in fact, there is no restriction that the stage should even be raised.

The green room is the most interesting part of a Kathakali show. The dressing is very intricate and is an art in itself. The costumes for a pure Kathakali performance are varied and gorgeous, and it is very expensive and difficult to produce a complete set. Generally many of the Kathakali parties have their own sets of costumes, mostly torn and perhaps generations old. The wonderful system of painting the face and eyes is unsurpassed in its beauty and is not found in this form in any other system of Indian dancing. Some of the magnificent conception of mythological figures, demonaic and divine, can be so brilliantly presented on the face and person of the dancer, that a close associate can hardly recognise the individual. In this aspect (*Aharya Abhinaya*), Kathakali easily excels any other school. The dressing and make-up for a show engage a very long time and is a terrible strain on the actor as well as the green room expert.



A *Katthi* and a *Red Thadi* in a duel scene in Kathakali

The convention of the Kathakali make-up is based on the *Satwika, Rajasa* or *Tamasa* aspect that predominates the particular character, and not on any of the principles of modern dramatic realities. The Kathakali costumes have been dubbed unnatural even by some of its own exponents, but the leaders of the Kathakali revival movement have strongly upheld the traditional practice, which has been founded on the argument that the dressing of the mythological figures

* Kathakali follows *Abhinayadarpanam* and *Hastalakshanadeepika* in many aspects.

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is purely imaginary and should only be adapted to adequately serve the end of the art. Anyway, a study of a dramatic art should start with the green room, and therefore let us have a glimpse of the general scheme of dressing and make-up, which is the richest feature of the Kerala art.

The male characters in Kathakali are classified into four :

1. *Pucca* : Kings, gods, heroes and other *satwika* characters appear in Kathakali in short red bodices up to the waist, and ribbon habiliments, which gracefully bulge out towards the bottom.* They paint their faces green with a *chutti*—a white border-ridge of lime and rice paste slightly protruding along the edge of the face from ear to ear,†—paint their lips red, and line their eyes and eye-brows black. A *Kiritam* (crown) of very elaborate and artistic construction in a conical form with a series of domes rising one over the other, fixed to a white circular disc, is used. There are a few varieties of these crowns which are very hard to make, and may cost from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000, with the beads and silver decorations. Some *pucca* characters like Krishna and Rama wear black bodices and have peacock feathers on their crowns.

2. *Katthi* : The *pucca* face with a twisted moustache, painted red, two white knobs attached to the forehead and nose, represents the *rajasa* character of *Katthi*. Asura kings like Ravana and Kansa appear in this get-up, which, but for its demoniac finish, is very similar to the *pucca* form.

3. *Thadi* (meaning beard) is the name given to characters who appear with a red, black or white beard. The *red thadi* represents the *tamasa* type and is offered to the meanest character in the moral plane. The face has black designs in many places and the lips are painted black. The white knobs on the forehead and the nose are there as in *Katthi* and there are two or three layers of *chutti* bordering the face. A red coat resembling animal skin and an enormous headdress complete the frightening attire of the *red thadi*.

Hanuman and other noble monkeys of mythology appear in Kathakali as *white thadi*. They wear a white hairy coat and a white trimmed beard. The face is painted red with black and white designs and has a *chutti*. The head-dress is like a flat circular hat with a peaked dome in the centre and is small and attractive.

The barbarian hunters of the forest belonging to the lowest stratum of human civilization are made up in Kathakali in *black thadi*. Their face, beard and coat are all of black colour, but for the white *chutti*.

4. *Kari* is yet another *tamasa* type of character and is offered to devils, and consists of black fantastic costumes with black faces, and boiler-like huge headwears with peacock feathers tucked up on the top.

In making up the female cast, more attention is given to the artistic expression of feminine beauty than to the cheap manner of dressing we find in to-day's theatre. Men, who only impersonate women characters, have their faces painted in yellowish flesh colour, with darkened eyes and delicately pencilled eye-brows. With the red lips, the coloured silk covering the head, the bodice and ornaments, *minukku* as this make-up is named, though simple, presents a piece of classic feminine beauty.

Rishis, Brahmins, messengers of kings, servants, etc., paint their faces like the women characters. While the Rishis have conical head-dresses and smear their bodies with holy ashes, the Brahmins wear ordinary white cloth with laced border and the others red-cloth turbans. All these characters are bare-bodied down to the waist. (I cannot but state here that Kathakali which has attained such perfection in the matter of dressing and make-up, has failed to present some of these minor characters like Narada properly. In fact, one has to change his conception of a "Narada" when seeing a Kathakali drama ! I wish some Kathakali master comes forward to improve some of these details.)

This is a bird's-eye view of the Kathakali system of costumes and make-up, and should enable the reader to get a catch at it, should he have an opportunity to witness a classical Kathakali show. "And however complex and artificial it may be, the effect of it is simple as well as direct—simple in its analysis of character, and direct in its appeal."

But I should warn the readers that this is the standard maintained by only the best Kathakali parties like the Kerala Kala Mandalam, and the Chembakaseri Natana Kala Mandalam ; and in the second-rate shows seen every day in the Malabar temples, the costumes, the make-up, and the very picture will be very unimpressive. But it should not be forgotten that a complete equipment for a standard Kathakali party may entail a cost in five figures. Now let us get into the actual stage.

The whole story enacted, usually forming a theme from one of the Hindu legends, is sung by vocal musicians to the accompaniment of drums, cymbals and gong. The songs are in a highly Sanskritized Malayalam language set to Carnatic music. The actors never speak or sing, but present some vigorous dance steps (Nritya) and act the meaning of the background music. It is very difficult for the uninitiated to understand the trend of the acting, unless the music is closely followed. Some of the villains and demons in the cast however produce certain screams and sounds just to add to the devilish element in their character.

* This is to allow free movement of the legs.

† Making up a *Chutti* takes a very long time and therefore paper *chuttis*, stuck to a paste foundation, are being used these days.

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Here again, I have the comment that the Kathakali music is of a low standard in actual practice. While most of the songs are very well prepared, the poorly paid musicians who have to sing throughout a whole night standing, at the pitch of their voices (no microphone is used in Kathakali) give it a most unmusical touch! Among the few who maintain a standard in this aspect are Unnithan Brothers and Nambisan.

Abhinaya (Acting): "The actor having been denied the aid of the spoken word, has to depend entirely on *Angikabhinaya* comprising of hand gestures and other bodily expressions. The hand gestures known as *hasthas* or *mudras* founded on 24 *mudra* alphabets have, by a process of permutations and combinations, reached encyclopaedic proportions on the Kathakali stage and form a complete sign language which does not require the aid of the spoken word. The hand gestures are accompanied by various related bodily movements. A series of these movements express an idea or concept. In this scheme, the facial expressions, particularly the eye movements, are of paramount importance. Facial expressions enliven and give meaning to the hand gestures aiding the process of communication and the creation of *bhava* (mood) and *rasa*. Since there is no scenery as such in this drama, the required scene, whether it be a forest, a palace, a lake, or the mountain peak Kailasa, is projected by the sheer suggestive quality of the actor's gestures." *Sanchari Bhava* (descriptive interpretation) is highly developed in this school. I have seen some Kathakali actors describing the *Gokulam* (Lord Krishna's shepherd colony) for full one hour! On the whole, the marvellous movements of eyes, lips and the face, keep the audience thrilled and stunned, and keep the boredom out of this long performance. Especially, the demoniac forms, when acted by ace dancers, will keep the audience in perfect dreadfulness. Chengannur Raman Pillay's presentation of the *durbar* of Ravana is an instance which will ever be in the memory of the Kathakali fans. By the peculiar sound effect of the drums, the elegant gait and graceful movements of the hands and body, and the majestic screams he produces, an actor of Raman Pillay's eminence can easily create the royal effect of the Asura King's durbar, within an hour's continuous acting. In *Abhinaya* Kathakali follows canons different from those adopted by Bharata-natya and other Indian dance schools. While Bharata-natya just suggests an emotion and passes on to the next, the Kathakali exponent completely describes it. While Bharata-natya and other systems adopt natural, life-like expressions and movements, Kathakali expressions and movements are designed and exaggerated. But this is necessary to suit the colourful costumes and ghastly make-up of the dumb-show. Moreover, the Kerala art is a drama, in which dancing forms a part, and hence it has to give much importance to descriptions of situations, which the dance arts can easily avoid. In any case, the peculiar stage setting, gaudy dresses, the fantastic make-up, and the extraordinary drumming, create a supernatural or at least a symbolic atmosphere for the mythological themes to be enacted. Its present finish is definitely fitting as long as Kathakali does not adopt wordly plots, and confines itself to mythological themes.

A *Pucca* and a *Minukku* in a romantic expression. A rare photograph of Thakazhi Kuntukurup in his world-famous role of Nala

But till the second quarter of this century, this great art had remained unrecognised even in its own home province, and it was the Renaissance Movement of the 1930's that kindled interest in the Indian dance systems, when Poet Laureate Vallathol Narayana Menon came forward to found a Kerala Art Centre (the Kerala Kala Mandalam) staffed by the greatest living masters of Kathakali. The Art Centre soon attracted world-wide attention and many Indian and foreign dancers came to Cochin State to learn this dumb yet eloquent pantomime. Among these were the American danseuses, La Meri and Ragini Devi, Simki (of France), Louise Lightfoot (of Australia) and Indian dancers, Uday Shankar, Ram Gopal and others. Vallathol himself led a Kathakali troupe and exhibited the stupendous dance treasure of Malabar for the first time in the Indian cities. Gopinath, Shivaram, Madhavan, and Haridass were the Kala Mandalam

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students who made a name for themselves in India. Kathakali items entered the repertoire of all dancers and solo acts in Kathakali technique became popular in India, Europe, America, Australia and in the Asian countries.

The Kerala Kala Mandalam, now run by the Travancore-Cochin Government under the honorary supervision of the founder-director, the Poet, continues its sincere service for the art, and offers six-year courses each in the different aspects of the drama (like acting, music, drumming, make-up, etc.). The Government bear all food and accommodation expenses of the students since no young boy can be expected to take up to this arduous course, with such a poor future. (It may incidentally be mentioned here that in a Kathakali show costing over a thousand rupees the senior actor's remuneration will only be about Rs. 35!) The Kala Mandalam also offers special short courses for dancers, and even now many reputed artistes like Tara Chaudhuri and Shanta Devi undergo refresher courses there. The newly started Chembakaseri Natana Kala Mandalam, under the direction of Shri Kunju Kurup, is yet another institution which has done some very good work. Here again its capital expenditure as well as maintenance is solely met by an art-crazy musician, Nadaswaram Sankaranarayanan. Among other well-known institutions imparting training in Kathakali are Santiniketan, and Rukmini Devi's Kalakshetra.

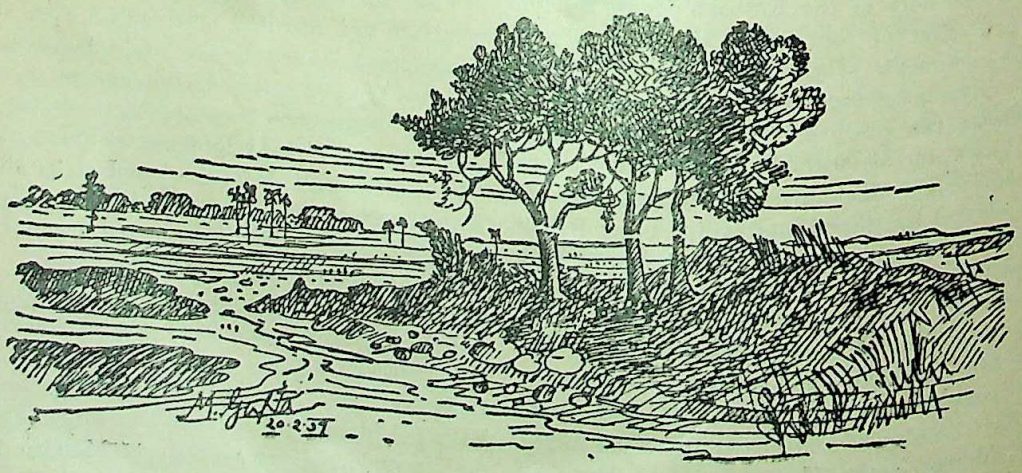
Uday Shankar used the Kathakali technique in most of his ballets, but it was Anand Shivaram who first transported Kathakali in its pure and original form out of Indian shores to Australia and Europe. He was followed by Chatunni Panikkar and Monkompu Sivasankaran, who partnered Mrinalini Sarabhai in her recent tour of the continent. And it is evident from press comments that the Kerala art has created a very wide interest in the Western world. In fact, many young boys and girls in the West have taken to Kathakali practice, as an exercise for the body and mind.

Kunju Kurup, Chembakkulam Pachu Pillay, Mangulam Namboothiri, Chengannur Raman Pillay and Chandu Panikkar are among the best masters of the art today, while the versatile Kalamandalam Krishnan Nair, Kudamaloor Karunakaran Nair and Kalamandalam Ramankutty are the juniors who have turned very popular.

Kathakali generally can be called a manly art and is better at expressing sterner and loftier emotions typical of masculine beauty. It has a sister art meant for the progressive women of Kerala in *Mohini Attam* or Kerala Nritya, another fine system of dance, which can be said to combine the grace and cooler beauties of Bharatanayta of Tamil and Telugu districts, with the virile power of Kathakali. A new section has recently been opened for this dying art in the Kerala Kala Mandalam.

While Kathakali lacks the smooth finish of the Tanjore dance, it has a wealth of material and a foundation of severe training, which no other art in the world can claim. Its glamorous system of costumes and make-up, its most inspiring dramatic effect, its unique standard of *Abhinaya* and grand dance patterns conform to the noblest canons of art, and marks Kathakali out as the most eloquent pantomime in the world.

With the poor remuneration he can hope to get, no ambitious artists may take up to Kathakali in future, unless the Government intentionally give enthusiastic patronage to this art at this critical juncture. Compulsory dance training in schools and colleges as a physical and emotional exercise for boys and girls, and guarantee of jobs to Kathakali exponents, are the only solutions to the reviving of this dying art which once dead can never be replaced by posterity. I can only say that the Government's duty to this art is very heavy.



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ORNAMENT OF THE EAST
Botanic Gardens, Ootacamund

By Dr. NIRA SRINIVASAN, M.Sc., Ph.D.

A lease of life of a hundred years is to be regarded as a proud landmark in the history of any organisation. Coupled with this if it had been the springboard of singular achievements, then it is a matter for universal approbation. Such an organisation becomes history by itself. We have such a unique institution in our country which has been responsible for initiating and developing a variety of activities which have enriched our land both from a point of view of aesthetic beauty and economic utility. It is the Government Botanic Gardens at Ootacamund in the Nilgiris, the centenary of which was celebrated between May 18 and 20 this year.

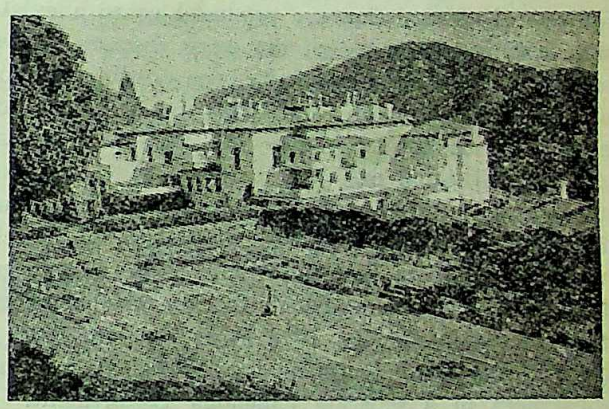
These Botanic Gardens are an ornament to the Nilgiris and are rightly regarded as a beauty-spot of the East. Situated at an altitude of 7200 feet between the Government House and Todamull Hill, these 51 acres of land are at once a feast for the eyes and provide an unequalled appeal for the mind. None can miss their vastly laid-out beautiful lawns, their pines and oaks standing in all majesty with only the sky as their limit, their innumerable array of variegated flowers and last but not the least their slopes and the lovers' path. Tranquillity reigns supreme in such congenial and natural surroundings. It is no wonder it has become a favourite resort for princes and paupers both from India and abroad.

Humble Beginning

It is said that great institutions have an humble beginning. Never was this maxim more true than in the case of the Botanic Gardens at Ooty. Far back in 1845 a few European residents joined together with a limited objective of growing English vegetables. Two years later, the first Commissioner of the Nilgiris, with the aid of subscriptions, started "the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of the Neilgherry Hills" and opened a public garden. The organisers had a far-sighted vision and we see proof of this in their laudable objectives for the garden. The garden was to afford an agreeable resort for the residents of the queen of hill stations, to obtain a steady supply of flowers and vegetables, to provide a repository of plants of contiguous countries, to provide a store from which the stations of the Presidency can procure seeds of quality and to assist men of science both in Great Britain and India through an interchange of plant materials.

The then Governor of Madras, The Marquis of Tweedale, took a personal interest in the garden and contributed largely to the funds. To meet the need for a scientific gardener, the Court of Directors of the East India Company in 1848, secured the services of Mr. McIvor of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. He took over in 1849 what was "a patch of vegetable garden with adjacent wilderness." Within a decade he transformed the rugged banks of forests into terraces, lawns and flower-beds and planted a choice selection of plants from all the world over. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, was so impressed that he recommended the taking over of the garden by Government, which was done in 1859.

Mr. Proudlock, who came as the next curator, had an international reputation to his credit in gardening. He introduced many rare plants and brought the Botanic Gardens to their present magnificence. Other ably trained curators came in succession and contributed in abundant measure to their maintenance and improvement. It is to the labours of a line of distinguished curators that we behold the spectacle of *an Ornament of the East,* that the Botanic Gardens at Ootacamund are today.



Government House with sunk garden in the foreground, Botanic Gardens, Ooty

The Gardens

The Botanic Gardens have a claim to be a national asset. Nowhere else do we have such a wonderful collection of all that is worth having in the plant kingdom. There are nearly a thousand plants drawn from thirty countries ranging from Siberia to New Zealand and from Japan to Brazil. The rearing of plants on alien soil is an arduous task and the enormity of the trouble taken can well be imagined when we see no less than thirty-five varieties of eucalyptus, seventy-five kinds of roses and a host of pines, coni-

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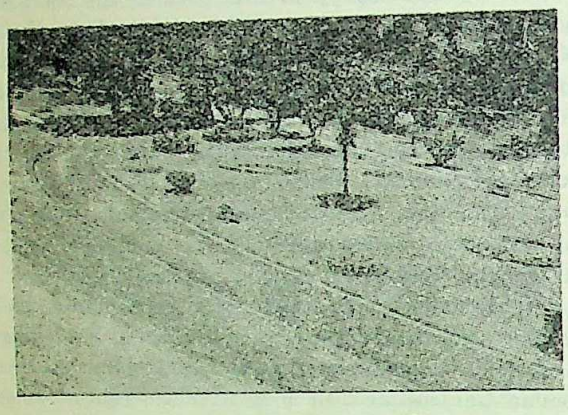
fers and rare medical herbs to boost. Their lawns are truly remarkable and provide poise and calm to the whole atmosphere. There are nurseries and glasshouses for propagation of plants ranging from the tropical to the temperate. Apart from the ornamental value, the gardens, during a century of their existence can take legitimate pride in their achievements for contributing to the industrial wealth of the Nilgiris.



Lawns, Botanic Gardens, Ooty

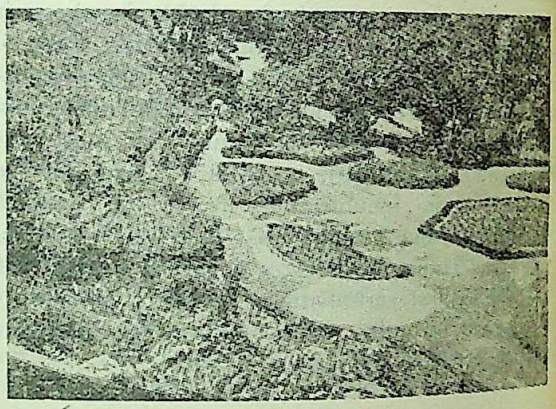
Outstanding Achievements

Imagination, patience and hard work have been behind the outstanding achievements of the Botanic Gardens at Ootacamund. Cinchona plantation is an important industry in the Nilgiris and the large quantities of quinine that are produced go to alleviate human suffering from one of the worst diseases known to mankind. This could not have been possible but for the first introduction of Cinchona, the wild trees of the Western Hemisphere, into the Botanic Gardens, their acclimatisation into cultivated ones by careful propagation by the first curator, utilising indigenous and ingenious techniques. By exchange with the Dutch Government at Java newer varieties were introduced and several plants were distributed for establishment at Sikkim and in Ceylon. In a short time by 1863, a stable industry came into being and called for the establishment of a separate Cinchona Department.

The potato is the chief commercial crop of the Nilgiris which is the source of big quality potatoes in this country. The systematic introduction and initial research connected with potatoes were conducted at the Botanic Gardens and it was only in 1917 that work on potatoes was transferred to a separate research station, *viz.*, The Agricultural Research Station, Nanjanad.

The introduction and cultivation of English vegetables on a large scale was the first objective of the Gardens. Today English vegetables are grown extensively on the Nilgiris and their quality and popularity are too well known. With a hundred years of experience in growing vegetables, the Gardens constitute an important source of vegetable seeds and seedlings for private gardeners and planters. The only Agricultural Station for vegetables was opened at Wellington in 1947 to meet the growing need for vegetables.

The Botanic Gardens have rendered yeoman's service in the introduction into India of several hill fruits, like apple, plums, pears and peaches. Immediately after the establishment of the garden in 1848, good desert varieties were introduced and the first mulberry tree was planted in 1871. Continued experiments with hill fruits led to the expansion of the work into separate fruit research stations like the Burlier Fruit Station started in 1871, the Kallar Fruit Station in 1900, and the Pomological Station at Coonoor in 1920. The Ooty Gardens should be credited with establishing a range of fruits which include not only the hill fruits but others like the mangosteen, durain, avocado and grape fruit, "which in their comprehensiveness of collection is perhaps unbeatable in any fruit research station of the world."



Slopes and walks, Botanic Gardens, Ooty

It was the Government Botanic Gardens that pioneered in the introduction of various types of eucalyptus and now there are no less than 36 varieties. Each of them gives a distinct oil, like the common eucalyptus oil or the sweet-smelling Citriodora oil. In addition, the tree is the chief source of firewood for the hills and the adjacent plains.

The Wattle bark, indispensable for the tanning industry, has become of utmost commercial significance with the stoppage of imports from South Africa. 2000 acres of Wattle on the Nilgiris serve the country's needs at present. Again the early experiments with Wattle were done at the Ooty Gardens. About 20 medicinal plants of value, both native and foreign, are grown here; there are several others like essential oil plants, fodder and fibre crops, rubber and so on. Lastly, innumerable flower-beds with a blaze of colour, hedges, shrubs, orchids and ferns go to make the Botanic Gardens "the prettiest of public gardens to be found in the East."

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New Hormone Experiments

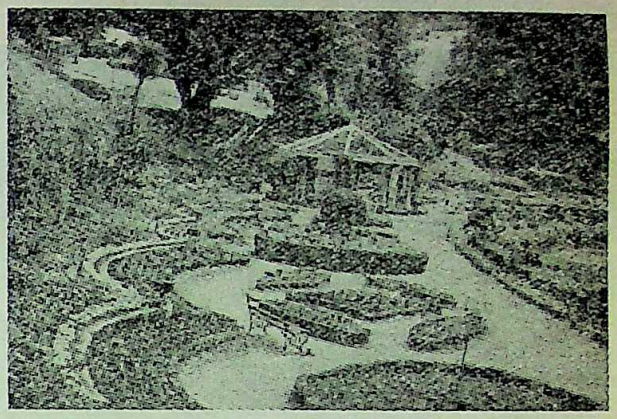
Recently a series of experiments have been started with plant hormones as an aid in propagation of several varieties of both ornamental and economic plants. Attempts are being made in inducing seedless fruits in tomatoes by using hormones and also to study the growth phases of economic plants using them. Hybridisation work to evolve new varieties of flowers and the increased production of necessary plants by quicker methods of propagation, to meet increasing demands from within the country and abroad, are also being pursued.

Valuable Adjunct

The Botanic Gardens at Ootacamund are a valuable adjunct to the study of Botany in India. The knowledge of South Indian flora has been well gained, thanks to the efforts of several government servants, and Botany has been established on a sound footing in this part of the land. Innumerable students and professors make pilgrimages every year to the Botanic Gardens, to see and know more about rare plants. The hundred and odd natural orders present there are of perennial interest to Botanists.

The Future

Various speakers at the Centenary Celebration including the Hon'ble Minister for Agriculture and Sir R. K. Sanmukham Chetty laid great emphasis on the future that lies before this unique institution. At the moment there is an acute lack of scientific personnel for carrying out the many developmental programmes that have been chalked out. Curiously enough the Government of Madras have cut down the present year's grant by Rs. 39,000. Needless to say this drastic cut would severely handicap the work of maintenance of these beautiful gardens, not to think of initiation of new lines of work.



Italian style bandstand, Botanic Gardens, Ooty

The plan to invite tourist traffic from dollar areas is being incubated in knowledgable quarters and is being freely talked about in the country. If only to provide a decent fare to the foreign public, it is not only immediate and essential to maintain the Gardens in the best possible manner but also to improve the standard of work going on there by latest methods. It was also pointed out that public support is needed to conserve these gardens. It may be remarked that even a public agitation on a nation-wide basis is called for in an effort to procure adequate funds from the Centre and from the States to restore the glory of the Botanic Gardens.

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MUSEUM OF THE LAND

By DUNCAN EMRICH

Set against the rolling hills of the eastern State of New York and facing Lake Otsego north of Cooperstown, is the Farmers Museum, one of the most complete folk museums in the United States. It has a country store, a village schoolhouse and a blacksmith shop. And the barn, enormous even as New York barns go, is crammed from end to end and from floor to beams with farm tools and implements. All of them are authentic. All of them were made or used in New York.

Farmers flock to the museum, as well as do descendants of farmers, which includes virtually everyone whose family has been in the United States for three generations. The museum is young, but the 100,000 people who have visited it in the last three years are missionaries to millions who will visit it in the future.

The museum and the country corners where the school and store stand came into being through the vision and leadership of Stephen C. Clark, descendant of an old Cooperstown family and chairman of the board of trustees of the New York State Historical Association. He conceived the idea of preserving the lore and history of New York's most important industry through a farmers' museum. The museum was dedicated in 1942 in the village of Cooperstown itself, but the collections grew so rapidly with gifts and acquisitions that they were moved in 1944 to their present location, the great stone dairy barn belonging to the Clark family. The barn and green acres around it were given to the Historical Association.

Director of the museum is Dr. Louis C. Jones, a former professor of English and Folklore at the New York State College for Teachers. Two of his assistants

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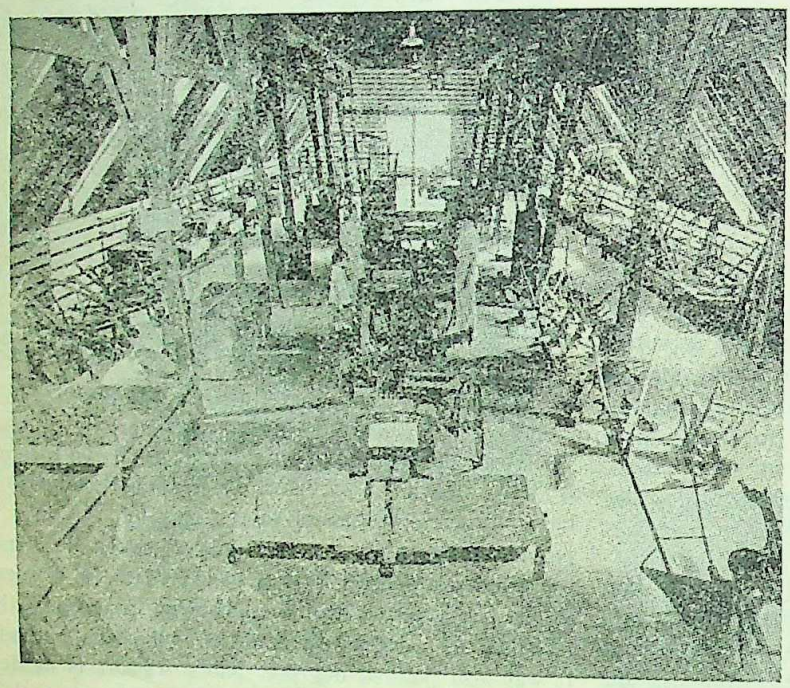
are neither museum-trained nor college-bred. They come right out of the village of Cooperstown and the soil of New York. After all, who knows more about farming implements than a farmer? And who knows more about blacksmithing than a smith?



The Farmers Museum in Cooperstown in the State of New York

George Campbell, who bears the richly deserved title of Assistant Curator, was a farmer before coming to the museum. Fred Hunt, the smith, was once Cooperstown's blacksmith and had a regular and thriving business before tractors replaced horses. Hunt knows everything there is to know about iron, shoes the remaining Coperstown horses and also manufactures hand-wrought ironwork for tourists and on local order.

Among the exhibits is a life-sized wooden horse which stands in the shafts of a doctor's one-horse shay, facing a country hearse and a tin-peddler's cart. Ranged in the carriage room also are a great Conestoga wagon (a covered wagon used in the American West prior to the building of the railroads), an open band wagon, a century-old hand-pumper fire engine and an ox-cart painted with red buttermilk paint. An elegant country treasure which must have created a mild sensation on the dirt roads is a four-seated, lacquered black-and-red carriage with red plush seats and glittering post lamps.

The rare dog churns for making butter are just inside the main entrance which is flanked by two towering corn silos. One of the churns is a straight treadmill type, the band of the tread revolving over two rollers, one of which is geared to an arm which operated the dash. The second, and more unusual, consists of a huge circular wheel held off the ground by a wooden-framework support. The dog, running on the wheel like a squirrel in a cage, turned gears which ultimately whipped rich cream into fresh country butter.

In the barn is a small churn called the Quarter Moon. Standing no higher than a foot and a half, curved on the bottom and just wide enough at each end to seat a small child, the churn had been built as a utilitarian teeter-totter or seesaw.

One corner of the barn is now a re-created country kitchen, with its large fireplace, iron pots and kettles and the old-style dough oven built to one side of the chimney and heated by the fire on the hearth. In the coopers' section, the whole process of making barrels was displayed. The hoops were made of young and small hickory trees split in half and held around the barrel staves with a notch which locked the hoop. There were no nails. Old frows which split the staves from solid blocks of wood were imbedded in place, ready for the cooper's next blow.

The farmers were ingenious. They did not invent tools or equipment for the mere sake of inventing but out of necessity. They saw their wives aging under the heavy burden of housework and they felt the strain upon themselves in the field. Labor-saving devices and the American knack for invention were the order of the day. The first washing machines were made on the farms. Washing clothes and scrubbing them in water that had to be lifted and carried in buckets from well to fire to tub was back-breaking work. A farmer designed a box with a ribbed interior on a pair of rockers which could swish clothes reasonably clean. A cooper went further and built an all-wood machine that squashed and squeezed the soapy water through the clothes and, with an ingenious little crank, wrung them dry.

The growth of labor-saving techniques is apparent in virtually all the exhibits, but obvious even to the uninitiated in the making of water pipes. The first pipes were hollowed-out logs, open at the top and crudely joined together. They may still be seen at the springs on old farms in New York and the New England States. Chipmunks, bugs and dirt, of course, fell into the logs and there was the constant problem of keeping the water clean. The next development was to hollow out the logs from both ends to make wooden water pipes, joining one to another

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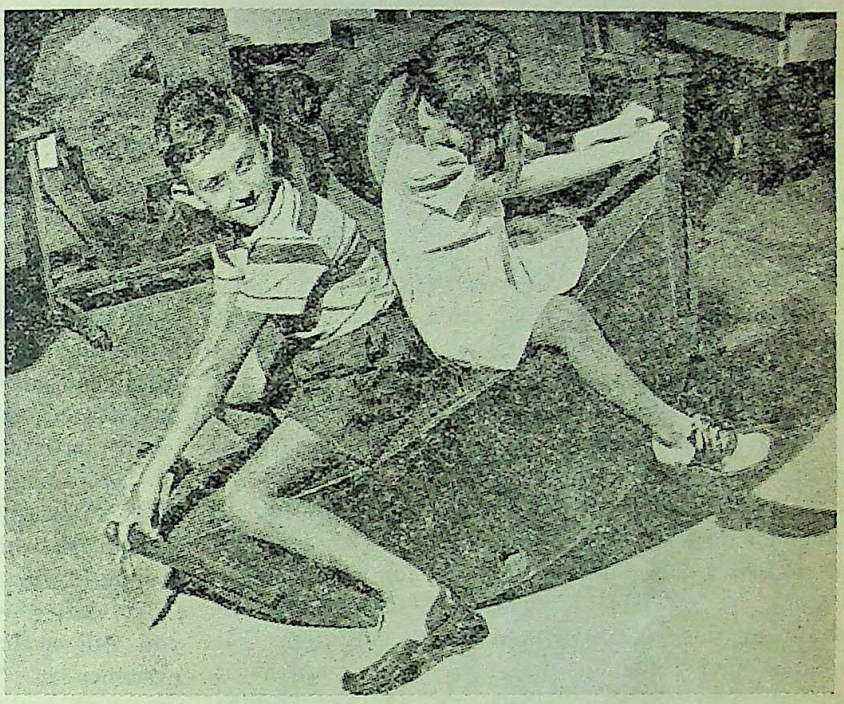
the ends by shaving them down to fit. This was heavy, time-consuming work, but the only method used until the final introduction of metal pipe. The museum has a unique collection of the long-pod augers used in the log-hollowing process, and the director is now on the track of a folksong about them. He has heard of the song, knows it exists, but so far has been unable to locate it.

The great loft in the barn is devoted to implements used in farming the land, beginning with the plows used in the spring, running through the hot days of summer, to the scythes, sickles and harvesting tools of autumn. The unbelievably graceful lines of some of the sickles show clearly that the farmer had a deep appreciation of the beauty of his work tools, quite apart from their sturdy construction for field use.

How the vast collections which interpret the life of the farmer grow year by year is a tale of community and farm country pride. The museum staff has scoured the State, of course, but rich treasures come from the farm families who visit the barn on Sunday afternoons. Farmers and farmers' wives often contribute many historically valuable items from their barns and attics.



The Quarter-Moon churn, which did the work while the children seesawed, is one of the many exhibits in the Farmers Museum

The museum's one-room schoolhouse with its small desks, wooden pegs for young scholars' coats, water bucket and tin cup, iron stove and Guffey's Readers (the reader used in nineteenth-century American schools) was an actual school which stood for over 120 years at near-by Filer's Corners. It was built in 1817 by Thomas Alvah Filer at his own expense to provide rural schooling for the farm children near the Corners. Like the store and smithy, the building was carefully moved stone by stone and reconstructed at the museum's own Corners. To country folk it brings back vivid memories of youth and stands as a symbol of what early education was in the United States.

Equally nostalgic, equally important was the country store. Here the destiny of states and nations was pondered, here the farmer discussed his crops and weather, here he wrangled over checkers with a neighbor. It was the post office, club, barbershop, medicine chest, shoeshop, millinery store, tobacconist's and hardware store all rolled into one. It dispensed candy and valentines, lamp shades and horse collars, dried apples and buttons, coffee grinders and homeopathic remedies. Peppermint sticks and long whips of licorice are sold by the storekeeper to children who are tantalized by the candy and refuse to consider it museum property. The squat stove, the cracker barrel and a checker game are in place as they were a hundred years ago. But the most authentic touch is a can of coal oil—the spout plugged with a potato.

If the visitor has any doubts about the museum as a living part of New York life, after seeing the barn, schoolhouse and store, the doubts are dispelled for ever at the smithy. Likely as not, the smith will be shoeing a farmer's horse, for the flaming forge is now the only one in Cooperstown. Or he will be pounding out a wrought-iron sign for a summer resident. The smithy, dating from 1827, was moved intact from its original site, a huge horseshoe hanging over the door to proclaim the brief business. The walls are hung with varied types of horseshoes, ranging from the split shoes for oxen to the curious lopsided ones hammered out for fancy trotting horses.

The director hopes to add to the Corners year by year and one of the first additions will be an early farmhouse with its own barns and outbuildings. This will not detract from the present collections in the huge dairy barn, but where the butter churns there, for example, number 20 or 30, the farmhouse will have only the one churn in the buttery, just as the housewife used it.

Then there will be an old tavern, a gristmill, a print shop with handset type, and a gunsmith's shop. Jones plans to operate them just as the blacksmith shop is now run by Hunt. There will be no shoddiness. Everything will be the real thing. Everything must

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reflect the American past, its simplicity, its greatness.

Jones has written it well for his own guidance: "Our purpose is never mere antiquarianism, mere collecting for its own sake. Rather, the Farmers Museum has been built on the conviction that a people who understand their heritage are better equipped to face the present and the future. From a knowledge of the resourcefulness, the ingenuity, the courage, the laughter of our people in the past comes a lift of the chin, a confidence in our hearts that we too shall solve our problems and look forward to the tomorrow of our children's children."—From *Country Gentleman*.

——:O:——

BODHIDHARMA, FATHER OF DHYANA SCHOOL IN CHINA

By CHOU HSIANG-KUANG, M.A.,
Lecturer in Chinese, School of Foreign Languages, Government of India

As a specific type of Buddhism, Zen is first found in China, being peculiarly a Chinese version of the kind of Buddhism that was brought from India by Bodhidharma in about 527 A.D. His school was known as Dhyana Buddhism, pronounced Chan in Chinese and Zen in Japanese, which means immediate insight into the nature of reality or life. The Chinese traditional history of this school is as follows:

Sakyamuni Buddha who had been forced to modify his doctrine to suit the capacity of his disciples, once picked a flower and held it up for the assembly of monks to see. One of them, Mahakasyapa, responded to this gesture with a smile, indicating that he alone understood the profound truth which it signified. After the others had retired the Buddha called this disciple to him in private and mystically transmitted to him the highest truth of all. From Mahakasyapa, it was transmitted to another disciple, Ananda, who thus became the second in a line of 28 patriarchs, ending with Bodhidharma in China. However he is known as the first Chinese patriarch who was followed by five others, the last of whom was Hui-neng, after whom the school split up into several branches and no further patriarchs were created.

The *Continued Biographies of High Priests of China* states that the founder of Dhyana School, Bodhidharma, was the son of a king of South India; but according to the *Records of Loyang Temples*, he was an inhabitant of Po-sseu which is identified with Persia. Bodhidharma arrived at Canton in 527 A.D. during the reign of the Sung dynasty, and after some time he went to Northern China and met Emperor Wu-ti in Nanking. He bluntly told the Emperor that he had acquired no merit by causing temples to be built or Sanskrit books translated into Chinese. The Emperor asked, "What is the most important of the holy doctrines?" Bodhidharma replied, "Where all is emptiness nothing can be called holy." "Who," asked the astonished emperor, "is he who thus replies to me?" "I do not know," said Bodhidharma. The patriarch could not come to any understanding with Wu-ti, left Nanking and went to Loyang where he spent nine years at Shao-ling monastery gazing silently at a wall. This monastery which was founded in the last quarter of the 5th century A.D. is still the beautiful habitation of a group of Buddhist monks, but its once splendid buildings are now to a great extent in ruins. He died in 537 A.D.

According to Tao-hsuan's *Biographies of the High Priests*, Bodhidharma handed his copy of the *Lankavatara* in four fasciculi to his first disciple, Hui-ke, saying, "As I observe, there are no Sutras in China but this, you take it for your guidance and you will naturally save the world." By the non-existence of "other sutras," Bodhidharma evidently meant that there were at that time no sutras other than the *Lankavatara* which would serve as a guide book. It becomes clearer as we come to Tao-yuan's *Records of the Transmission of the Lamp* in which the author states:

> "The Master further said: 'I have the *Lankavatara* in four fasciculi which is handed over to you, and in this is disclosed the essential teachings of the Tathagata concerning his mental ground. It will lead all sentient beings to spiritual opening and enlightenment. Since I came to this country, I was poisoned about five times and each time I took out this sutra and tried its miraculous power by putting it on stone which was split into pieces. I have come from South India to this Eastern land and have observed that in this country of China the people are predisposed to Mahayana Buddhism. That I have travelled far over seas and deserts is due to my desire to find proper persons to whom my doctrine may be transmitted. While there was as yet no good opportunity for this, I remained silent as if I were one who could not speak. Now that I have you, (this sutra) is given to you, and my wish is at last fulfilled'."

The *Lankavatara* Sutra may be divided as regards its textual construction into the following six specifically definable parts:

1. The Ravana chapter.
2. The section devoted to the enumeration of the so-called 108 terms.

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3. The prose section in which no verses are found.
4. The prose-and-verse section, which may be sub-divided into :
   (a) The part devoted to a discourse carried on principally in verse, for instance, paragraphs on the system of Vijnanas.
   (b) The part containing ideals fully developed both in prose and verse, for example, meat-eating chapter.
   (c) The part containing ideas fully discussed in prose and supposedly recapitulated in verse, as in the greater parts of the text.
5. The Dharani section.
6. The "Sagathakam."

Bodhidharma wrote no books himself but taught that true knowledge is gained in meditation by intuition and communicated by transference of thought. His chief thesis is that the only True Reality is the Buddha-nature in the heart of everybody. Prayer, asceticism and good work are vain. Bodhidharma, therefore, said : "You will not find Buddha in images or books. Look into your own heart: that is where you will find Buddha." The Chinese word for "heart," it should be noted, has a very complex significance and we often come across religious or philosophical passages in which the word might more appropriately, though even then inadequately, be rendered by "mind." The Chinese term is *"hsin"* and this may be regarded as the key-word of the Zen Buddhism which has for many centuries dominated Chinese religious thoughts.

In reading the lives of the great Zen patriarchs and abbots we frequently meet with the curious expression *Shou Hsin Yin*—meaning "to transmit, or to receive, the seal of the heart". This expression is used to denote what we might describe as the apostolical succession. Just as a civil magistrate, when vacating his post, hands over the tangible and material seals of office to the official who is to succeed him, so the Zen abbot when about to die transmits to his successor in religion the intangible and spiritual "seals of the heart."

After Bodhidharma the study of the *Lankavatara* went on steadily as is shown in the history of Zen Buddhism. Hui-ke, the Zen master, followed the *Lankavatara* when preaching Buddhism. Hence he and his disciples were called the *Lankavatara* masters. According to Tao-hsuan, the author of the Tang Kao Seng Chuan, we have in *The Life of Hui-ke* the following :

"Therefore, Na, Man, and other masters always took along with them the *Lankavatara* as the book in which spiritual essence is propounded. Their discourses and disciplines were everywhere based upon it in accordance with the instructions left (by the Master)."

Na and Man were disciples of Hui-ke. Further down in Tao-hsuan's *Biographies* we come to the life of Fa-chung, who was a contemporary of Tao-hsuan and flourished in the early middle period of the Tang rule, and who was an especial student of the *Lankavatara*. Here we have a concise history of the study of this sutra after Hui-ke.

Bodhidharma, father of Dhyana School in China

Fa-chung, deploring very much that the deep significance of the *Lankavatara* had been neglected for so long, went around everywhere regardless of the difficulties of travelling in the far-away mountains and over the lonely wastes. He finally came upon the descendants of Hui-ke among whom this *sutra* was being studied a great deal. He put himself under the tutorship of a master and had frequent occasions of spiritual realisation. The master then let him leave the company of his fellow-students and follow his own way in lecturing on the *Lankavatara*. He lectured over thirty times in succession. Later he met a monk who had been instructed personally by Hui-ke in the teaching of the *Lankavatara* according to the inter-

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pretations of the Ekayana School of Southern India. Ch'ung again lectured on it over a hundred times.

Fa-ch'ung, since he began to study the *sutras*, made the *Lankavatara* the chief object of his especial study and altogether gave over two hundred lectures on it. He had not, however, so far written anything about it. He went about with his lecturing as circumstances directed him, and he had no pre-meditated plans for his missionary activities. When one gets into the spirit of the teaching one realises the oneness of things; but when the letter is adhered to, the truth appears varied. The followers of Ch'ung, however, insisted upon his putting the essence into a kind of writing. Said the Master :

"The essence is the ultimate reality of existence ; when it is expressed by means of language its finesse is lost ; much more is this the case when it is committed to writing."

He, however, could not resist the persistent requests of his disciples. The result appeared as a commentary in five fasciculi, entitled *Ssu Chi* (private notes), which is widely circulated at present.

The study of the *Lankavatara* after Fa-ch'ung seems to have declined, especially in connection with Zen Buddhism, and its place was taken by the Vajrachhedika, a *sutra* belonging to the Prajnaparamita group.

The Zen way of teaching is to demonstrate Reality rather than to talk about it, or, if words are used at all, to avoid formally religious terminology and conceptual statements. When Zen speaks it expresses Reality, not with logical explanations and doctrines but with everyday conversation, or with statements that upset the normal conceptual mode of thinking so violently that they appear as utter nonsense, because Zen desires to get rid of concepts to shatter the rigid frames in which we try to possess life and thus employs a thorough-going iconoclastic method. The following is an example, in which, there is brief dialogue between masters and pupils, which illustrates its peculiar method of instruction, pointing to the Real directly without interposing ideas and notions about it.

Hui-hai was asked, "How can one attain the Great Nirvana ?"

"Have no Karma that works for transmigration."

"What is the Karma for transmigration?"

"To seek after the Great Nirvana, to abandon the defiled and take to the undefiled, to assert that there is something attainable and something realizable, not to be free from the teaching of opposites—this is the Karma that works for transmigration."

"How can one be emancipated ?

"No bondage from the very first, and what is the use of seeking emancipation? Act as you will, go on as you feel—without second thought. This is the incomparable way."

Hui-hai's final remark must not, however, give the impression that Zen is just living lazily and fatuously in the present and taking life as it comes. If this be used as a formula for grasping the reality of Zen, the whole point is missed. A master was asked, "What is the Tao?" "Walk on," he shouted. Thus whenever you think you have the right idea of Zen, drop it and walk on.

Zen is spiritual freedom or spiritual poverty, that is, the liberation of our true nature from the burden of those fixed ideas and feelings about Reality which we accumulate through fear—the fear that life will run away from us. "Scholars," said Lao-tze, "gain every day but Taoists loses every day." Or in the words of Jesus, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven . . . Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." A poem from Wu Men Kwan expressing the meaning of poverty and freedom will appropriately end this chapter :

Hundreds of spring flowers ; the autumn moon;
A fresh summer breeze, winter snow :
Free your mind from idle thoughts,
And for you any season is a good season.

——:O:——

SINO-TIBETAN RELATIONS

By Prof. SHER SINGH GUPTA, B.Sc., M.A.

A study of history points to very ancient connections between Tibet and its neighbour, China. Still technically a part of China, Tibet, though really a separate land in point of race, culture, history and geography from China, has always recognized Chinese suzerainty.

The earliest traces of Chinese influence in Tibet can be found in the seventh century when during the period of the T'ang dynasty a strong kingdom arose in Tibet. During much of the T'ang rule, Tibetan invasions periodically troubled the Chinese. On one occasion the T'ang capital, Ch'angan, was taken by Tibetans. Kublai Khan, the Mongol Emperor of China, became interested in Tibetan Lamaism and favoured it. The Ming Emperors also supported the Lamas and showed honour to the Dalai Lama, the ruling monk at Lhasa. They established relations with Nepal and brought that State, bordering Tibet and India, to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty. Presumably they did this because it seemed to them the best way to keep Tibet at peace and under their influence. The Ch'ing dynasty which followed the Ming, also pursued much the same policy. The K'ang Hsi Emperor, indeed, extended his rule over the country

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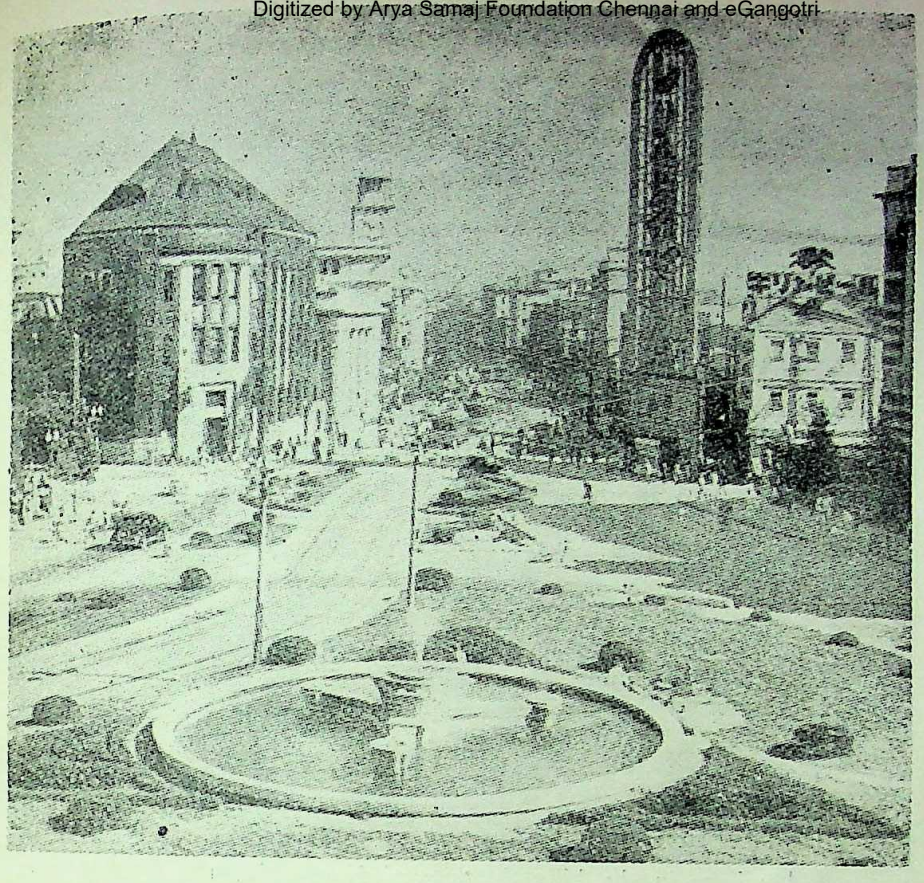
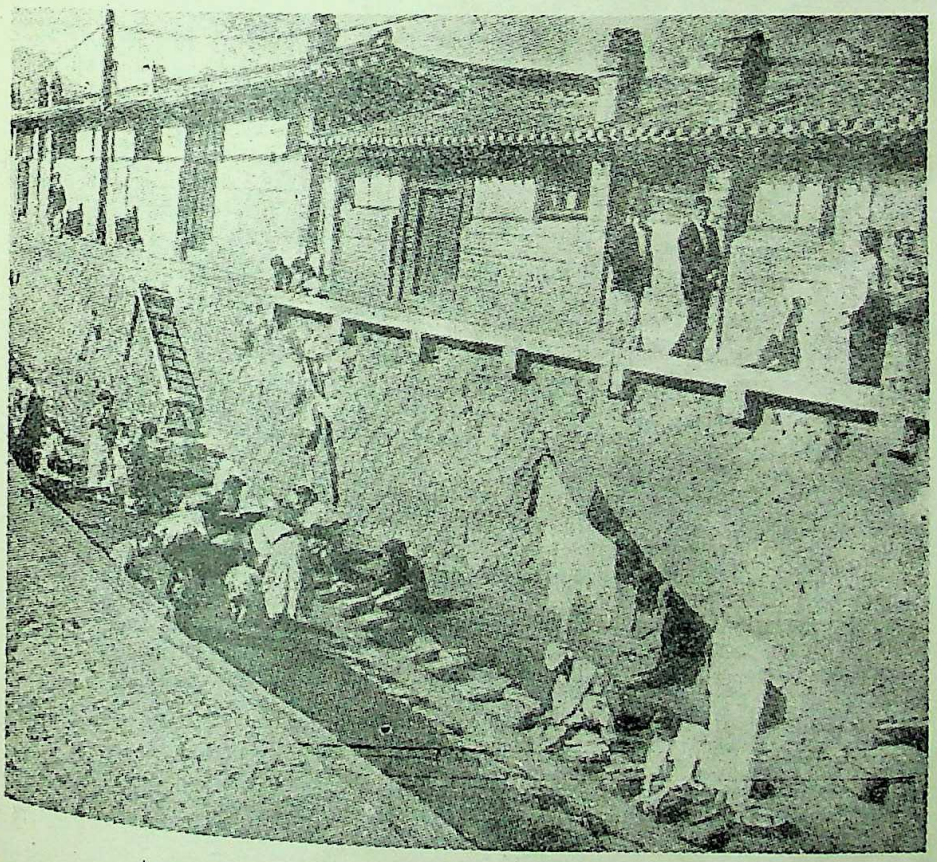


Seoul, capital of South Korea



A street in Seoul, with women at their washing

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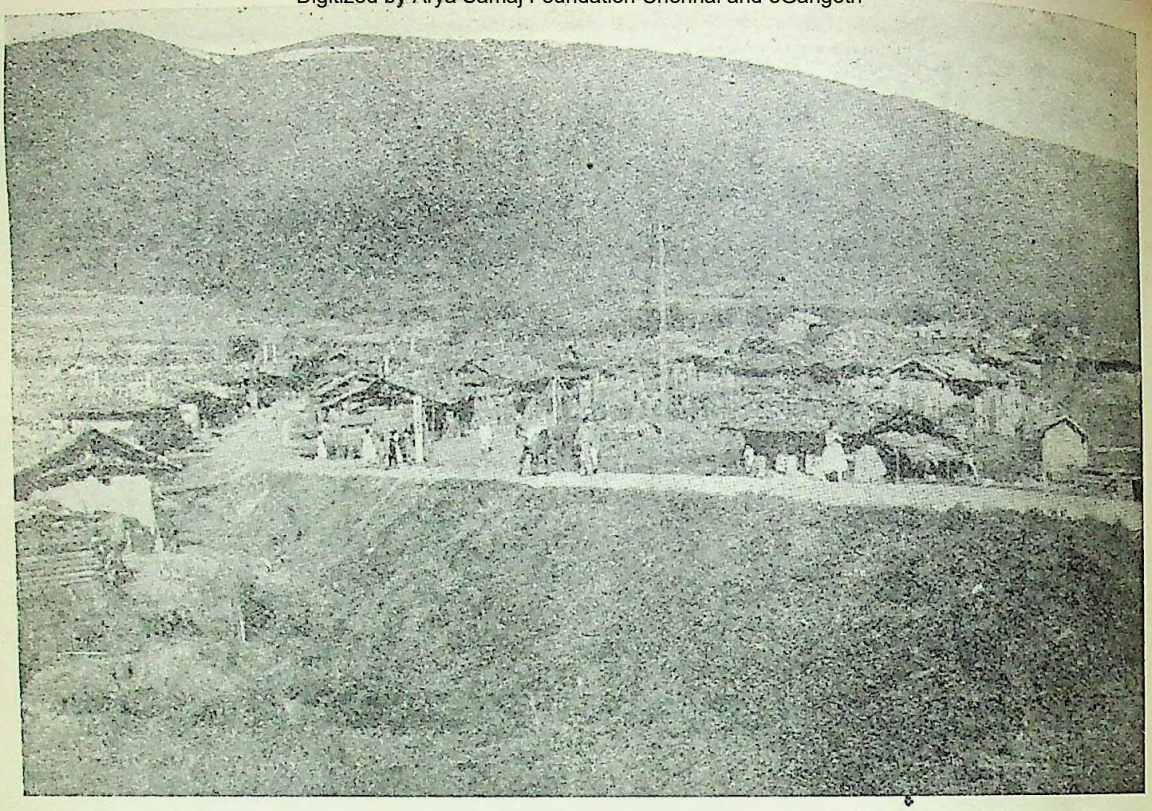
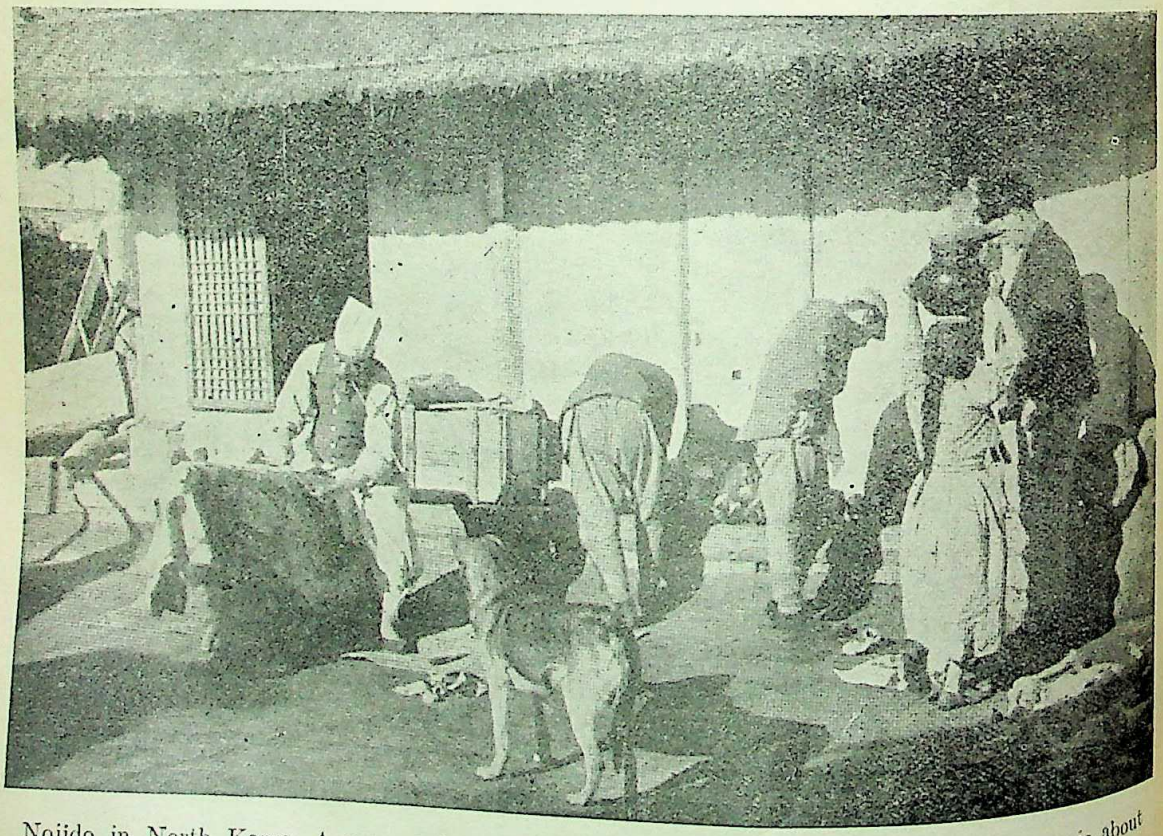


A village in the hilly districts of North Korea



Nojido in North Korea. A peasant is engaged in his household work. A party of hunters is about to leave the place

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In a dispute over the succession to the Dalai Lama-ship there was danger that the man of Mongols opposed to K'ang Hsi would attain the post. The K'ang Hsi Emperor intervened ; in 1720 his forces entered Lhasa as victors, his candidate was enthroned, and he appointed commissioners to direct affairs, established a garrison in the city, and posted troops at strategic points on the road to China. Tibet thus became a part of the Chinese Empire and in theory and usually in actuality has remained so to this day. During the Ch'ien Lung period, late in the eighteenth century, the connection was threatened by an invasion of the Gurkhas, from India. However, the Ch'ien Lung Emperor sent an army which, in spite of the vast distances from its base and the inhospitable terrain, drove back the Gurkhas and, indeed, brought Nepal to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Ch'ing.

At the dawn of the nineteenth century most of the Tibetans were under the overlordship of the Ch'ing dynasty. But this was more true of portions nearer to China than Outer Tibet which lies farthest from China Proper and over which the Chinese exercised little or no control. Outer Tibet, with its chief centre at Lhasa, has been more within the British than the Chinese sphere, although China still claims suzerainty.

Anglo-Tibetan Convention

With the beginning of the twentieth century the British began to take active interest in Tibetan political affairs. In 1904, fearing Russia, Great Britain sent to Tibet a military mission headed by Sir Francis Younghusband. The expedition, after a little fighting, made its way to Lhasa and there obtained an Anglo-Tibetan convention which clearly placed Tibet within the British sphere of influence. By it Tibet undertook to remove all armaments and forts which might impede free communication between the British frontier and Lhasa, and, except with British permission, not to cede or lease to any foreign power any Tibetan territory, nor admit a representative of any foreign power to Tibet, nor grant to any foreign power any concession for railways, telegraphs, mining, or other rights, nor to pledge any of her revenues to a foreign power. China, not unnaturally, questioned an arrangement which affected one of her dependencies, but it was not until 1906 that in an Anglo-Chinese convention Great Britain agreed that the term "foreign power" in the Anglo-Tibetan agreement did not include China and that she would not annex any Tibetan territory nor interfere in the administration of Tibet.

On the formation of the Republic of China in December, 1911, Tibet loosened the ties that bound it to the Government in Peking. And despite the assurances given by the new government that the Tibetans will inherit their titles, properties and the right of equality with the Chinese, the former drifted further away. The republican administration insisted that Tibet was still a part of China. However, by the end of 1912 Chinese troops were expelled from all but the fringe of the land. The British attempted to bring about a tripartite settlement between themselves, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, but the Chinese would not assent to the proposed agreement. In 1914, Great Britain reached an accord whereby the portion of Tibet which adjoined India was to be autonomous, although still technically a part of China.

A few years ago (1928) the portion next to Szechwan was marked out by the Chinese as the province of Hsik'ang, and the second south and west of Kansu as the province of Chinghai, or Kokonor. But the political control of the Chinese over this area is by no means constant or universally recognized.

Panchen-Dalai Tussle

On the death of the last Panchen in Western China in 1937, the Lama dignitaries of Kumbum Lamasery near Kokonor in China's remote north-west, in 1941, chose Tuteng Chuch-Chik of Yuehsang for the high office and put him under the regency of Lo-Ch'ang Ching-chen. The Kuomintang Government enthroned this 12-year youngster as the Panchen Lama of Tibet. The Lhasan authorities do not accept this boy-novice as their young Panchen. Now he is in Communist hands and there will be real trouble in Tibet if this young Rimpoche would come or even attempt to come to Tashilhumpo, his holy diocese. The Dalai Lama's Government is determined to resist such a move with all their strength and strategy. This explains the reason why a Tibetan delegation of the Dalai Lama's was recently refused entry into Mao's China.

In recent times, as a result of its unique position in Central Asia, Tibet has become a land of international interest. On various occasions in the past this country has been a play-ball of the foreign powers of Britain, China and Russia. As a result of the political change-over in India, Britain which was a balancing factor in Tibeto-Chinese relations has withdrawan and Tibet seems to become that old play-ball again. A permanent settlement of the dispute between the two Lamas, the Dalai and the Panchen, seems to be the only way out of the present impasse failing which Tibet may well be drawn into the arena of cold war between world powers.

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THE UNKNOWABLE

By SARDAR SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

Our difficulty in explaining to the uninitiated the nature of Godhead is due to the fact that a Being who transcends our comprehension is in fact an unknowable entity :

"Everybody calls Him great because he has heard people call Him thus;
But how great He is, only they realise who have seen Him.
We cannot know of His greatness, we cannot define Him in any way.
Those who speak of Thee, O Lord, remain absorbed in Thee."

Guru Nanak: *Asa*

"How can I speak of Thee? How can I praise Thee?
How can I explain or know?"

Guru Nanak: *Japji*

However penetrating may be one's intellect, it is unable to break its own limitations and reach God who is beyond those barriers.

"His condition cannot be known ;
How can one depict Him by clever words ?"

Guru Arjan : *Devghandari*

"Even the Devas, the Vedas and all other religious books cannot know the mystery of His nature."

Guru Govind Singh: *Jap*

"The Vedas know not how to define God; Brahma knows not the secret.
The *Avtaras* know not His extent. He is the Supreme Master, the Supreme *Brahm*, beyond all bounds.
He alone knows what He is.
All others speak of Him as they hear from others."

Guru Arjan: *Ramkali*

"Siddhas, Munis, Jakshas, Devas and Danavas (different orders of Hindu saints) know not even an iota of the mystery surrounding His nature."

Guru Govind Singh: *Swayyas*

As already stated, according to the Indian philosophy this world is the result of combination in various degrees of the three *gunas*, the three qualities or attributes of nature; natural knowldge is confined to these three qualities; every object in the world, ideal or real, has its being in these three aspects of nature. But God is beyond these three aspects; His attributes are infinite; you cannot therefore know of Him in His comprehensiveness.

"Beyond my mind, beyond mind is my Master;
Unfathomable is knowledge of Him.
Infinite are His attributes."

Guru Govind Singh: *Swayyas*

God is thus on quite a different plane from the natural order of things. Just as in the Euclidian Geometry we can think of only three dimensions, and the idea of a fourth dimension is quite incomprehensible to it, the same is the case with the idea of God, when viewed as an intellectual category. It is true that Einsteinian Mathematics has popularised a theory of the fourth dimension. Theoretically, we can talk of even an infinite number of dimensions, but from the Euclidian commonsense, or experimental point of view we cannot go beyond the three dimensions. Even the introduction of one more dimension has become a stumbling block for the understanding of new mathematical ideas, because the popular mind cannot yet go beyond the old notions, associated with the three dimensional universe.

The analogy should not be carried too far. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that God is beyond the reach of our ordinary conceptions and perceptions. God according to the Sikh Gurus, is *Agam* and *Agocher* beyond mind and beyond senses;

"God is beyond conception and perception;
He is unseen and beyond limit."

Guru Nanak : *Bilawal*

"The Absolute, the Unborn is beyond mind and beyond senses."

Guru Nanak : *Sarang Asa*

The Teacher hath shown me the untrodden path;
God is beyond mind and beyond senses."

Guru Arjan : *Bhairon*

The new fourth dimension is a mathematical dimension and not a spatial dimension; we cannot visualise the Time dimension which plays as important a part in the occurrence of an event as length, breadth and height. The universe as we see it, moves in three planes; to understand God we should try to lift ourselves to the fourth plane.

"Life and death are the work of three *gunas*;
All the four Vedas speak of the world of forms;
They explain of the three states of nature;
But we can know of God when, through the Teacher,
We reach the fourth state."

Guru Nanak : *Gauri*

"The world is absorbed in three *gunas*;
The Guru's followers have found the Lord in the fourth plane."

Guru Amar Das : *Siri Rag*

"The created knows not the worth of the Creator."

Guru Arjan : *Sukhmani*

"As a son knoweth not the time of his father's birth, how can I tell of Thy secrets, O Lord?"

Guru Govind Singh : *Vachitar*

"How can I guess the joy of living at God's lotus feet ;
Their beauty cannot be described, it can only be realised when seen ;
Even if I see Him, to whom shall I describe the face ?
No one would be satisfied with my words;
God is His own example.
I live in the joy of praising Him."

Kabir : *Shlokas*

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God is not apprehended by logical or mathematical reasoning but by largeness of consciousness. Reason is, in this respect, incorrigibly presumptuous.

"Intellect can present only a fragmentary and motionless view of life." The faculty to organise all knowledge into one unity is not a function of the mind. Reason sends forth true light, but only up to a certain limit. As far as it goes, it must be trusted and followed, but it cannot serve all the wants of human nature. "The world by reason knew not God."*

When a person tries to know of God by ordinary mental faculties his efforts are just like those of the born deaf trying to understand music through eyes, or of the born blind trying to see light through the fingers. Perhaps it is such an effort of the mind which Tagore has ridiculed :

"O Fool, to try to carry thyself upon thy own shoulders."

In the mental sphere the main factors that help us to recognise a thing under the law of association of ideas are contiguity, similarity and contrast; but as these are obviously inoperative in the case of Divine Existence, the incomprehensible remains uncomprehended.

This should not lead one to believe that Sikh Gurus under-estimated the value of reason. According to them, the idea of God was super-rational but not irrational ; the spiritual conception of God surpassed reason, it did not contradict it. Otherwise,

"It was in wisdom that we served the Master and were honoured ;
It was through reason that we studied and learnt the secret."†

It was after all man's reason that pointed the way to God, though it had not the power to take him guided to the goal.

God transcends human reason as such. He is unknowable. This may lead one to believe that Sikhs perhaps were agnostics. Sikhism and critical philosophy, and its child, Agnosticism, agree only in so far as they admit the inability of human intellect to comprehend an entity that is beyond its scope. But Sikhism has nothing in common with those of the agnostics who even go so far as to say that there was no sufficient ground either for an affirmative or a negative answer to the question, Does God exist ? Herbert Spencer when he says that we can know that an Ultimate Reality exists but do also know that Reality is unknowable, and Mansell when he says that man is compelled to believe in God's infinite being though he is unable to comprehend it, are, in this respect, more near to the Sikh Gurus than Comte whose position was that we could not answer the question about the existence of God one way or the other, or Huxley who, in order to distinguish himself from Atheists, propounded the theory that neither the nature nor the existence of God, nor the ultimate character of the universe, that is, whether it is material or ideal, is knowable.

The objects whose knowledge the agnostic believes to be impossible, are such as are the primary concern of mataphysics and theology. God, soul and the ultimate realities, of which phemomenal things are believed to be appearances, come under this head. According to Agnosticism, even if we would assert their existence we are still ignorant as to their essence. Hamilton and many other agnostics have called all our knowledge as impure or relative, because we come into touch with noumenal, *satata*, through the phenomenal, *Maya*. But according to Frederick Tenant, all knowledge being relative the difference between the knowledge which the agnostic asserted and which he disclaimed is one of degree of verifiability, not of kind or of intrinsic constitution. Science itself is at bottom interpretative, constructive, ejective and partly symbolical. Its inductive method involves faith, for which there is reasonable, but not logical justification. Knowledge as to the objects with which metaphysics and theology are concerned, is but a further extension of the same method and the same sustaining faith as science uses.‡

We need not discuss here how far the scientific truth and the spiritual truth resemble each other. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that Sikhism and Agnosticism agree only in so far as they deny to the intellect the power to define Godhead adequately ; to seek any more resemblance between these two sets of ideas would be unjustifiable. Sikhism by recognising a separate faculty in man other than reason (call that faculty Divine Sense, God-consciousness or by any other name) resolves the controversy which centres in Europe round the theory of human knowledge as to its relativity or absoluteness, as quite irrelevant.

In this respect the Sikhs have also nothing in common with the Buddhist agnostics. Their position is to a great extent the same as that of Comte, though some Buddhists now assert that Buddha's attitude towards the idea of God was that of humility rather than of doubt.

Reference may also be made to the well-known schools of Moslem agnostics, popularly known as *Daharias* and *Mutzalas*. Shahab-ud-Din Suhrawardy, one of the most zealous of Moslem agnostics, and who was done to death by organised Moslem fanaticism for that zeal, has explained the position of the sect as of those who believed in the impossibility of predicating any attributes to God or explaining the

* St. Paul.
† *Gitanjali*.

‡ In the article on Agnosticism in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* on which the above two paragraphs are based.

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mode in which He worked in the universe. The Sikh conception of God bears a closer resemblance to this idea than the ideas of Western agnostics. But here too the differences, specially as regards the existence of Divine sense or God-consciousness in man, in which Moslem agnostics had no faith, are vital.

The Sikh Gurus deprecated the spirit of controversy that, under the garb of rationalism, had often engulfed Hindu, Christian and Moslem theologians about the various attributes of God. Whether God or Universe were one or two; whether God had hands, eyes or feet like man, or whether his existence was of another order; whether God had friends and foes and children, or whether all this was a heresy; whether God was a unity or trinity—these questions were foreign to the spirit of the Gurus. Towards such controversies, the attitude of the Gurus was :

"People talk of true knowledge; they discuss and debate, the controversy ends in *trouble*.
Few keep themselves back from wrangling; but none will be saved without having been dyed with the love of God."

Guru Nanak : *Bilawal Sashtpadis*

"The unrighteous and unknowing do not know the secret ;
They talk and talk, and quarrel about phenomenon;
But the blind fools cannot come to any right conclusion."

Guru Amar Das : *Gauri*

"People talk noisily so that people may hear them;
But they do not try to understand what they speak."

Guru Ram Das : *Nat*

"Words do not dissolve doubts;
People waste their time in wrangling."

Kabir : *Sorath*

When one *fool* questions, seven wise men can scarcely answer; but when one wise man questions, seven fools are ready to answer. Under such circumstances agnosticism of a certain type is quite justifiable. Many of the controversies in the religious world are due to *wrangling about false notions* in a sphere where knowledge in the ordinary sense of the word is not possible.

———:O:———

ENGLISH POETS *VERSUS* PURISTS

By S. R. SWAMINATHAN,
Head of the Department of English, University of Saugor

The English have taken words from the lips of friends and enemies alike in peace and in war and enriched their language. Among the poets of the world, those of England have an honoured place wherever men's eyes and ears are undimmed by cultural or other prejudice. The handling of so rich a language by poets whose work is among the world's most cherished possessions must be of interest to all those who love their own languages and wish them well.

Purists have not been lacking in England. They have often condemned the corruption of the chaste native English idiom by Gallicisms and other foreign elements. They too quote their Scripture ! They hold up the Bible and its style as the model for all good writing. But even the language of the Bible is not so pure as the purists believe. I quote a passage below. Inverted commas indicate loan-words. The reader will see how vitally they contribute alike to the meaning and the beauty of the extract.

Behold ! I show you a "mystery." We shall not all sleep, but we shall be "changed." In a "moment," in the twinkling of an eye, at the last "trump," for the "trumpet" shall sound, the dead shall be "raised incorruptible" and we shall be changed. For this "corruptible" must put on "incorruption," and this "mortal" must put on "immortality"; and then shall be brought to "pass" the saying that is written—Death is swallowed up in "Victory." O Death where is thy sting ? O Grave where is thy victory ?

These loan-words notwithstanding, the language of the Bible is in great part pure. But can such a language be adequate for all purposes ? Middleton Murry's opinion on the subject will meet with common consent.

"The vocabulary on which the translators of the Bible drew is singularly pure ; purer than Shakespeare's by far. But the strength of a vocabulary does not really lie in its purity—and purity is in itself a very arbitrary conception when applied to language—but in its adaptability as an instrument. Think what you could do with Shakespeare's vocabulary as compared with what you could do with the vocabulary of the Bible ; no comparison is possible. I can conceive no modern emotion or thought—except perhaps some of the more Hegelian metaphysics—that could not be adequately and superabundantly expressed in Shakespeare's vocabulary ; there are very few that would not be mutilated out of all recognition if they had to pass through the language of the Bible."

The Road to Canterbury

English ballads illustrate how some natural loss, sorrow or pain can be best expressed in pure Saxon words. A mixed style cannot achieve the effect of lines like

Had we never loved sae kindly,
Had we never loved sae blindly,
Never met, never parted,
We had never been broken-hearted !

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But these are among the lanes and alleys of English poetry. The broad highway goes back to Chaucer and the pattern of language he adopted. From France and Italy, he gathered a rich harvest of words strikingly different from the native ones in accent, texture and suggestive qualities, and wove them together. The result was a fine blend of the raciness and vigour of the idiom of 'merrie' England with the charm and refinement of exotic tongues. From his day to this, English poets have been content to put themselves to the same schools on the continent. They have also been content—and it has broadened through the centuries from precedent to precedent—with the highway that Chaucer laid out for himself in the wilderness of the confused debate between native dialects and foreign languages in his day. If you open *The Canterbury Tales,* you will find at least one foreign word in every line ; these words are often polysyllabic, and they influence the meaning and music of the lines decisively. But this did not prevent Spenser from recognising this mixed vocabulary as the "well of English pure and undefiled."

Shakespeare

No writer in the world's history throws a greater burden on his words than Shakespeare. His language adapts itself to the imperious temper of kings. It discourses philosophy. Cordelia, Portia, Desdemona—types of gracious and beautiful womanhood—need another harmony for their low and gentle voices. It becomes the tripping measure of Ariel and Puck. Or with other notes than to the Orphean lyre it sings of madness, jealousy and murder.

It is not easy to explain the secret of this varied power. But one thing will strike even the casual reader of that great poet. And that is the breadth and comprehensiveness of his vocabulary. Teutonic, French, Italian, Roman and Greek voices mingle in this grand orchestration. Of all styles, his is the most mixed (or is it the most corrupt ?) style.

In single lines and phrases he mixes native and foreign words. Let the reader of Shakespeare savour again his random memories of stray lines :

"Sessions" of sweet "silent" thought ; green and "salad" days ; green and yellow "melancholy" (Gk. *melan* means black); "concealment" like a worm in the bud ; "patience" on a "monument" smiling at grief; maiden "meditation fancy"-free; in cradle of the "rude imperious surge" and the "visitation" of the winds.

He extends the same principle of a mixed style to longer passages. In his famous soliloquy, Hamlet begins with low breathings in monosyllabic Saxon words and rises to the full articulation of his thoughts in the long foreign words. *Consummation* is the Latin equivalent for English *end*; but what a world of difference in sound and suggestion between them ! Shakespeare needs both. Think of this passage without the Latin word :

. . . to die; to sleep;
No more; and by a sleep to say that we end
The heart-ache and the thousand "natural shocks"
That flesh is heir to, it is a "consummation"
"Devoutly" to be wished !

Consider the soliloquy of Macbeth meditating Duncan's murder. He begins muttering in simple native particles, swells up to the climax of his infinite doubt and fear in the long reverberations of his very being in polysyllabic loan-words, and again falls back on native words. This is the only use of the word *assassination* (from Ar. hashish) in Shakespeare, and Jesperson says that the word was a new one in English when the poet laid his eager hand on it.

If it were done when it is done, then it were well
It were done quickly; if the "assassination"
Could "trammel" up the "consequence" and "catch"
With his "surcease, success": that but this blow
Might be the be-all and the end-all here,
But here upon this bank and shoal of time,
We'd jump the life to come.

Can the infinite agony of Macbeth's revulsion after the murder be expressed without the foreign words in the lines :

This my hand will rather
The "multitudinous" seas "incarnadine"
Making the green one red !

Shakespeare applies the same principle to whole plays. The language of the speeches of Lear in the first part of the play is full of the pride, pomp and circumstance of these foreign words. In his anger, Cordelia is more hateful to him than

The "barbarous" Scythian
Or he that makes his "generation messes"
To "gorge" his "appetite."

But to the chastened Lear, all pride shed, Shakespeare finds words which the translators of the Bible might have envied :

Do not laugh at me ;
For as I am a man, I think this lady
To be my child Cordelia.

Milton

"Fancy's child with his native wood-notes wild"—that is how Milton refers to Shakespeare, perhaps expressing dissatisfaction with his 'small Greek and less Latin.' Chaucer borrowed his words from the Romance languages ; the poets of the Renaissance from these and the classical languages in addition. But Milton—outstanding example of scholar-poet—prefers to draw more largely on the classical languages. Modern debunkers—and the decay of classical scholarship increases their number—condemn Milton's language as un-English and noisy. Others familiar with these languages find in him the last reward of consummate scholarship. Matthew Arnold's estimate represents the catholicity of English taste in such matters.

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"This master of the great style of the ancients is English. All the Anglo Saxon contagion, all the Anglo-Saxon commonness beats vainly against the great style, but cannot shake it, and has to accept its triumph. But it triumphs in Milton, in one of our race, tongue, faith and morals. Milton has made the great style no longer exotic here; he has made it an inmate amongst us, a leaven and a power."

Wordsworth

Though not a purist, Wordsworth's professed partiality for simple words is well-known. But haven't we reason to be thankful that he had the courage and strength to write against his own principles of writing? I am sure readers of that poet cherish the memory of lines and phrases like :

> Years that bring the "philosophic" mind; the thought of my past years doth breed in me "perpetual benediction"; a dim and "undetermined" sense of unknown modes of being; the heavy and weary weight of all this "unintelligible" world : I have felt a "presence" that "disturbs" me with the "joy" of "elevated" thoughts, a "sense sublime" of something far more deeply "interfused"; from the boy there came feelings and "emanations" quiet as a nun breathless with "adoration."

What a loss these lines would suffer if we took away their loan-words !

Keats

The Paradise Lost, writes Keats in one of his letters,

> "though so fine in itself a corruption of our language...it should be kept as it is unique...a curiosity...a beautiful and grand curiosity. The most remarkable production in the world. A northern dialect accommodating itself to Greek and Latin inversions and intonations. The purest English, I think... or what ought to be the purest . . . is Chatterton's. The language existed long enough to be entirely uncorrupted by Chaucer's Gallicisms, and still the old words are used."

This is charming ignorance! Keats did not know Latin or Greek; nor much of the earlier language of England. Whatever his opinions on the subject, his handling of words in his poems leaves no doubt that he knew the charm of loan-words. He certainly liked the phrase—*Full in the "speculation" of the stars*. His Urn is a *bride of "unravished" quietness*. Revising the first draft of the *Nightingale Ode* he cut out the northern epithet "keelless" and put in the French "perilous" for those seas of romance and fantasy! The *"magic casements"* opening on them are not English. His Madeline must sleep an *"azure"-lidded sleep* on *"blanched"* (why not white?) *"linen"* (why not bed-sheet?), and it must be "lavendered"! Her lover must bring the finest dainties for her so that Keats may find exquisite foreign words for them !

"Lucent syrups tinct" with "cinnamon," "manna" and "dates," in "argosy transferred" from Fez, "spiced dainties" from silken Samarkand to "cedared" Lebanon! Would Keats have cut out lines like "diamonded" with "panes" of "quaint device" for all his love of northern Chatterton English ! Shades of Chaucer and Milton! How you conquer !

Sweet Jargoning !

Racy Saxon monosyllables, says Walter Pater, close to us as touch and sight, the English writer readily intermingles with long savoursome Latin words rich in second intentions. Am I exaggerating if I recall the Mariner's lines to describe the variety of the English poetic idiom?

> *Sometimes adropping from the sky,*
> *I heard the sky-lark sing :*
> *Sometimes all little birds that are;*
> *How they seemed to fill the sea and air*
> *With their sweet jargoning !*
> *Now it was like all instruments*
> *And now like a lonely flute.*

If Kalidasa Comes Back

By a perverse irony, there are men in the public life of Free India who would forge chains for her mind. Fetters of purism more disgusting than the irons Siberian criminals wore ! But the common man can be trusted to play the revolutionary with the laws of the purist.

And the poets too. For it is they who know the power and beauty of words. All craftsmen love their material. The cobbler knows the secret of his leather; the carpenter the intellect of his wood, and the potter communes with the very genius of common clay! A good writer savours his words on his tongue and ear, keeps them on long probation before he lets them kiss the lips of a dying Cleopatra or be hallowed to human memory through Bhishma's voice from his bed of arrows discoursing wisdom to the warriors of the Mahabharata.

Kalidasa knew all the passion of the pursuit of the fugitive harmony of word and image. No wonder he compares the ideal union of Parvati and Parameshwara to the attunement of word and meaning! If he comes back, he will gather all the wealth of words from China to Peru, and forge a style like a trumpet to unawakened India ! Like Chaucer, Shakespeare, or Milton he will lay diverse cultures and languages under contribution. I trade with the living and the dead, said Dryden, for the enrichment of our language. He will rise and soar and sing, while the brood of purists, like dumb and blinking owls, will flutter and hoot about in amazement and dismay of that large full-throated eloquence.

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STEERING THROUGH THE STORM (1928-35)

[Being a Chapter of the History of the Bethune Vidyalaya]

BY JOGESH CHANDRA BAGAL

THE Non-co-operation movement subsided, bearing no immediate fruits. But the cravings for self-rule or *Swaraj* it generated in the hearts of the people, came to stay. Indians were not satisfied with the sort of responsible government they received at the hands of the Britishers, and demanded a real share in the affairs of the State. The British Parliament sent out a Royal Commission to India with Sir John Simon at its head. It was an all-white Commission, Indians being strictly left out. This was taken exception to by all the political parties in India. The Indian National Congress came forward to start a boycott movement against the Commission with the slogan "Simon go back." As a preliminary to this, an all-India *Hartal* was proclaimed on the 3rd February, 1928.

Miss G. M. Wright was still the presiding deity of the Bethune Vidyalaya, under whose strict discipline it expanded and prospered so much. But the wave of Nationalism swept away all the barriers reared up with so meticulous care. The students joined the *Hartal*. This was considered as breach of discipline and Miss Wright did not hesitate to take severe steps. She closed the Vidyalaya and the Hostel *sine die*. The public mind was so much agitated against this measure that Miss Wright found the place too hot for her. The Governing Body of the College also could not subscribe to her view. It should be said to her credit that she preferred to relinquish the reins of office rather than give up her principles. She went on leave on 7th March, 1928, preparatory to retirement. During her leave-period Krishna Chandra Bhattacharyya, the famous philosopher-professor of the College, officiated for her as Principal. She retired on a proportionate pension in June, 1928. Mrs. Raj Kumari Das, Principal of the Eden High School for girls at Dacca, joined the College as Principal on June 25. She was an ex-alumnus of the Bethune College and younger sister of its first Indian Principal, Miss Chandra Mukhi Bose. An M.A. of the Calcutta University, she had also obtained Teacher's Diploma from the London University.

The troubles that beset the Vidyalaya, did not affect its usual satisfactory results in the University examinations. In 1928, 23 candidates appeared at the B.A. examination, and 19 passed. Three of these passes secured Honours, one each in English, Sanskrit and Philosophy. Of these latter again, Miss Surama Mitra secured a first class in Sanskrit Honours and stood first amongst the candidates. Of the 23 I.A. and 11 I.Sc. candidates, 18 and 10 respectively came out successful. The number of students rose high up to 170 on the 31st March, 1929.

Improvements in some other respects were also effected during this session. Physical training was introduced under a well-qualified physical instructress in the person of Miss Doris Webber. A drill-shed was completed and brought into use after the close of the year. Classes in music, both vocal and instrumental, were held regularly, under the auspices of the Sangit Sangha. The College *Magazine*, the Debating Society and the Old Girls' Guild continued. Annual Social functions such as the memorial meetings of Bethune and Vidyasagar as well as the prize distribution, were held with due eclat.

To feed the Women's Colleges, there must be more high schools. During the year 1928-29 some improvement was in sight in this respect. The Government gave their general approval to the policy that one school for girls should be established at each district headquarters on a grant-in-aid basis, of course within the limits of available funds. High Schools were started accordingly as an experiment at Khulna and Howrah during this session.

The year 1929 was seemingly lull though preparations were going on for a gruesome political struggle in the year next. This, however, could not affect the College during the session, and its work went on smoothly. The number of students on the 31st March, 1930, stood at 182. The examination results were excellent. Amongst the B.A. candidates, 25 in number, 21 succeeded. These passes included five Honours students, three in English and two in Sanskrit. Of the latter again, one, Miss Pritilata Gupta, secured a first class and stood third in order of merit. Twenty and ten students passed respectively from amongst the 22 I.A. and 11 I.Sc. candidates.

Miss Webber did excellent work in organising Physical Training both in the College and the Collegiate School. Drill was taken to with zeal by the girls. Classes in Music were carried on as before. Besides the usual social functions which reflect the lighter side of a collegian's life, some excursions and outings were resorted to in this session. Diamond Harbour, Barrackpore Government House, Victoria Memorial, Indian Museum and a Jute Factory at Serampore were the principal targets. This year's prize distribution ceremony was presided over by Her Excellency Lady Jackson. Some special awards were presented, and it was proposed that these awards would be given, if funds permitted, for domestic subjects and fine arts—cooking, needle-work and music, both vocal and instrumental, thus showing that the feminine and softer side of women's education was not neglected. Another feature of this year's Prize Day was the special prizes awarded by the Principal and staff

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to students who had done remarkably well in the University examinations. Ava Sen, Surama Mitra, Basanti Das and Rama Datta were the recepients of these prizes. Another mentionable event of this year was a visit to the College of Hon. Emily Kinnaird, who spoke to the collegians on international relationships and the interdependence of nations. The speech was very much appreciated.

The civil disobedience movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in April 1930, inspired our countrymen—men, women and children—with a new hope of deliverance. This affected most of the educational institutions. Our student community, especially the young men and women of Colleges, responded to the call of Mother India in this time of her prime need. It was no wonder then that the numerical strength of the Bethune Vidyalaya would decrease considerably. The Vidyalaya came to lime-light during this movement owing to certain actions of the Principal. Once in April and again in July the students abstained from attending College on account of some general strikes called *Hartal*. On the latter occasion the Principal rusticated all the students of the College who were absent on this day. This action of hers led to a flutter in the Press. The public mind was also greatly moved. The Governing Body of the College, however, intervened and decided that those who were willing to leave the College would be given transfer, but those who wanted to remain, must apologise and give an undertaking for future good conduct. Taking advantage of this decision many students left the College. The result was that from 182 students on the College rolls the number dwindled to 140 on the 31st March, 1931. *Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal for 1927-32* mentions this event in the following vein :

> "It should be noted with regret that a wave of unrest spread amongst a section of the students of the Bethune College during the civil disobedience movement which rendered disciplinary measures necessary. A few students were compelled to leave the College and others that remained had to give an undertaking for their future good conduct."

The national upheaval was also not a little responsible for the disparity between the candidates sent up and the passes at least in the Intermediate examination in 1930. Some students had either abstained from appearing at the examination, or could not pay adequate attention to their studies. Though there was perceptible disparity between the candidates sent up and the passes, nevertheless the results were not altogether unsatisfactory. Amongst the 23 B.A. candidates, 18 passed, as many as eight securing Honours—4 in English, 2 in Philosophy and one each in Sanskrit and Mathematics. This number in Honours was the highest since the Honours subjects were introduced. Of the 31 candidates for I.A. and 12 for I.Sc., 20 and 9 respectively passed.

Social and annual functions of the College and the Collegiate School were held as usual. Adequate attention was paid to the physical instruction of the girls both of the College and the Collegiate School. Miss Webber, the Physical Instructress, having resigned, her place was filled up by Miss Mary Rickets in August, 1930. Prizes are awarded on the results of the annual examinations every year.

With the advent of 1931 things at the Bethune Vidyalaya had a bit settled down. In spite of the disturbances of the previous year, the high standard of results at the University examinations was maintained. All the five candidates, sent up, secured Honours two having the first class in Sanskrit. Of these two Nanibala Dutta Gupta stood first class second. Other results were also very satisfactory. Besides the 17 successful B.A.'s from amongst 20 sent up, 23 out of 24 girls passed I.A. and 5 out of I.Sc. examination. In B.A. Honours and I.Sc., there were cent-per-cent successes. There was also a small increase in the number of students which stood at 149 on 31st March, 1932.

Not only in 1931 but during the whole quinquennium the Vidyalaya kept up its high efficiency so far as the results of the University examinations were concerned. *The Quinquennial Report of the Bethune College and the Attached Collegiate School for the years 1927-32* gives a summary of these achievements in the following words :

> "The College maintained its standard of reputation in the high percentage of passes during the quinquennium except in one year. The results in Sanskrit have been uniformly good. The College topped the list of successful candidates in First Class Honours in Sanskrit at the B.A. Examination in 1927 and 1928; our girls secured the second place in the first class in 1929 and 1931 in Sanskrit.
>
> "One of our students secured the Duff Scholarship for standing first in Chemistry in 1928 and also obtained the Sarada Prasad Scholarship and Janaki Prasad Scholarship for standing first in Botany. Our girls have carried off the Nawab Abdul Latif and Father Lafont Scholarship in science subjects for six years in succession from 1925 to 1930. In 1927, 1928 and 1930 our girls secured the Gangamani Gold Medal awarded to the best scholar in Moral Philosophy at the B.A. Examination. In 1930 one of our girls secured the Bankim Chandra Gold Medal for original composition in Bengali at the I.A. Examination and in 1931 another girl obtained the same gold medal for original composition in Bengali at the B.A. Examination."

Since the inception of the Padmavati Gold Medal up till 1931, the Bethune Vidyalaya supplied twenty-two recipients, a unique honour for any institution of any clime or country. In the quenquennium under report, three obtained this medal, Abha Sen in 1927, Kamalrani Sinha in 1929 and Nanibala Datta Gupta in 1931.

The *Quinquennial Review* of the Education Department for the period, also acquaints us, amongst other things, with the progress made in the higher education of women in Bengal. The following table of successful women candidates in examinations in 1926-27 and 1931-32 will at once show the rapid strides of our women's progress in higher education :

	Matric	Int.	B.A.	M.A.
1926-27 ..	157	89	44	4
1931-32 ..	394	183	88	10

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The portals of the Calcutta University were open to our womenfolk, long long ago. It was a happy sign of the times that they now resorted to post-graduate studies in larger number. Students who took up Honours in their B.A., were mostly suited for these higher studies. Bethune College did her mite to prepare girls for these.

Good times were ahead. With the increase in number of students, the paucity of accommodation had been keenly felt for a long time. During the quinquennium 1927-32, the premises of the Christ Church School, adjacent to the Bethune College grounds, were acquired at a cost of Rs. 2,50,000, originally with the intention of providing additional hostel accommodation for the Bethune College. The School was allowed to occupy the buildings till 30th April, 1932 at a fixed rent. But how these premises were converted into the present habitat of the College is a really interesting story. We shall have to tell it in the course of our narrative. The corporate life of the College was nourished by the Old Girls' Guild, the Debating Society, socials and excursions. The College *Magazine* re-appeared after a lapse of nearly three years in March, 1931, under the editorship of Prof. Betoy Kumar Choudhury, M.A. Nanibala Datta Gupta was the student sub-editor. Classes in Music were held as usual under the auspices of the Sangit Sangha. Instruction in physical culture continued as before. Miss Margaret Peterson was appointed physical instructress in December 1931 in place of Miss Rickets who had resigned.

The year 1932-33 was a landmark in the annals of women's education in Bengal. The number of Arts Colleges for Indian women rose from 4 to 6. These institutions included the Women's Section of the Vidyasagar College considered as a separate unit and the Intermediate classes started at the Victoria Institution, Calcutta. They registered 508 students on 31st March, 1933, as compared with 366 on the corresponding date of the previous year. Besides this number there were 346 girls reading in Arts Colleges for men and in the University. The Ashutosh College, Calcutta, and the Brojomohan College, Barisal, opened separate sections for women. In August 1932 the Government approved the proposal to admit women students in the Krishnagar College.

This opening of so many women's Colleges or sections in 1932-33, meant much for the Bethune Vidyalaya. Though the higher education, for which the Vidyalaya stood, found a great impetus in this way, the unique position it had held so far in point of numerical strength, was no longer tenable. The strict discipline of a Government institution was also not a little responsible for the large decrease in number in this session. It should be mentioned here that the Vidyalaya again faced troubles in February 1932, when the Civil Disobedience movement commenced for the second time in India. It was for these reasons that the students on the rolls of the College on 31st March, 1933 fell so low as to 65 as against 149 in the previous year. The cost of educating a student in the College necessarily increased, being Rs. 885 annually. Of this amount Rs. 816 was met from the provincial revenues. The College, however, excelled in the University examinations of 1932, beating even the premier institution of the province in point of percentage of passes. Of the 19 B.A. students, 17 passed, 4 securing Honours. Out of 24 I.A. candidates, 23 succeeded. There was cent-per-cent success in I.Sc., the number of passes being 5. The corporate life of the College was strengthened by the starting of the College Union in 1932.

India was passing through troubles. The Round Table Conference held its sessions in London, thrice in the three years 1930-32, to thrash out a democratic constitution for India. Mahatma Gandhi attended the second session of the conference as the sole representative of the Indian National Congress. It should be noted that Sarojini Naidu represented the progressive section of the Indian womanhood at this session. The hopes with which the Congress joined it, were frustrated by the conspiracy of the vested interests and the reactionary forces of the country. Mahatma Gandhi returned to India, only to be clapped into prison by the powers-that-be. The second Civil Disobedience movement was not allowed to proceed further this time. The underground methods of the revolutionary party got the upperhand. The youths universally brave the hazardous path, and India was no exception. Our educated young ladies, including several ex-students of the Vidyalaya, namely, Bina Das, Pritilata Waddedar and Kalpana Datta, did not hesitate to risk their lives in pursuit of their ideals.

The Bethune Vidyalaya suffered greatly. But just as in former years, it did not take much time to recoup its former position. By July 1933, its numerical strength rose from 95 to 148. The number of candidates, appearing at this year's examination, was, however, small, but the results were not very unsatisfactory. Amongst the eight B.A. candidates six passed, one securing Honours. Seventeen candidates sat for the I.A. and four for the I.Sc. examination, and twelve and three respectively passed. I have referred to the starting of the College Union in the previous year. Under its auspices debates, excursions and trips were held during the session. *The Bethune College Magazine* again came to light in March 1933, after a lapse of one year, this time with Professor Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A., Kavyatirtha, as Editor. The *Magazine*, under the editorship of Professor Chakravarti, became a regular forum of the academic and extra-academic activities of the College. Calamity strengthens the bonds between man and man. The Behar Earthquake in January 1934, drew out the best that was in us to relieve the distressed humanity. The students of the Bethune Vidyalaya could not remain idle. To raise sufficient funds, they organised a charity performance of *Vishnupriya* on the board of the University Institute and sent the net sale proceeds to the proper quarters. Another notable event of the session (1933-34) was the retirement of Principal Rajkumari Das and

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installation in her place of Mrs. Tatini Das, an ex-alumnus of this College, an erudite scholar, holding the post of the Professor of Philosophy in the College since July 1932. She infused new life into the working of the College in different spheres.

The session following, 1934-35, promised well for the College. The number of students increased to 194. By the re-arrangement of class-rooms and by the provision of holding classes in the Library Hall, increased accommodation was made available. Proper arrangements were made in this session for the teaching of Civics and Economics by the appointment of one more teacher for the subject.

The number of candidates and passes at the University examinations in 1934 also increased considerably. At the B.A. 11, the I.A. 32 and the I.Sc. 13 candidates appeared. Of these 8, 26, and 10 passed respectively. One girl secured Honours. Another, Miss Asima Mukherjee, won the Nawab Abdul Latif and Father Lafont Scholarships for standing first in Science subjects among the lady students in the I.Sc. examination, besides one Senior Scholarship (for girls). Miss Azizunnessa Khatun of the third year class won a medal at the Art exhibition held during the session at the Sakhawat Memorial Girls' High School. This year many a scholarship holder of the Calcutta as well as the Dacca University got admitted into the first and the third year classes of the College.

The corporate life of the students was strengthened by placing the College Union on a strong footing. A constitution, drawn up at the instance of the Principal, was placed before a general meeting of the Union on the 14th July and passed. Provision was made in it for an all-sided growth of corporate life in the College through four departments, *e.g.*, (1) Socials and Excursions, (2) Debates, (3) Magazine, and (4) Sports. During this session work began in all these branches. Excursions and trips were carried on under the guidance of the Professors in different groups. Dr. D. N. Maitra delivered a course of lectures on the 28th July and the 18th August. The subject of the lectures was—"Lesson and Experience of Europeon Tour." The lectures were illustrated with lantern slides. The old Girls' Guild, latterly known as Old Students' Association, instituted in the College on 3rd September 1921, was instrumental in keeping touch with their *Alma mater* and the students by organising a College Day in the first week of September every year. This association helped poor and deserving students by way of stipends. A constitution was also prepared for and passed by this body in 1934.

It should be mentioned to this year's credit that three special prizes were instituted anew. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta offered two annual prizes out of the Hemaprava Memorial Fund and out of the Kali Prasanna Das Gupta Fund to those students who would stand first respectively in Botany and Mathematics in the Intermediate Examinations of the Calcutta University among the students of the Bethune College. Mrs. Sarojini Dutta offered a prize to the most regular student of the Second year Botany class in memory of her daughter Miss Madhuri Dutt. All the prizes were awarded for the first time in 1934. Mrs. Dutt also awarded this year a gold medal bearing her daughter's name to the best Bengali essay-writer amongst the first year students.

The storm that was raging so furiously in the political horizon of India, subsided considerably in 1935. The Joint Select Committee appointed by Parliament had thrashed out a draft constitution out of the babel of opinions of the Indian politicians. It was passed by the Parliament and received Royal assent in course of the year. It came to be known as the "India Act of 1935." The Indian National Congress, too, at last resolved to make the best out of this Act. This had certainly a healthy repurcussion on the educational institutions of the country. The Bethune Vidyalaya had already passed the crisis. Its number of students rose up, being 260 on the 31st March, 1936, an increase of 66 over the preceding year. Results of the University examinations were uniformly good. In 1934 the Bethune College had occupied the first position among the affiliated women's Colleges and women's departments attached to men's Colleges in Calcutta. The results of 1935 were no less satisfactory. All the students at the B.A. examination who had taken up Honours came out successful. Miss Latika Basu and Miss Pratibha Neogy respectively secured the fifth and the nineth place in the First Class among the successful candidates with Honours in Sanskrit. The passes in the B.A., I.A. and I.Sc. examinations were 4, 26, and 10 respectively, the percentage being 81.2 and 76.8 in the latter two. Only one student appeared in the B.Sc. for the first time from the College as a non-collegiate student and passed in the Pass Course.

The College progressed during the year in more ways than one. It was affiliated to the Honours course in Economics, a subject that was growing popular even with our women-folk. The physical education of the girls was especially looked after. On the retirement of Miss Magaret Peterson on 1st March 1935, Miss Bidhan Nandini Majumdar, an Assistant Mistress of the Collegiate School, was appointed physical instructress. She was all along full of enthusiasm for the development of a sporting spirit among the students. The Old Girls' Association offered a Silver Cup of Rs. 30/- for the students for inter-class competition in games. This turned into an annual function. This was a sure means of cementing the bond of fellowship between the old and new alumni of the institution. The number of special prizes was augmented by the *Pramila Devi Gold Medal* instituted by Principal Mrs. Tatini Das in memory of her mother. This was to be awarded annually to the best student of the College, that is, the student who would secure the highest number of marks at the B.A. examination among students of the College. The Kshirodh Chandra Roy Memorial Prize was for one year awarded by Miss P. Roy in memory of her father to the student of the Third year class who stood first in English (Honours) at the annual Prize test competition. Both of them were awarded on the results of 1934. Students

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ed the College began to win laurels even beyond the precincts of the College. On the Foundation Day celebrations of the Calcutta University, they, among the girls of the different Colleges, led the March Past. But this was not all. In an essay competition held under the auspices of *The Modern Student* Miss Gaurirani Roy of the First Year Class joined and won a gold-centred medal in recognition of the excellence of her composition. The subject of the essay was 'Contribution of Western Education to the Emancipation of Indian Womanhood.'

Social functions of the College were held at usual. Socials, excursions and trips went on. Subjects discussed at the Debating Society and special lectures organised for their edification, were mostly of a high level. "The same curriculum should be prescribed both for male and female students" was discussed threadbare in a debate and thrown out. This shows how our girls think over the matter. Professor Nirmal Kanti Majumdar's lecture on the Joint Select Committee Report, apart from its educative value, served to bring the girls in touch with the topics of the day. The old students' Association, to which I have referred already, continued its work of helping poor students. The College Day, organised by students, was really a feat to be conjured with.*

* By courtesy of the *Bethune Vidyalaya Centenary Celebrations Commemoration Volume.*

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SHIP-BUILDING IN THE VICINITY OF CALCUTTA

By JATINDRA NATH BOSE, F.R.G.S.

SHIP-BUILDING is one of the greatest assembling industries of a country. The industry is often described as a "Trade barometer," as it reflects, perhaps more faithfully than any other trade, the general state of the world's commercial activity. At the same time it is the key to the prosperity, or otherwise, of a large number of subsidiary industries. A strong navy, able to maintain the freedom of the seas and to protect the country's merchant marine, is essential for its independence and liberty.

India, although she cannot show actually any remains of her ancient ship-building arts, can convince anybody that her maritime activity was great in the Buddha period for the spread of religion and trade. The Biblical records go back several thousand years and the remains of ships used by the Vikings in their discovery of America may be seen today in the museum of Massachusetts built 5 or 6 hundred years before Columbus (1492) or Amerigo Vespucci (1498) sailed for the West. The caravel used by Columbus in attempting to reach the Indies was 230 tons, 128 feet long by 26 feet broad, and was a big advance on man's original raft 70 feet by 20 feet, used by Egyptians, 3000 B.C., the like of which selling their catches of fish can still be encountered by ocean-going vessels off the coast of Peru.

Ship-building has undergone change from wood to iron, and iron to steel, and from sail to steam for power and recently Diesel-engines and in near future atomic energy. In the early years of the 19th century, the transition from wood to iron for ship construction gradually took place. In the early transitional stage a combination of wood and iron was employed, the internal structure being of iron with wood-planking attached to iron ribs forming the outer skin. The composite structure was the basis on which some of the "clippers" were built. With the opening of the Suez Canal, the clippers became uneconomic as compared with steam-ships. They could not sail through it. Steam was first used as a method of propelling a ship in 1788. The earliest steam-ships were propelled by paddle wheels; after 1850 the screw propeller became the more general method. A great impetus was given to metal construction by the development of mild steel of the 19th century. The reduction in scantlings due to the superior qualities of steel compared with iron was an important factor in hastening the change-over and in little more than ten years from its adoption, mild steel had practically superseded iron, and steel holds the field. The development of steam tonnage followed the progress made in steel production, and was especially influenced by the production of the Siemens-Martin open-hearth process, whereby a mild and ductile steel became available superior to iron and cheaper than steel made by the Bessemer process of that time. The open-hearth steel with a tensile strength of 30 tons per square inch compared with 22 tons per square inch also permitted a substantial reduction in the scantlings of marine boilers with an increase of steam pressure, to meet the needs of the engineer for the development of the multiple expansion reciprocating steam-engines.

The engine and hulls must be made of cast iron and steel. The steel plates from which the boilers and the hull are made are of special alloys. Hulls will corrode

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in sea water at a very rapid and uneven rate when the distribution of the non-metallic elements in the metal varies. Particularly is this the case when the distribution of carbon is irregular. A section of the plate with lower carbon than the other sections will pass into solution rapidly although painted over, paints being very often porous membrances and not necessarily excluders of moisture. The piston and cylinder covers of Diesel engines are subject to high temperature, and the pig iron used must contain low percentages of phosphorus. Other parts, such as engine cylinder liners and piston rings, require high resistance to wear. Hence they are alloyed with nickel and chromium or hardened by sulphur. Boilers sometimes crack, due to the action of alkali; it was discovered some time ago that small quantities of alkali in the boiler water would prevent excessive corrosion, but excessive concentration of alkali causes fracture to occur. The application of Electro-Chemical science to the protection of boilers and hulls has been made full use of. Formerly zinc-plates were attached to the interior of boilers and condensers and on the hull behind the bronze propellers, which corroded away in preference to the steel of the boiler shell or hull, the zinc being more electro-positive than the steel. Provided zinc-plates are fairly pure and do not contain segregated lead, this method has proved of great use. Electric current protection has also been used to prevent the boilers and hulls corroding. This employs a positive anode of iron in circuit with a negative boiler shell or makes the hull negative. This process is effective, but has the disadvantages of leaving a flocculent precipitate of ferric hydroxide in the boiler, which is liable to cause "priming" and consequent choking of the turbine blading in turbine-engined ships.

The repeated use of the boiler water is necessary on board the ship to avoid excessive make-up from the main tanks or from the evaporators. Also to increase the engine efficiency, the engines are fitted with condensers, through which sea water is pumped to condense the steam. To check corrosion of the condenser tubes a slight increase in capital cost involving the use of a single phase copper nickel alloy will practically solve the problem. Practical sea-faring men found that a cast iron propeller was rapidly destroyed in sea water and that bronze propellers stood up better to the action of the sea water. A bronze alloy of copper and tin were expensive and therefore brass alloys of copper and zinc were used. These were later strengthened by the addition of iron which was added to the brass in the form of an alloy of iron and manganese. Hence manganese-bronze-propellers were produced which are actually brass with iron as hardening agent (about 1 per cent) and traces of manganese. With the advent of turbine-driven high speed propellers, the amount of sea water passing over the surface in a given time, was rapidly increased and the corrosion effects became more noticeable. Since high-speed propellers tend to produce cavities in the water in their vicinity it was thought that the collapse of these cavities set up "erosion" forces which mechanically knocked holes in the propeller blades and eroded them away. The mathematicians were turned on to the problem and it can be shown quite readily that if a vacuum cavity collapses instantaneously very large forces come into play. What was overlooked in applying the mathematics to the problem was that in the region of the propeller there can be no such thing as vacuum. The cavities are full of air and moisture containing salt in solution—an ideal condition for corrosion—not for erosion. The result of the erosion theory was to harden further the manganese-bronze by eliminating the softer X-phase by the addition of more zinc and the addition of nickel instead of iron as hardening agent. Thus a strong metal was produced with only one phase and with higher corrosion-resisting qualities.

The corrosion of brass in sea water or salt water atmosphere is of importance in life-boats which were (and are) filled with light brass tanks to give buoyancy. These tanks when opened up for inspection were frequently found to be cracked and useless. The examination of all such cases of cracking under high power magnification after suitable etching shows that the weak and highly corrosive Y-phase is present. The reason why this has not been recognised is due to the fact that the phase diagrams have been established under laboratory annealing conditions, which are very different from the conditions of large mass annealing under industrial conditions.

One of the recent developments in ship-building has been the increased use of welding in place of rivetting.

British and American scientists are combining in a plan for the creation of atom-driven ships. U. S. A. navy has placed a contract for an atomic pile and equipment for building such ships. According to a British scientist, a ship's atomic plant supplying 150,000 horse-power would need 1000 tons of steel and concrete in order to protect the crew from lethal radiations. If a defect arises, months will elapse before the radio-activity subsides enough to allow for repairs. Problems to be overcome include temperature control, cooling methods and avoiding discharge overboard of contaminated materials. Full details regarding developments are considered secret by both countries.

News have been received that plans are being drawn by A. C. Hardy, Britain's foremost ship designer. The *Atom Queen* will be nearly a third as long as the *Queen Elizabeth* and will cross the Atlantic in about three-quarters of the four days now taken by the *Queen Elizabeth*. She is designed to take 300 passengers and will cruise 36 knots, equal to the

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speed of a fast destroyer. One of her greatest attractions is that her fares will be at least a quarter lower than present-day fares. This is possible for lower cost of fuel. Fuel for the 22 round trips across the Atlantic which the *Queen Elizabeth* makes every year costs about £750,000. Another economy will be that the engine room will be worked entirely by electronic brain robots. It will be controlled from the bridge by push buttons, and the navigation bridge will look like the cock-pit of an air-liner. Another factor in the lower fares is that meals will not be included. Passengers will pay as they eat, and the man who wants luxury and the man who wants economy will both be catered for. The outline of the ship will be very different from that of existing ships. There will be no superstructure. Funnels and masts are unnecessary and the bridge will be in the enclosed top deck. The top deck will be a tough transparent plastic, and will have under it swimming pools, tennis courts and recreation spaces.

The 1950 edition of the standard reference work *Jones Fighting Ships* predicted "revolutionary types of warships" in the next few years, including the atom-bomb carrier, the guided destroyers and ships driven by gas turbines.

The National Physical Laboratory of Great Britain has two tanks available for investigation of designs by ship-building firms. Models are made on the basis of the designs proposed and these are tested in the tank under scientific control and experiment so that improvement may be suggested. During the last 20 years, increase in the knowledge of hull-form resistance has brought about a reduction of 8 per cent in the resistance of average merchant cargo ship. Over the same period, experimental tank research has added to the knowledge of the designer in the selection of the best propeller dimensions, blade shape, etc. to ship, speed and engine conditions. This has resulted in a general gain of 9 per cent in the propulsion efficiency, so that 17 per cent less fuel is now burned to produce the same speed due to the improved design of the hull-form and propellers.

We have also National Physical Laboratory at Delhi and Electro-Chemical Research Laboratory at Karaikudi and expect to get help, suggestions and advices on various points before actually starting a new ship-building industry.

Under present conditions only three ships can be constructed by the Scindia Navigation Company at Bishakhapattam Ship-building Yard. Every year some 20 m. tons of merchandise and some 3 m. passengers are mainly carried by foreign ships. India holds only 5 per cent of their great carrying trade against 95 per cent carried by foreigners. In coastal trade Indian ships cannot carry more than 20 per cent of this merchandise. In sea-trade, British holds 64 per cent, other foreign companies 35 per cent and Indian Shipping Companies a little over one per cent only.

This situation can be improved if India builds her own ships. As it would not be possible for India to buy a sufficient number of ships from abroad in order to be self-sufficient in carrying trade, she must expand her ship-building arts with all her attempts in quickest possible time.

The three main requirements of ship-building industry are : (1) A navigable waterway, as near to the sea as possible, in which vessels can be launched, (2) an easily available supply of the appropriate building materials, and (3) plenty of labourers for seamen as well as for various other capacities. All these can be easily fulfilled in the vicinity of Calcutta. We are glad to learn that our Government have paid attention to this and suitable sites, such as Diamond Harbour, Rajganj, Uluberia and Geonkhali are being considered. The Scindia Navigation Company was at first eager to start ship-building at or near Calcutta, but their attempts were then baffled by the then League Government for the protection of British interests. Failing to get any site near Calcutta they selected Bishakhapattam as their ship-building yard. That Calcutta and its vicinity is an ideal place for ship-building has been announced and proved by various authorities besides Scindia Company. Col. Watson in 1780 attempted building ships near Calcutta, the locality near Kidderpore Docks is still known as Watgunj after his name. The ship-building yard of this locality built 237 vessels within 40 years from 1781 to 1821. Uluberia had also a ship-building yard and 27 vessels were built here within 17 years from 1811 to 1828. There was also a ship-building yard near Barrackpore between Titagar and Khardah, and a ship of 1500 tons was built here in 1800. There are at present 16 Indian vessels engaged in the India-U.K.-continental trade. There are six engaged in the Calcutta-North American Trade. There are two vessels engaged in the Calcutta-Canada trade. None in the Calcutta-Mexican Gulf trade. None in the Calcutta-River Plate trade or the Calcutta-South America trade, or the Calcutta-African Ports trade or the Calcutta-Far Eastern trade. There is not one Indian Tanker though a very large quantity of oil has to be imported into India.

Few Indian ships are concerned with export trade from India and import trade to this country with very occasional picking-up trades on the wayside ports. Indian shipping has no thought of entering into what is called "Cross Trade" or trade between ports unconnected with India. Comparison of foreign shipping about this is striking. For example, the three Fenno-Scandian countries of Norway, Sweden and Denmark have less than 2 per cent of trade with India, and yet the number of ships of these three countries plying to and from India is double the number of all the Indian ships engaged in the entire trade with the United Kingdom and the continent. It has also to be

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remembered that the mercantile navy of war-affected countries are fast developing. Italy has almost restored its pre-war mercantile marine. Germany is sure to come into the trade sooner or later. The European countries have not only restored their pre-war tonnage and shipping but are fast increasing far beyond that tonnage. Japan is now working on a new ship-building programme for 46 ocean-going vessels totalling 400,000 tons and is converting 23 liberty ships into ocean-going vessels. General MacArthur, Supreme Allied Commander, announced that $24m. of U.S. aid would be given up to Japan to help rebuild her merchant fleet. This amount will be released from the yen proceeds of the sale of American aid supplies. Japan will build vessels totalling 275,000 tons in 1950 and convert 272,000 tons of non-standard shipping to ocean-going shipping meeting International standards. U. S. aid will finance 50 per cent of the new construction and 70 per cent of converting 29 old vessels.

Russia's ship-building yards for sea-going ships are at Leningrad, Nikolayev, Sevastopol and Vladivostock. There are new ship-yards at Komsomolsk-on-Amur. River-crafts are built at the Sozmovo yards (Gorki) near Kazan, Perm, Krasnoarmeisk (near Stalingrad) on the Volga, Kiev on the Dnieper, and Tyumen on the Ob-Irtish system. About Russia's navy strength Admiral Sherman, Chief of U. S. Naval Operations, recently declared that Russia had more cruisers in active service than the U.S.A. and that Russian ship-building capacity was reported to be double its 1940 level. Modern cruisers built in Russian ship-yards were heavy ships of high speed, armed with a standardized rapid-firing high velocity 7.1 inch triple turret battery. The total number of Russian cruisers are 14 (the U.S.A. has now 13). The Russian fleet's known strength are 3 old battleships, 14 cruisers, 110 destroyers and about 270 submarines.

According to Lloyd's Shipping Register, the tonnage of ships built throughout the world in 1949 exceeded that of 1948 by 822,062 tons. Excluding ships of less than 100 tons gross and warships, 926 ships totalling 9,131,805 were built. Well over 1,260,000 were from Britain and Northern Ireland of which 41.2 per cent was for owners abroad. The tonnage output of other leading countries in 1949 was given as : U.S.A. 633,306; Sweden 323,099; Holland 169,295; France 154,859 and Japan 147,974.

We are glad to learn that the Government-sponsored first Shipping Corporation known as Eastern Shipping Corporation started functioning with a fleet of two vessels, West Bengal and Bombay. These two 10,000 tons Canadian Victory Ships were purchased by the Government of India in April 1949, at a cost of Rs. 20 lakhs each. The vessels built in 1944 have been operating on the India-Australia Line since July last on behalf of the Government with Scindias as Managers. The authorised capital of the Corporation is Rs. 10 crores and an issued capital of Rs. 2 crores. The Government will own 76 per cent of the shares leaving the balance to the Scindia Steam Navigation Company who will act as Managing Agents for the Corporation.

The Corporation expects to have soon five more ships—three "owned" and two "chartered." The Corporation routes will be India-Australia, India-Far East, India-Singapore and India-East Africa. The other two Corporations, scheduled to run on the India-U.K.-Continent line and the India-America line, are, however, not likely to be formed in the near future owing to financial stringency.

The normal draught of the modern largest vessels in the world is at present 37 feet. A good navigable channel at least 1,000 feet wide and 40 feet deep at mean low water springtide in the Hooghly should be maintained up to the port of Calcutta. Owing to the budgetary position, the Government of India have for the present given up the idea of acquiring the Ship-building Yard of Bishakhapattam, but have agreed to place orders for the construction of 3 cargo ships of 8,000 tons at a price of Rs. 64 lakhs each. This would give Government time to make the necessary financial arrangements to take over the ship-building yard. It is expected that the execution of the contract for building of these ships will take fifteen months. The contract price is extremely high because it involved a loss of Rs. 24 lakhs per ship to the Government in view of the fact that the market-price of such ships built in Britain, was about Rs. 40 to 42 lakhs. But it is understood that the contract will ensure the execution of the work on a non-profit no-loss basis. One of the reasons of high cost in the building of the ships in India is the country's dependence on overseas markets for several essential materials required for the industry. The most important of these is the shortage in the type of steel required for the purpose.

According to Port Trust Administration of 1948 the total tonnage of sea-borne traffic handled by Calcutta Port during the year 1948-49 amounted to 8,163,067 against 6,949,528 the year before. In view of the growing importance of the trade of Calcutta it would be necessary and advantageous to start ship-building in the vicinity of Calcutta.

A research organisation should be made to assist various departments by offering advice on subjects which are outside the ordinary run of their experience and by bringing to their notice the results of scientific studies which have a bearing on their work. Free discussions should also be invited from any man interested and who can throw some light towards structural and navigational aids.

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PROSTITUTES IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

By Dr. D. P. KHANAPURKAR

The view that poverty and economic unequality are the sole causes of prostitution, is not correct. The majority of the prostitutes in this presidency do not come from a class of women, who lead this life because of poverty and dire need of maintenance. On the contrary, they are mainly recruited from classes, which can be termed 'courtesan classes.' These classes have a religious sanction behind them and were in the first instance dedicated to the service of God and His temple.

Amongst these classes Kalavants rank highest. They are also known as Naikins and are found in Kanara and Ratnagiri districts. They derive their name from 'Kala' (Art) and are singers and dancers by profession. They claim descent from Apsaras and Gandharvas and give as proofs of their claim their hereditary services in temples. Their original home appears to be Vijayanagar, where a large number of these women attended upon the Kings, but after the capture of Vijayanagar by the Muslims they went to Sonda and the Kanara coast. Paes, in his account of Vijayanagar, refers to them as women who belong to the temples. He adds :

"These women are of loose character and live in the best streets of the city. They are very much esteemed and classed among those honoured ones, who are mistresses of the captains. They are allowed to enter the presence of the queens and they stay with them and eat betel with them, a thing which none other can do."

Formerly at the age of eight or nine years, the Kalawant girls underwent a form of marriage called *Shes*. At this occasion the Kalawant girls were invested with ankle-bells and upper garments, which they had to wear in a concert or dance. The *Shes* ceremony consisted of marriage with a dagger, the emblem of Kartikeya, which was held at the time by a girl dressed in a man's robes. According to traditions, the female issues of Kalawants become prostitutes, while those who had no female issues adopted minor girls of out-caste people. Besides Kartikeya, the patron deity, who is considered God of War, the Kalawants worship Mhalsa, Shantadurga and Kamakshi, whose shrines are in Goa.

The hereditary occupation of Kalawants is singing and dancing. The well-to-do employed them to sing and dance at thread and marriage ceremonies, and on other grand occasions. They were also engaged to dance in Hindu temples and in return enjoyed the produce of certain temple lands. Besides singing and dancing, they also acted as courtesans. Formerly women of other prostitute classes were not hired to dance unless they were invested with scarfs and bells by a Kalawant, who was considered to have special privilege of dancing in temples.

In Karnatak one of their sects is known as Patradavaru or Shawl-weavers, who claim to represent the heavenly dancing girls Rambha and Urbashi. The girls of this sect were invested with ankle-bells and scarfs at the age of seven years and were made to undergo a form of marriage called Halpudi at the age of twelve. It is similar to *Shes*, except that the bridegroom is represented by a *madal* or double drum instead of a dagger. Their family goddesses are Gultemma and Hulgemma. Another section of Kalawants in Karnatak is known as Saibs or Lingayat Kalawants. They appear to have come from Gulburga in Nizam's dominions. Among them good-looking girls are invested with anklets of small brass bells and become prostitutes while the less favoured ones marry.

Next to Kalawant rank Bhavin or Devli. They are sometimes known as Naikins and are found in Ratnagiri, Kanara and Sawantwadi. The class is chiefly formed of women of Maratha and Bhandari castes. The women from lower classes were allowed to become Bhavin by the simple ceremony of pouring oil on their head from the God's lamp in a temple.

In old days when a Bhavin girl attained puberty she had to undergo the *Shes* form of marriage. In this ceremony the bridegroom was not represented by a dagger but by God from the temple. The ceremony took place on an auspicious day and the God Ganapati was worshipped as well as Punyahwachan was performed at the girl's house as well as in the temple, by Gurav. Then the Gurav and other servants of the temple went in a procession to the girl's house taking with them a dagger and the mask of the God. After returning with the girl to the temple the marriage ceremony was performed with the same details as an ordinary marriage, only the mask taking the place of the bridegroom. As the ceremony involved a great expenditure, it was frequently dispensed with, and instead the young girl was asked to worship Ganapati, and to place a coconut and a packet of sugar, before the image of the God in the temple, where she was accompanied by a party of Bhavins. The Gurav and other temple servants then invoked on her the blessings of the God.

The Bhavins practise prostitution, differing from the common prostitutes only in being dedicated to the Gods. They choose two or three of their female children to succeed them. Except these, other daughters are allowed to marry.

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The third class is that of Bandis or bondsmen, who are found in Karwar and Kumta and along the coast as far as Honavar in the Kanara district. They appear either to be descendants of slaves either imported or captured in war and once the property of the landed proprietors, or the offspring of women who have served as concubines or have been taken in adultery. Among them marriage was rare, the girls generally became prostitutes and even the married women led irregular lives, though they avoided men of low castes. Another such community is of Padiars, who are found in Kanara district. The word 'Padiar' is modification of 'Padiwal,' which means a hired servant paid in grain, the word 'Padi' meaning a measuring of grain. Like Bandi, they are a class of prostitutes recruited from women taken in adultery. Among them the *Shes* ceremony of the girl was performed, when the girl was over ten years of age, and was married to the God Mahabaleshwar of Gokarna. Many women of these classes act as courtesans as well as singers and dancers.

Another class of prostitutes is Muralis, who are found all over the Deccan in small numbers. When a man has no children or when his children are short-lived he vows that if Khandoba blesses him with a child he will set it apart to worship and attend upon the God. The girls offered to Khandoba in this way are called Muralis. Sometimes married women also become Muralis, leaving their husbands and even children saying that they have made a vow to Khandoba or that they were warned in a dream that they should be wives of Khandoba and not of men. When a Murali is married to Khandoba, she is taken to the temple of Khandoba at Jejuri in Poona. There the girl is bathed and God is rubbed with turmeric along with the girl. The girl puts on a new robe and bodice, green glass bangles round her wrists and "Mundaval" to her brow, and stands near the God. The Gurav after worship of the God takes in his hands a necklace of nine cowrie shells and fastens it round the girl's neck while the guests throw turmeric over the God-bridegroom and the bride, saying twice 'Elkot ghe.' When the Murali comes of age, she finds a patron who pays her a sum amounting to Rs. 100 or more. With this sum the girl buys a robe and a bodice for herself and a bedding. Formerly she used to sit in a bamboo-frame dressed in new clothes and with green bangles on her wrists. After some time her lap was filled by other Muralis and she went to the village Maruti, where she presented a coin and betel to the God. Thenceforth she was free to live with her patron. The Muralis mark their brows with turmeric powder and wear a necklace of nine cowrie shells. At the time of begging they sing songs, generally indecent, in praise of Khandoba.

The class which stands at the lowest ladder among the prostitutes is that of Holar and Madig, found in Karnatak. The communities by themselves do not belong to courtesan class but they form the recruiting ground for the present-day prostitutes. Except Holar and Madig, other classes have undergone a revolution. The spread of education among them has changed their outlook and they no more believe in dedication to God. Instead of prostitution, the girls lead a married life and accordingly the tradition of prostitution among them is dying its own death. But the same cannot be said about Holar and Madig communities, who are illiterate and poor. The money that the prostitutes of the communities earn gives incentive to others to dedicate their girls as Jogtins, in order to carry on the profession. The religious belief, the desire to have easy money and illiteracy lead them to the canker of prostitution. The relatives of the Jogtins, especially the parents and brothers, do not feel ashamed if the Jogtin is carrying on her profession in the same house, with patrons, who do not permit them to enter their houses and temples on the plea of untouchability.

Formerly when a Holar had all daughters and no son he made one of his daughters a Basavi or a prostitute, and took her on a lucky day to the temple of Goddess Adchawa with flowers, coconuts, betelnuts and leaves. In the temple, the Pujari of the Goddess worshipped the idol and tied a lucky thread of gold and glass beads round the neck of the girl, after rubbing her with cowdung ashes. From that day she was declared 'Basavi' and was free to act as courtesan. This entitled her to inherit her parents' property like a son. The daughters born to her were not treated as Basavis, but were freely taken in marriage by the community. While Holars dedicate the girls to Adchawa, the Madigs dedicate the girls to Yellamma and Durgavva. In some places Madig girls remaining unmarried till after the age of puberty are not allowed to marry, but are dedicated to Yellamma and have to carry on prostitution.

It will be seen from the above account that there existed a religious sanction behind the courtesans, though the main idea behind it was dedication and service to God. It cannot be ascertained with certainty as to when it degraded into prostitution. But once it was sanctioned, it continued for the easy money it gave to the women and their relatives. It is hard to eradicate the canker of prostitution unless the community which carries it on is educated. At the same time the educated patrons ought to change their attitude towards the problem. Though most of them openly view it as bad, yet secretly they try to encourage it by all means. As long as this attitude is not changed, the prostitution is bound to exist in one form or the other.

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THE 15TH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

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By Dr. CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab)

In the first week of last November the session of the 15th All-India Oriental Conference was held at Bombay. In 1919 the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute was founded at Poona to commemorate the memory of the late Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, the doyen of orientalists in India at that time. It was decided by the enthusiastic members of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute to inaugurate a conference known as the All-India Oriental Conference. Much earlier we find the inauguration of a similar congress in Europe which is known as the International Congress of Orientalists for discussing various matters relating to oriental history and culture. There are points of similarity between the All-India Oriental Conference and the International Congress of Orientalists. First, Indian culture is found within the scope of both these conferences. The following are points of dissimilarity between them. First, whereas the All-India Oriental Conference is held every second year, the International Congress of Orientalists is held every third year. Secondly, whereas in the All-India Oriental Conference discussion is made only of Indian subjects, in the International Congress of Orientalists discussion is made of other oriental subjects besides Indian.

The 15th All-India Oriental Conference was held at Bombay from the 5th to the 7th November last under the joint auspices of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the University of Bombay. The meetings were held at the University Convocation Hall, St. Xavier's College and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Some of the delegates were stationed at the hostel of St. Xavier's College and some at the buildings of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. The Reception Committee made good arrangement for the board and lodging of the delegates.

The inauguration of the 15th All-India Oriental Conference was held at Bombay at the University Convocation Hall on the 5th November at 2 p.m. The meeting started with a speech of welcome by His Excellency Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, the Governor of Bombay. He delivered a short, lucid and penetrating address. In his speech he declared that the All-India Oriental Conference congregated scholars and research workers in various branches of orientalia and facilitated the integration and co-ordination and the publication of work in diverse subjects. He further opined that there was still considerable virgin ground for pioneers of research in practically all branches of oriental learning.

After this speech of welcome Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered also an interesting address. In it he gave an idea of the importance of Bombay as a centre of learning and culture and also appealed to the newly rich people to come forward to help and encourage the studies pursued by scholars in oriental literature, philosophy and arts with part of their wealth.

Then came the address of the general president, Dr. Sushil Kumar Dey, late Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Dacca. It is a matter of profound regret that Dr. Dey could not attend the conference owing to the serious illness of his father and, therefore, sent his presidential address for being read at the conference. This was read by one of the general secretaries, Dr. R. N. Dandekar. It was a learned, suggestive and thought-provoking address. In course of his address he deplored the absence of any central organisation for co-ordinating research and offering necessary assistance to earnest workers, of equipped libraries of sufficient standard and magnitude for helping higher study and research in oriental subjects. Then he reiterated the opinion sponsored by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha that oriental research had not received that attention in this country which was its birth-right. Then he said that there was scope for research in any department of oriental learning. He further regretted that there was unfortunately a tendency to underrate the value as much of modern method, on one hand, as of traditional method, on the other. Then he spoke about the re-orientation of the policy regarding oriental learning. He deplored that it was not properly felt even today that oriental studies furnished to us the key to the understanding of our own culture and tradition, of our own ways of life and thought, of our own morals and manners, in fact, of ourselves. Then he advocated for the wider range of subjects for the curricula of the All-India Oriental Conference and, thinking along this line, he believed that the All-India Oriental Conference might be transformed into a kind of Asiatic conference of oriental learning.

On the 6th November the session began with the reading of the presidential addresses of different sections. There were as many as eighteen sections. The reading of each presidential address was allotted half an hour and along with the reading of each presidential address the reading of different papers belonging to different sections as well as symposia on interesting subjects were taken. It was, therefore, not possible to attend the meetings of all presidential addresses, of all papers as well as symposia. This was a real drawback of the session of the all-India Oriental Conference. The whole session was only for three days though the programme was so heavy that it certainly required at least a week's time for the programme being enacted in a proper manner. This can be done in either of the

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following ways. First, if the meeting is held every year and if the number of sections is lessened, then the number of papers and presidential addresses will be automatically less and then it will be possible to finish the deliberations within three days. On the other hand, if the meeting is held every second year and if there are as many sections as eighteen, then the session should be held for at least a week.

There are as many as eighteen different sections which were presided over by a scholar of established reputation. The following are the different sections and their presidents: I. Vedic—Prof. Visvabandhu Sastri of Hoshiarpur, 2. Iranian—Dr. J. C. Tavadia of Santiniketan, 3. Classical Sanskrit—Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras, 4. Islamic Culture—Prof. Humayun Kabir of New Delhi, 5. Arabic and Persian—Maulavi Mahesh Prasad of Benares, 6. Pali and Buddhism—Prof. R. D. Vadekar of Poona, 7. Prakrit and Jainism—Muni Jina Vijayaji of Bombay, 8. History—Dr. A. S. Altekar of Benares Hindu University, 9. Archaeology—Dr. N. P. Chakravarti of Delhi, 10. Indian Linguistics—Dr. Siddheswar Varma of Nagpur, 11. Dravidian Culture—Prof. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri of Tiruvadi, 12. Philosophy and Religion—Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri of Trivandrum, 13. Technical Science and Fine Arts—Dr. V. S. Agrawala of New Delhi, 14. Marathi—Dr. Y. K. Deshpande of Yeotmal, 15. Gujarati—Sri K. M. Munshi of Bombay, 16. Hindi—Prof. K. P. Mishra of Benares, 17. Kannada—Prof. K. G. Kundanagar of Belgaum and 18. Urdu—Dr. Mohan Singh of East Punjab University.

Most of the presidential addresses were not printed in advance. The only presidential address of which we got a copy was that of Mr. Munshi. I think that it should be a general rule to publish summaries at least of the presidential addresses in advance. All the presidential addresses of different sections were delivered on the 6th November.

A book containing the summaries of the papers was given to the delegates in advance. It was very useful and excellently printed and got up. It contained the summaries of all papers which were intended for reading at this session. There were many learned papers which were sent for reading; but as the reading of the papers in different sections took place at the same time, it was not possible to listen to all the papers. Here I may mention a few papers in order to give an idea of the general nature of the papers sent for reading at this session. The following is the list of those papers: (1) The name Indra: An etymological investigation: By V. M. Apte; (2) The Riddle of the Vedic Calendar: By R. K. Prabhu; (3) Vedic Studies in the West: By E. J. Thomas; (4) Draupadi-vastraharana episode: An interpolation of the Mahabharata: By G. H. Bhatt; (5) The Danasagara and the Danaratnakara: By Bhabatosh Bhattacharya; (6) Value and Importance of Manuscripts in Olden Times: By Chintaharan Chakravarti; (7) Oriental Studies: The plan for the future with the requirements in accordance with the present changed conditions: By K. G. Gopala Rao; (8) Basic Sanskrit as a State Language: By Satish Chandra Guha Thakurta; (9) Popularisation of Sanskrit: By G. S. Huparikar; (10) A Problem in the Mudrarakshasa: Was Rakshasa in league with Parvatesvara? By K. R. Kangle; (11) Arabic Alphabet: By S. Mahdihassan; (12) Fragment of an old manuscript of a Pali text in an old Indian script: By P. V. Bapat; (13) Delhi: What was it in hoary past? By N. N. Chaudhury; (14) Public Opinion in Ancient India: By Radha Krishna Chaudhury; (15) The Myth of Aryan Migration into India: By V. M. Kaikini; (16) Origin of the name Bombay: By Lachmi Dhar; (17) Achaemenian Rule in India: By R. C. Majumdar; (18) Was Ancient Egypt ever a Dominion of India?: By Lachmi Dhar; (19) The East in the West: By Lokenath Bhattacharya; (20) Mother Goddess Durga: By N. N. Chaudhury; (21) The Time Lag Problem in Indian Art History: By H. Goetz; (22) Some Reflections on the present-day Indian Music: By V. M. Kaikini; (23) Magadha—The Ancient Indian Emporium: By L. B. Kenny; (24) Lithic Monuments in Early South India: By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar; (25) The First Greek Conqueror of India: By R. D. Karmakar.

The authorities of the all-India Oriental Conference also arranged other interesting items. One such item was the lantern lecture which was delivered by Khwaja M. Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad on recent archaeological excavations at Panagiri. The other items which were arranged were a number of symposia which were "Sanskrit as a Terminological *lingua franca*," "Oriental Studies and State Policy" and "Simplified Sanskrit."

The all-India Oriental Conference also arranged a visit to the famous Elephanta caves near Bombay. Caves are of two different varieties, *viz.*, natural and artificial. In India, we find the foundation of artificial caves from hoary antiquity, *i.e.*, certainly from the time of the emperor Asoka, if not earlier. Caves were hewn in many parts of India, *viz.*, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, Bombay Presidency, Madras Presidency, and Hyderabad. Among all these places Bombay Presidency possesses the largest number of caves. They are meant for Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Caves at the island of Elephanta are Brahmanical because here we find all the caves filled with sculptures showing various episodes of the life of Siva. These sculptures have rightly been considered as the masterpieces of ancient Indian sculpture. Among them we have the world-famous sculpture of Siva showing the *trimurti*. It is a masterpiece and any nation possessing such a sculpture may be rightly proud on account of its great beauty. The officer-in-charge of the Elephanta Caves was good enough to

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explain to all of us the qualities and characteristic features of these sculptures.

This account will be incomplete if we do not mention the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, the newly-founded research institute for oriental learning. It is one of the most up-to-date and magnificent oriental research institutes in the world and has come into being through the earnest efforts of the well-known Indian political leader, Sri K. M. Munshi and his talented wife, Srimati Lilavati Munshi. It is a splendid edifice equipped with a big lecture-hall, library, research rooms and staff quarters.

The authorities of the all-India Oriental Conference made excellent arrangement for the entertainment of the delegates. On the first day Kalidasa's *Abhijnana-Sakuntalam* was enacted. On the second and third days there were the Marathi and Gujarati entertainments. They were all excellently done.

Three receptions were arranged. One was the tea-party at Government House. The second tea-party was given by the Reception Committee and the third by Mr. and Mrs. Munshi in the premises of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

It was decided at the concluding session of the Conference that the next All-India Oriental Conference would be held at Lucknow in 1951. Here I would suggest that the All-India Oriental Conference should be held annually and for five days. Then the number of the papers will be less and delegates will be able to attend the reading of more papers.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA: *By C. Kunhan Raja. The Adyar Library Series No. 73. The Adyar Library, Madras. 1950. Pp. 111. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This monograph consists of a course of two lectures delivered by the author, a well-known Sanskrit scholar, under the terms of a Madras University lecture endowment in 1949. The subject has been treated of late by a number of Indian scholars. But the author, even while treading on familiar ground, makes observations which are suggestive and stimulating, though not always convincing. Thus he rejects (pp. 12-13) the view of another scholar who finds references to the *upanayana* sacrament and the *Brahmacharin* student in *Rig-vedic* and *Atharvavedic* texts. But at the same time the continuity of the unbroken tradition "for at least 25 centuries from the time of the *Kalpasutras* to the present day" makes him assume (p. 14) that the *upanayana* ceremony and the system of studying the Vedas by rote from a teacher was a Rig-vedic and perhaps an even earlier (*sic*) institution. Again he finds fault with still another scholar for failure to make the distinction between *upanayana* (initiation of student under a teacher by his parent) and *upasadana* (voluntary approach to a teacher by an advanced student for further study). While rejecting contrary views on the subject, he holds (p. 30) on the authority of references in the *Arthasastra*, the *Raghuvamsam* and the *Uttara-Ramayana*, that elementary education was imparted to the boys some time after *chuda-karana* and prior to *upanayana*. More speculative is the author's statement (p. 37) that there must have been a cataclysm in Vedic civilization and that thereafter Vedic study in detail was confined to the Brahmana caste and differences in details relating thereto on the basis of caste became pronounced. The author's further observations are sufficiently interesting. Thus he concludes (p. 62) from a close examination of a famous *Taittiriya Upanishad* text that the real purpose of Vedic study under a teacher was to make the student a worthy citizen. Again he infers (p. 77) from a study of the relevant rules that the student's education had two stages, the obligatory stage relating to the recitation of Vedic texts and the *Vedangas* and the optional stage concerned with a further critical study of the Vedas.

It will appear from the above examples that the work, though short, is a real addition to the growing literature on the fascinating subject of ancient Indian education. But its scope is too narrow as it makes but the briefest reference to the education of women, while it is completely silent about branches of education other than the Vedic. Of references to the educational ideas and practices in the Buddhist and Jaina literature there is not the slightest trace.

U. N. Ghoshal

SHORT STUDIES ON CHINA AND INDIA: *By V. G. Nair, Asst. Secretary, Sino-Indian Cultural Society of India, Santiniketan, West Bengal. Published by Thompson and Co., Madras. Pp. 164. Price Rs. 3.*

Prof. Tan Yun-shan, Director of the Visvabharati Chinabhavana, introduces the author of this book—a collection made up of articles of unequal importance already published in various Indian papers—as a valued colleague in extending the field of Sino-Indian friendship and knowledge that would help cement it.

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There is nothing new in the things told here ; the author appears concerned with the past of the two countries, and the revolutionary forces that have been remaking China have not received his attention except in the article published in pp. 53-56. Even this slides over the surface. We have seen Chinese Communist theoreticians trying to debunk the philosophy and practice that Confucius inculcated—the sheet-anchor of Chinese life—on whose wreckage they hope to build their New China. Of these there is no indication in this book.

Of the Indian subjects—two or three only—dealt with in the book, these refer to South Indian subjects. written for present-day popular journals, these just point to the past of this part of India. The only article that has a modern reference is the "Banasthali Vidyapith," being built up as a centre of rural reconstruction by Sree Hiralal Sastri and his wife Srimati Ratan Bai; women are being trained there for the purpose in view.

AMERICA IN JAPAN : *By Andrew Roth. First published in U. S. A., September, 1945. First Indian edition, August, 1946. Published by Kutub Publishers, Bombay 5. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 3.*

The book saw the light of day almost a month after the surrender of Japan in the wake of the blast of the atom bomb on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. An American publicist who has specialized in inter-nations affairs specially relating to East Asia, the author has based the present volume on facts, gathered during years of study on the spot.

One argument runs through it that the United States as the dominant party in the occupation of the Japanese empire should avoid the *zaibatsu*—the oligarchy of Japan—and depend on the democratic forces that since the Meiji era (1868) have been fighting the feudal-capitalist-militarist combination. More than half the book is devoted to depicting this gallant fight. And it would not be from lack of knowledge that General McArthur would be acting to rebuild Japan as an arsenal of democracy in the Pacific Ocean area.

But as fate would have it the dictators of policy in the United States have chosen the path against which Roth has warned them. In their anxiety to stumble on a "stabilizing" force in Japan they have been misled into the arms of all the reactionary forces that thrive under the Emperor cult. The war in Korea has spot-lighted the danger of this policy. The choice made has been forced by the inherent conflict between individualism and totalitarianism ; it has been complicated by Asia's new nationalism enriched by the ideal of a just distribution of human labour—the centuries-old fight which Communism spear-heads today. Andrew Roth's thesis proves again that a prophet hath no honour in his own country.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

YOGA : The Method of Reintegration: *By Alain Danielou. Published by Christopher Johnson Publishers Limited, 109, Great Russell Street, London, WC 1. Pp. 165. Price 16s. net.*

The author, who was born in Paris, is the son of a French Cabinet Minister. He has lived in Benares for a long period of twelve years and devoted himself entirely to the study of yoga and other aspects of ancient Indian culture. He is also a leading authority of Europe on Indian music on which he has written three volumes. This short but masterly exposition of yoga is compiled from a good many basic scriptures on yoga and the teachings of some living exponents. It is different from other books on yoga in this respect that it presents the abstruse subject in the light and language of the Sanskrit texts published and unpublished. More than 352 quotations that are incorporated in the body in translations are appended in their Sanskrit originals in Devnagari script. The volume gives an authentic account of the aims, methods, results, postures and forms of yoga and may be used as a *Vade mecum* by the students and the scholars alike. Every page bears the mark of extraordinary thoroughness, erudition and clarity. A colourful picture of the six Chakras or plexuses of the subtle body and five other illustrations enrich this handy volume which is nicely printed and got up.

The book under review is divided into five parts of which the last contains five appendices. The first part is introductory and deals with the definition, method and literature of yoga. In it the author defines yoga as a method of reintegration which means identification with Divinity. This definition of yoga is in agreement with Vyasa, the commentator of Patanjali's Yoga-sutras, who says that yoga is synonymous with 'Samadhi.' In fact 'Samadhi' is a state of super-conciousness wherein cessation of all mentation takes place. The learned author uses yoga in a very wide sense and studies it in almost all its manifold aspects. The twelve chapters into which the second part is sub-divided deal with seven steps of Hatha yoga, Raja yoga, Mantra yoga, Laya yoga and Shiva yoga. Shiva yoga is that form of arch yoga where the supreme Self is realised. Other forms of yoga are Karma yoga, Bhakti yoga, Jnana yoga, Kundalini yoga and Asparsha yoga. Gaudapada, grand-guru of Sankaracharya, has propounded the philosophy of Asparsha yoga in his commentary on the Mandukya Upanishad. The guide, initiation, various types of aspirants, rules relating to food and mode of living and obstacles to yoga are fully treated in the third and fourth parts. In the five appendices the subtle body, the siddhis or occult powers and asanas or postures, etc., are dealt with. Appendix C contains the names and definitions of eighty-four main asanas rarely found elsewhere. In the Appendix D a very valuable list of nearly fifty-five important Sanskrit treatises on yoga is given for further study and verification. The learned work may rightly be considered a comprehensive compendium of yoga since almost all essentials and aspects of yoga are treated in it with extraordinary accuracy.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SEX IN SOCIAL LIFE : *Edited by Sybil Neville Rolfe, O.B.E. Published by Allen and Unwin, London 1949. Price 21 shillings net.*

The book is a well-planned and well-edited one. Though written by different authors—authorities it would be more proper to say, *e.g.*, Waddington, Ro Gray, Kenneth Walker, etc., to name only a few—the various contributions supplement each other and what is missing in one is found in another. A psychological outlook runs through the whole. The suggestions for improvement of social customs and standards and methods of education given in the book are based on scientfiic facts and studies and not on emotional tinged idealism.

The reviewer would have liked to see the name of Glover in the list of contributors. The omission does not, however, mean that the discoveries of psychoanalysts have not been given consideration. Rather

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is those contributions which have been utilised by the different contributors with reference to the special problems which they have respectively treated. The first part of the book deals with the purely technical and scientific aspects of sex; while the second part concerns itself with the relation between sex-life and society.

It is a fact that many misconceptions still prevail amongst laymen as also amongst those who ought to know better regarding the part played by sex in the behaviours of men. A perusal of the volume will surely help to remove many of these misconceptions. How to impart sex education to children, how marriage failures can be prevented, and how one has to prepare oneself for marriage and parenthood are some of the extremely urgent but at the same time highly delicate problems that have been frankly as also scientifically discussed without undue overweighing of any particular element or concept. The advice and suggestions that have been incorporated in the volume will benefit any reader for it may be safely assumed that every reader, whatever might be his or her age, occupation or status has his or her unsolved problems relating to sex.

Since the pioneer days of H. Ellis many volumes have been written each dealing with different aspects of sex-life. The present volume is to be specially commended because it takes all aspects into consideration—physiological, psychological, educational, sociological and practical—and gives us a thoroughly comprehensive view of our sex-life. It is not only an eminently valuable contribution to the literature of sex but it is also an extremely useful gift to all those who are sincerely striving to introduce a healthier moral tone in the correct sense of the term in our social behaviours.

S. C. MITRA

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT AND OTHER SOCIAL INSURANCE LEGISLATION : *By J. N. Baksi and J. K. Mitra. Published by S. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., 1/C College Square, Calcutta 12. Pp. 300. Price Rs. 10.*

Workmen's Compensation Act is of increasing importance on account of the rapid industrial development in our country. Its provisions are little understood by our employers of labour; and even for lawyers a case-noted up-to-date edition of the Act was long overdue. The Act has been well annotated by the editors; and the relevant rules appended.

Not only this Act, but 15 other Central and Local Acts, such as the Indian Fatal Accidents Act, Bengal Maternity Benefit Act together with the Rules framed under the respective Acts have been given. This has enhanced the value of the book greatly. Half the modern legislation consists of Rules; and they are not easily available. The authors have earned the thanks of the public by giving these rules. Considering the present-day high prices of paper and printing, the price fixed is not too high. The printing and get-up are good.

THE INDIAN MERCANTILE LAW : *By A. K. Banerjee. Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 842. Price Rs. 10.*

This is the third edition of the book, which shows its popularity among the students and the general public. The book is good so far as it goes; but the revision has not been of the standard expected from the author. For a book published in 1949 to include the Trade Disputes Act of 1929, when it has been repealed by an Act in 1947; or to give the old Factories Act of 1934, when it has been repealed by Act LXIII of 1948 without any mention of which Act the provisions are summarised is unpardonable. We hope the author would publish a supplement correcting such omissions, and bring it up to date.

J. M. DATTA

SANSKRIT

SRIRAMACHARITAM, Part I : *By Mahamahopadhyaya S. Nilakantha Sastri, Pandit H. H. the Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Trivandrum. Price and publisher not mentioned.*

This is a Sanskrit version of the famous Tamil classic *Kamparamayana*. We have here only a portion of the work, six cantos of Book I, covering the narrative up to the birth of Rama and his brothers. The need for popularising the literary gems of different parts of India among the people of the country at large cannot be exaggerated. But works of this type which make their appearance from time to time compiled in a language known to and cultivated by a limited circle of educated people scattered over the country cannot be expected to serve the purpose. These will at best remain as literary curios admired and appreciated by scholars of the orthodox school. But it must be admitted that they reflect no small credit on the learned authors whose number is unfortunately on the wane.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BHARATA-KATHA : *By Chakravarti Rajagopalachari. Ananda-Hindusthan Prakasani, Sri Gauranga Press, Calcutta 9. Cloth-bound. Pp. xi+265. Price Rs. 8.*

As a life-long friend and follower of the Mahatma, and as imbibing in all its implications the Gandhian conception of *dharma*, it is but natural that Chakravarti Rajagopalachari should have a profound respect for Indian culture. And this ancient Indian culture and *dharma* is, more than anywhere else, embodied in the two great epics of India. The Gita is but a part and parcel of the Mahabharata.

Outside his own province Chakravarti Rajagopalachari is better known as a political leader and shrewd tactician, but in Tamil Nad he is recognised as a wise philosopher and writer of distinction. C. R. is one of those few politicians who have contributed something of value to literature. Politics is of the day but literature is lasting.

From time immemorial the Ramayana and the Mahabharata have been a source of strength and inspiration to countless millions. It is in the fitness of things that the erstwhile Governor of Bengal should have his book translated in Bengali. The name of Kasiramdas is a household word in Bengal. It was probably at the close of the sixteenth or in the early part of the seventeenth century that Kasiramdas rendered the Mahabharata in Bengali verse. Even before that there had been extant various other translations of the Mahabharata. In the sixties of the nineteenth century Kaliprasanna Sinha with the aid of some of the great Pundits of the period brought out his great translation of Vyas's Mahabharata in elegant Bengali prose. It has become a classic in our language. There is also a very accurate Bengali rendering of Vyas's epic as published by the Burdwan Rajbati.

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Rajkrishna Ray's verse-translation of the Mahabharata is a stupendous work. Upendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury's *Children's Mahabharata* is an adaptation from the Sanskrit epic. Rajshekhar Bose's *Mahabharata* abridged is also a very comprehensive translation, and he introduces the grand epic in all its essential features. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Krishna-Charitra* is a reconstruction of Sri Krishna's life and character as is to be found in the Mahabharata. He stresses the human aspect of his character, and in his book the Superman shines forth in all his greatness and glory.

For nearly four hundred years there has been, in Bengali literature, an almost unbroken continuity in the line of the presentation of Vyas in multifarious forms. Sri Rajagopalachari's is a mid-twentieth century addition to those great performances. He presents the Mahabharata in an original way. It is a new departure. There are a hundred and seven chapters in his book. In each chapter he takes up a character, an incident, an episode or a story from the epic and deals with it fully and in an interesting way so that the educated as well as the uneducated may enjoy and not find it difficult to be acquainted with the beauties of Vyas. He compares the past with the present and comes to the conclusion that human nature has remained essentially the same as it was in the days of Kurukshetra, and even in five thousand years the principles and practices of the past have not changed materially. His chapters on *Sarbagre Arghyadan, Bishakta Sarovara, Sri Krishna's Dautya,* etc., are examples of masterly treatment. In *Bharata-Katha*, Bengali readers will find food for thought.

The Mahabharata is an epic of humanity. It is a palace of thousand chambers. Krishna-Dwaipayana Vyas is its grand architect. Those who are not well-versed in Sanskrit are denied the privilege of enjoying its grandeur in all its manifold details. General readers who are not all scholars will, as they go through the *Bharata-Katha*, thank the author for opening to them the portals to that palace of wonder.

In a short preface, Prof. Priyaranjan Sen introduces the book to the Bengali reading public. Srijut Seshadri has done well to translate the *Bharata-Katha* in Bengali. His is an able translation. It is a matter of pleasure to us that a Southerner can write so effortlessly in our language. His Bengali prose is idiomatic and elegant. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

MARATHI

AVAJACHI DUNIYA : *By Shudhasarang. Published by Vimal Chitre, Baroda. Pp. 191. Price Rs. 5.*

A sheaf of seventeen critical essays dealing with music and musicians on the air and on the screen, full of constructive suggestions for preserving the purity of the Art.

G. M.

HINDI

PANGHAT : *By Sudarshan. Vora and Company, Publishers Limited, Bombay, 2. Pp. 235. Price Rs. 3-8.*

A third edition of the fourth volume of fourteen short stories by the doyen and delight of Hindi short-story writers. Like its predecessors, the present volume also is packed with the poetry and pathos of our work-a-day life. Sudarshanji is, indeed, an ideal watcher of the human sky.

G. M.

GUJARATI

MARI JIVANAKATHA : *By Dr. Rajendraprasad. Translated by Prabhudas Chhaganlal Gandhi. Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. January, 1950. Price Rs. 8.*

Dr. Rajendraprasad's autobiography, written in Hindi, first published by the Sahitya-Sansar in the pages of the *Himalaya*, has been before the public for about three years now, awaiting translation into the different Indian languages and also into English. Dr. Prasad had his college education in Bengal, and his autobiography contains grateful appreciation of the land and people who had inspired him with lofty ideals in the formative years of his life. In view of that, the Bengali translation should have been published by now; as a matter of fact the Bengali version has been lying almost ready, and it is a pity that an enterprising Bengali publisher is yet to be found to sponsor the publication. The Gujarati language deserves to be congratulated in being, so far as is known, the first Indian language in which the translation of the book has been published.

The translation has been done in a faithful manner, and the translator is a well-known worker, whose grandfather was a first cousin to Gandhiji, and who was himself one of the first products of the Gandhi movement, or as we many term it, Gandhi community. Sri Prabhudas Gandhi is the author of an invaluable book, *Jeevannun Parodh*, which remains to be reviewed.

In considering the contents of the book, *Mari Jeevanakatha*, it will be fitting to take note of what Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel says in his very interesting foreword to the book. He had been drawn to Dr. Prasad since the Kheda Satyagraha in 1918, and the ties of friendship between the two had grown strong with the passage of time. Sardarji says: "The reader will find in it a living account of the momentous changes that occurred during the last 25 years coloured by the loving eyes of a patriot. Rajendra Babu's love for his country began in 1905, in the days of the Bengal Partition, and from that beginning his life has steadily travelled in one direction. In 1917, at the time of Champaran struggle, he came to Gandhiji's feet and renounced a worldly career. From that day onwards, for the last 30 years, his life has been the story of his public activities. Whoever reads the book will get inspiration for turning his life to a higher key. No true patriot should fail to read this book."

The book, in course of 164 chapters, gives a more or less connected narrative of Dr. Prasad's life from his early days to the formation of the Constituent Assembly ending with January 1947.

It must be admitted that, neatly printed and on good paper, the volume, extending over 884 pages, has been made available to the public at a quite moderate price.

P. R. SEN

PRATIMAO : *By the late Jhaver Chand Meghani. Published by the Gurjar Granth Ratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1947. Cloth-bound. Pp. 194. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Nine illustrative stories of the good and evil sides of human nature, told in Meghani's peculiar style, have proved so attractive that a third edition had to be brought out in twelve years.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

George Bernard Shaw

V. Krishna Rao writes in *The Indian Review* :

Shaw was born at Dublin on the 26th of July 1856. His Father, George Carr Shaw, was for some-time employed in the Dublin Corn Exchange, where he does not appear to have come by any prosperity. His mother Lucinda Elizabeth Gurly was the daughter of a landed proprietor in County Carlow. Three children were born of them—two daughters and a son—Lucinda Frances, Elinor Agnes and Bernard Shaw. Shaw has always felt that he had no celebrated ancestry. Once Sir Arthur Jones had the temerity to refer to Shaw as "a freakish homunculus germinated outside lawful procreation." In resenting the suggestion, Shaw traces his family descent from one Shaegh, the third son of Macduff immortalised by Shakespeare as "having been from his mother's womb untimely ripped."

Whatever the ancestry, the family does not seem to have been in affluent circumstances. Poor Shaw was sent to the local Wesley College, where he gave no evidence of his future brilliance. It is recorded of him that he was generally near or at the bottom of his classes. He had an aversion for the schooling, which prejudice he carries up to this day. He stayed at home and absorbed much music from his accomplished uncle.

While yet 15 years of age, he got into a job as a land agent at Dublin on a magnificent salary of £18 per annum. His penury made him persist there for a year when he was promoted to the post of a cashier on £48 per year. Feeling that he could not go passing rich with £48 a year, he resigned the job and joined his mother in London where she had set herself up as a professional teacher of music. And this is what he said of his plight :

"I did not throw myself into the struggle for life. I threw my mother into it. I was not a staff to my father's old age. I hung to my father's coat tails. Callous as comes to moral babble, I steadily wrote my five pages a day and made a man of myself (at my mother's expense) instead of a slave."

Again in 1896, he refers to his early days :

"When people reproach me with the unfashionableness of my attire they forget that to me it seems like the raiment of Solomon in all his glory by contrast with the indescribable seediness of these days. When I trimmed my cuffs to the quick with scissors and wore a tall hat and soi-distant black coat *green with decay*."

Suffering is the badge of the literary tribe and Shaw had quite a decade of it. In a later preface to an earlier novel, *Cashel Byron's Profession*, he gives a moving account of the trials. Between 1879 and 1889, he had a budget of five unpublished novels which went their weary round from publisher to publisher, and did not put a single penny in his pocket. He had not with him the six pence to pay the postman or parveyer. He secured the patronage of a 'Oiterie' journal in which his *Cashel Byron* appeared as a serial. It drew some attention and Shaw came into public notice.

Meanwhile he had interested himself in socialistic literature and joined Henry Hyde, Champion, Morris, Besant, Carpenter and the Webbs. He had an enthusiastic time of it, and wrote some effective tracts for the Fabian Society. He was also doing some hack work. He reviewed books for the *Pall-Mall Gazette* and was a critic of pictures for *The World* and musical critic for the *Star*. It is a bit comical to note that he then used a sobriquet "Corno di Bassetto." He announced himself under the famous initials G.B.S., when he became dramatic critic for the *Saturday Review*.

Shaw managed to secure the sympathies of William Archer, who pushed him into the literary world. He later collaborated with him in the dramatic art.

Being of a dynamic cast, he had absorbed a good deal by reading and observation and perhaps felt like bursting. It is said of him that at this time he took to public speaking and addressed audiences of every description from 'University dons' to London 'washerwomen.' He had by this time drawn some public attention and was lucky enough to be co-opted as a member of the Vestry of St. Pancreas Borough Council with which he was associated for six years, and the experience therefrom resulted in the publication of his book *Commonsense of Municipal Trading*.

Shaw came under the influence of Sidney Webb and his wife—later Lord and Lady Passfield. They laid the foundation of socialism in England and their influence on Shaw seems to be considerable. It is pleasing to note that a man of Shaw's vitriolic temper and literary antagonism has nowhere a harsh word to say of the Webbs. His references to them are always respectful and reverential. Shaw had much of their hospitality. During this period, a well-to-do but unmarried lady of some culture, Charlotte Payme Townshend, was a frequent visitor at the Webbs. Bernard Shaw came by a nasty cycle accident one day and had to be put up in the hospital at London. Miss Townshend seems to have attended upon him throughout the period of his illness and conceived an attachment for him which resulted in their marriage. She appears to have spent much devotion and money upon him and procured him decent quarters in the famous Adelphi Square. Fortune now began to smile upon him and led him to a series of literary successes. He began new experiments.

He turned from a novelist to a playwright, for that suited his dramatic mind.

Mr. Warren's Confession, Candida, Man and Superman, The Doctor's Dilemma, John Bull's Other Island, Major Barbara, Back to Methuselah, Heart Break House, St. Joan: they came in succession.

Each created a first class sensation. The literary world was taken by storm not merely by the novelty

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of expression and method but also the boldness and bravado of the themes. In the eyes of this superman the world about him is a sorry scheme of things and things are ajar. "Our laws make law impossible. Our liberty destroys all freedom, our property is organised robbery. Our morality is an impudent hypocrisy, our wisdom is administered by inexperienced or mal-experienced dupes. Our power is welded by cowards and weaklings and our honour is false in all its points." This he syas, set him on a revolutionary career. He began a reassessment of values. Men and institutions came under his lash. He laid his hands on literature, art, science, politics, religion and every other interest that the mind of man had fashioned so far and has left us only a wreckage. In this view, he is the greatest iconoclast of the day. It is hard to find out the constructive side of his achievement. There have been others of his contemporaries who have indulged in the caricature of the times. They too have protested against the present order of things, but they told us what would make them happy. G. K. Chesterton and Hilare Belloc beckoned us to the middle ages. That great intellectual, H. G. Wells, had an utopia of his own and diverted himself with anticipating the shape of things to come. But no page of the past has a charm for Shaw and the future is only for supermen like himself. His theory of God and man only leads us to a bleakness in the future. God, according to him, is a finite force which has not yet realised itself. It is in the course of progressive perfection. It is creating instruments for the realisation of its purposes. Where the instruments fail it, they are destroyed as witness the mammoths of old. Man is not the last but only the latest of its creations and if he does not subserve his purposes he too will be destroyed and a better instrument created. Man must therefore behave better. How? What a destiny for man and how comforting the doctrine! But Shaw is vehement in his exhortation that man must so live that when he dies God must be in his debt. How are we to know the mind of this God? Where are his revelation? Shaw does not vouchsafe us any.

With this caprice or uncertainty at the centre of things, no stable synthesis is possible in any field of human endeavour. His achievements, therefore, in Art, Politics, Science, Religion and Philosophy and other spheres are mere pyrotechnics, exciting for the moment and blank in the sequel.

The value of his critical profession lies in the provocation it offers to the mind and set it a-thinking on all things that matter.

Erratic as his mind appears to be, his life gives evidence of a discipline, which is remarkable. His persistence of dashing at least 5 pages a day, has led him to an amazing literary fecundity and won for him the Nobel prize for literature in 1926. His habit of munching every morsel of food 36 times before he sent it down the throat has so far endowed him with 94 years of mortal life. His vegetarianism and teetotalism, which has made him abstain from meat, drink and smoke, keeps him in a sanity which is enviable at his age and senility is as far as ever. Chesterton may call them fads—they may appear as oddities to many. But the facts are there and speak for themselves. There are others of a similar kind. He sleeps with his windows open in all weather; he wears woollen close to his heart; he uses a French bathing powder daily in his bath tub. These have given him his health and his vigour of mind, he says, and who can disprove him? There are two passages where Shaw sums himself up:

"I am a bachelor by heart, but a married man by ring and book; an atheist, a tee-totaller, a fanatic, a humourist, a playwright, a social democrat and a *fluent liar*," (whatever the last may mean).

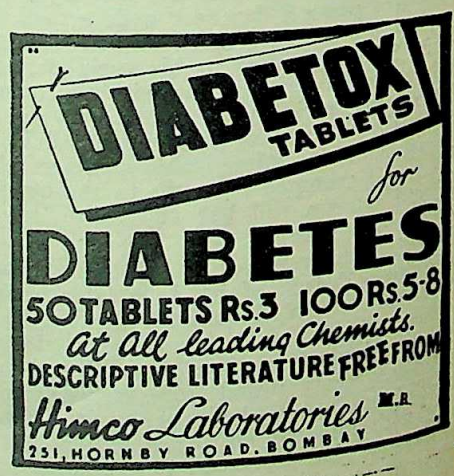
"I have played my game with a conscience. I have never pretended that G. B. S. was real. I have and over again taken him to pieces before the audience to show the trick of him. And even those who in-pite of that cannot escape from the illusion regard G. B. Shaw as a freak. The whole point of the creature is that he is unique, fantastic, unrepresentative, inimitable, impossible, undesirable on any large scale, totally unlike anybody that ever existed before hopelessly unnatural and void of real passion. Clearly such a monster could do no harm were his example real (which it never is)."

Can you improve upon this?

The Cloudburst

The New Review observes:

War clouds are hanging heavily over Berlin, Greece and Yugoslavia, Iran, Formosa and Korea. The storm burst over Korea. Why Korea? The storm-field was chosen by Russia and the choice is significant. The Korean aggression was not to be the first combat of a world-war; it was only a test of American reaction and preparedness. At every other point aggression would have set the world on fire. On the contrary Korea was a small peninsula in a corner of the world. American politicians had belittled the opinion of General MacArthur and the importance of Korea; they had left the country with a weak administration and a weaker army. There was a chance that the view of the politicians would prevail the more so that public opinion might interpret the move as an internal strife for Korean unity. In any case, the incident could be liquidated before outsiders could usefully intervene, and would lead to nothing more than verbal protests and more wrangling at the U.N.O. What surprised Russia most was the speedy and unanimous reaction of President, Congress and public to the aggression; what wrecked their plan was the pace at which General MacArthur moved to the battle-front planes, tanks, guns, ground-troops and even cavalry.



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Military Operations

The aggression in Korea was well timed. It was a Sunday morning when civil and military America was relaxing. The two-month rainy season had begun and low clouds would for days on end hamper air observation and support. Not only tactical surprise but superiority in weapons gave the North their crushing victories during the first few weeks. The weapons which panicked the South-Koreans and rolled back American infantrymen were the tanks: the 50-ton Russian T-34s (35 m.p.h.; 85 mm. guns; unusually broad treads for rain-soaked roads) and the 12-ton T-70s which are light and manoeuvreable. North-Korean artillery was also of a superior calibre (120-mm. mortars and howitzers). South-Koreans had only 81-mm. mortars and 105-mm. howitzers. What was worse, they lacked anti-tank weapons; it was only after days of combat that suitable bazookas were brought into play and did the good work howitzers could hardly do swiftly and effectively. Stranger still, they had no stock of landmines.

President Truman publicly admitted that the U.S.A.'s high command had seriously underestimated the speed and power of the North-Korean ground forces and had little prepared against a surprise.

For the first three weeks, the defenders could only fight rear-guard actions and gain time by sacrificing space; moreover fifth columnists greatly hampered their defence. What saved the situation was the resourcefulness of General MacArthur who was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the U. N. forces. He scraped whatever he could from his three divisions in Japan and hurried planes, equipment and ground-troops to the battle-front as fast as they could be landed in Korea. On the map, it was indicated that he should build up a strong defence line behind the Kum river and protect the Sochon-Taejon-Taegu-Pusan rail-road against frontal and lateral attacks. He had no opportunity of doing so and he did what was best under the circumstances; he used his forces piecemeal to stem the advance of the enemy and spare time to build a solid bridgehead in the Pusan sector. Armchair critics occasionally grew impatient at the American retreat and even riled at American efficiency. They, while losing sight of the fact that it takes 250,000 tons of shipping and twenty days to bring one division from the Pacific west coast to Korea. The air force was on the spot quite early though many of its bases were far away and ill supplied, and they did splendid work. But infantry remains the queen of battle and is indispensable to reconquer and reoccupy South-Korea.

No blame whatever attaches to General MacArthur for the reverses in Korea. Before the incident, he had had nothing to do with Korea's defence. Time after time he had remonstrated with Washington; he had pleaded for more troops to buttress Japan, had requested a strengthening of Formosa's defence and had warned that the capture of Formosa would breach the American defence-line, Japan-Okinawa, Formosa, Philippines. His strategic conviction is that 'there is no security on this earth; there is only opportunity.' Politicians overruled the soldier and decided the

43 YEARS OF DEPENDABLE SERVICE ••

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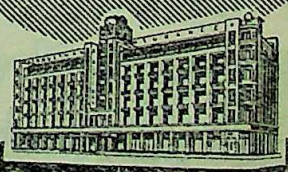

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policy; then they ordered the soldier to save the policy by winning a war. Thus fumbles the division of powers in democracies.

The Wisdom of Tao

Taoism, as presented by Lao Tze, was an ancient formulation of the same wisdom which all the world's great teachers have expounded, in terms differing with the times. Merton S. Yewdale writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Taoism is a very ancient metaphysical system of life and thought. The name of its founder is unknown. Lao Tze, the Chinese philosopher of the sixth century B.C., embodied its principles in his great work, the *Tao Teh King* (Book of the Tao and Its Virtue). The Taoism of today, with its temples, its priests, its monasteries, and its practice of magic, bears no resemblance to Lao Tze's system of pure thought. The *Tao Teh King* continues its existence in the minds of those people throughout the world who have been influenced by its wisdom. Taoism is a cosmic state of the mind.

The understanding of Tao is one of great difficulty. A man might meditate upon it for a thousand years and never come to its farthest depths. Lao Tze referred to it as a Thing, "tranquil and fathomless, self-existent and changeless, all-pervading and inexhaustible," the source from which the universe emanates periodically and to which it returns. It has no name. "Tao, the Infinite, is unnamable." Lao Tze alludes to it as Tao (Way), before the manifestation of the universe, and as Teh (Virtue), after its manifestation. "When Tao manifests Itself as Teh, It becomes comprehensible."

Now there is an Eternal Rhythm which expresses itself in a never-ending cycle of alternating periods of manifestation (evolution) and non-manifestation (involution), both cosmic and earthly. By this Rhythm, all things in the universe, as well as the universe itself, periodically come into existence, live out their appointed time, and then return to the place whence they came, there to remain until the time for their rebirth in new form. This unceasing movement constitutes Eterntiy. "The progression of ever-recurring life is called Eternity." The mysterious power and intelligence behind the Eternal Rhythm, together with its way of functioning, was beyond naming, and the Ancients called it Tao, or Way, in English translation, in the sense of the Cosmic Way, the Universal Way or the Way of the Eternal Rhythm.

The *Tao Teh King* opens with an exposition of the Tao. Lao Tze writes :

The Tao that can be defined
is not the Ultimate Tao . . .
The name that can be spoken
is not the Ultimate Name . . .
The source of Heaven and Earth
is nameless.
That which has name is the Mother
of all created things.

The Wise who are free
from all earthly desires
Seek to penetrate the mystery
of the Unmanifest.
The others who are earth-bound
Seek to understand its emanation,
The Manifest.

These two attributes
are from the same source,
But divergent in nature.
Yet in their profoundest depths
They are One in Essence.

Clearly, the picture is that of an Infinite Power wholly impersonal—a pure conception of Divinity which, unmanifested, is beyond the understanding of the human mind. Explaining Tao further, Lao Tze says :

Tao is Infinite . . .
It supplies us endlessly.
It is profound—
the source of all.

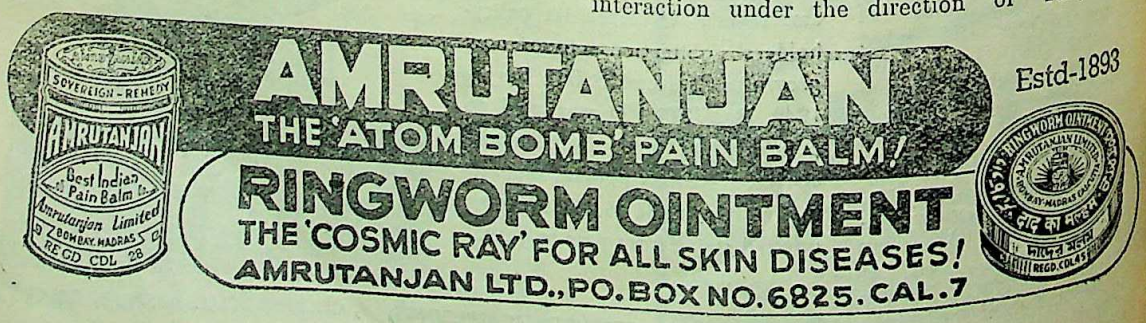
It softens harshness.
It unravels all complexities.
It harmonizes each discord.
It brings unity to all beings.

With the establishment of Tao, Lao Tze undertakes to explain the metaphysical process by which the universe comes into being. In a few lines, he presents the complete picture of its evolution and formation :

From Tao Unity proceeds ;
Unity manifests Duality ;
Trinity issues from Duality ;
Trinity brings forth all things.

All things manifest through the negative—
Yin, and the positive—Yang, principles.
These are brought into harmonious union
by the Divine Breath of Tao.

That is, from Tao comes Unity or One, signifying the universe as yet unified and unmanifested. From Unity comes Duality, signifying the two primordial principles, the Yin and the Yang (contraction and expansion, rest and motion, disintegration and integration, passivity and activity), and their action and interaction under the direction of Tao, with the



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consequent birth of the phenomenal universe, which is formed on the basis of pairs of opposites (light and darkness, heaven and earth, male and female, etc.). From Duality comes Trinity or Three, which signifies the addition of a third element, resulting from the union of the male and female elements in the process of generation. From Three all things proceed. Such is the Taoist metaphysical conception of cosmic evolution.

The universe reflects the grand unity of Tao, and it is Tao that maintains its cosmic balance.

Everything in the universe is in perpetual motion. The pattern of life constantly changes, and one equilibrium succeeds another. But the cosmic balance remains forever. This is the equilibrium of balance.

Thus in the Taoist system of thought the idea of One World has no place. A world which is formed on the basis of opposing elements can never be transformed permanently into One World, either by force or by human designing. For the pattern of One World is contrary to that of the world of opposites. Against the cosmic principle of equilibrium One World could not long endure. "Anything that is not of Tao will soon perish."

The life of the Taoist consists in being identified with Tao, upon which he depends for his illumination and his guidance. As he beholds the great universal order, he sees Tao operating eternally and without effort—the heavenly bodies appearing and disappearing according to the law of their being, the seasons coming and going in unchanging succession, the things in Nature coming to their full growth at the proper time, and the animals propagating rhythmically, in accordance with the natural law of generation.

The Tao produces and sustains all things, it carries on its work imperceptibly, it assumes no ownership of that which it brings into being, and it seeks neither recognition nor reward. It is ever ready to aid him who becomes one with it, but there is no compulsion. Neither is there reward nor punishment : he who is united with Tao, gains ; he who is disunited, loses. Tao exacts no obedience and requires no worship. The Taoist offers no prayers, he burns no candles or incense, he kneels before no altars and bows before no images, he implores the intercession of no saints, he surrenders his mind to no hierarchy. His mind is his temple and he can give to it complete expression. Yet he has no unfriendly feelings toward those who differ from him. "The Tao of Heaven is impartial, ever abiding in all good men." The Taoist lives ever in the Light of Tao, and his attitude toward it is one of deep veneration.

Thus all beings in the Universe revere
Tao and honor Teh.
The esteem accorded to Tao and Teh
is not brought about by any decree ;
It is a spontaneous outflowing
from the heart.

A cardinal principle of Taoist thought is that of the equilibrium of human relations, individual, national and international. The inner equilibrium of the Taoist is established by his relationship to Tao. As human reason has its limitations, the Taoist turns to Tao—opening his intuitive mind to receive its illumination and guidance.

Accept and use this Divine Power
And your strength shall be boundless.

In establishing his equilibrium with the outer world, the Taoist is passive, yet with a desire for harmony. He recognizes the merits of others, he seeks no triumphs over them and his aim is to aid the natural development of all things. Still, like Tao, he looks for no reward. He is moderate and natural in speech, he avoids excessive claims, self-approbation, the display of virtue, cleverness, excessive propriety, pompous benevolence and pretentious righteousness. He is reserved, respectful, calm and poised. Likewise, he is simple and sincere. He neither argues nor disputes.

The Taoist detests war, but he is no pacifist, feeling deeply that a man must defend human values.

He returns goodness with goodness, and goodness for evil. He abhors capital punishment, knowing that such punishment is properly the work of Heaven, not of man. He believes in the cosmic equality of man and woman in the world of opposites. He shuns harshness and rigidity "as attendants of death," and clings to softness and tenderness "as companions of life." The purpose of his life is to adapt himself to his surroundings and to live in perfect accord with the laws of harmony. "This awareness of harmonization with the Infinite is the Essence of the Eternal." Such is Lao Tze's portrait of a Taoist.

In national life, the equilibrium is established not only by the nation's relation to the particular area of the world in which it lives, but also by its habits, customs and beliefs, political, social, economic, educational and religious. Among the peoples of great age, where life is interrupted but little, the equilibrium changes but little. But among younger peoples, who art restless and venturesome, the equilibrium changes constantly. The only difference is that the older peoples adjust their physical life to their spiritual life, and the younger peoples adjust their spiritual life to their physical life. The Taoist is of the older peoples, who seek the spiritual in the things of life.

Thus the Truly Wise concern themselves
only with the inner qualities of things
rather than with sensuous pleasures.
They ignore the material aspect of things
And seek their Spiritual counterparts.

In international life, the equilibrium is established through the world web-work of peoples. It is not in the spirit of Taoism to approve of one people's imposing itself upon another, exploiting its lands, interfering with the government and the economic system, urging new modes of education and endeavouring to change the religious beliefs. To the Taoist, the world's most serious difficulties have resulted from the invasion of other peoples' lands with consequent shattering of equilibriums long established and often with danger to the whole world. In the Taoist philosophy of life, a just world will come into being only when the Universal Spirit of Tao pervades the minds of men. Taoism is pure religion, not theology, and its universality makes it all-encompassing. It radiates the spirit of Unity—not a unity of identity, but a unity of many individual parts.

The Tao of Heaven benefits all
and harms no one . . .
It revolutionizes all things
Yet moulds them again in greater
harmony.

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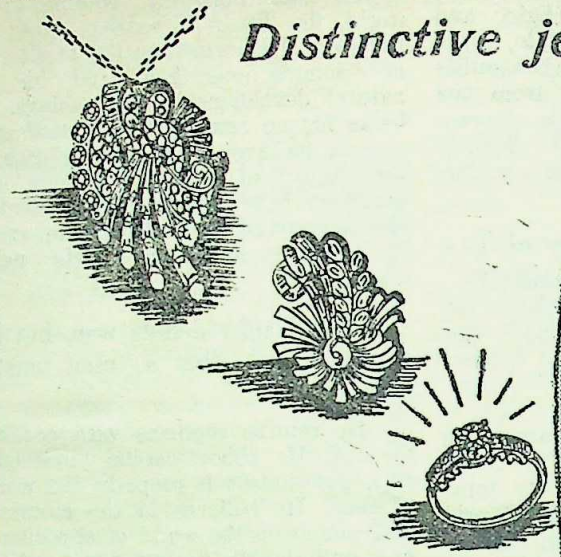

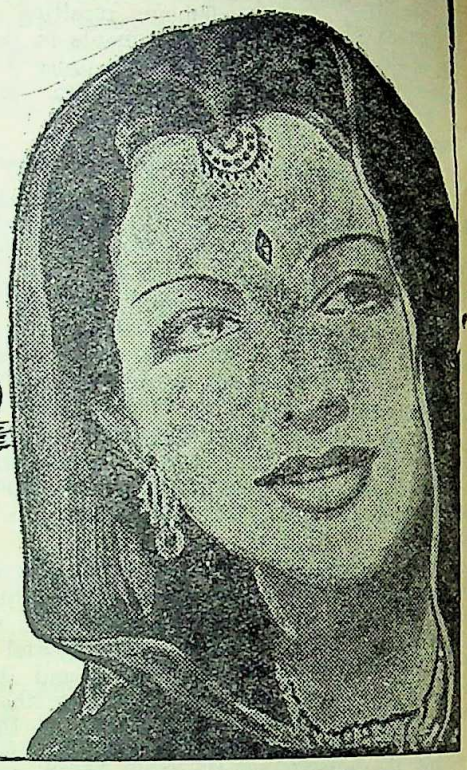

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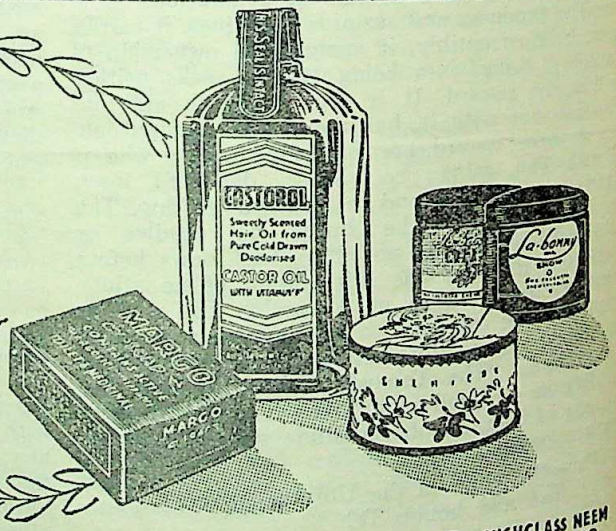

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Indonesian Orientation

Ruslan Abdulgani, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Information, Government of Indonesia, writes in the *United Nations Magazine*, February 1950, as reprinted in *Merdeka*, March, 1950 :

At the height of its past glory Indonesia was recognised as a sovereign state by such Asian countries as India and China with whom connections were maintained. This was in the fourteenth century when the Modjopahit Empire was prominent farther afield than the Indonesian archipelago. The relations with foreign countries were not confined to trade, but covered both diplomatic and cultural ties of considerable importance. Diplomatic missions were exchanged by China and Modjopahit, whose culture was strongly under the influence of the Hindu arts and philosophy from India. Hindu influence is still evident in Java today: the Indian Ramayana and Mahabharata cycles of epic stories, myths and ethics, are still the basis of the Javanese Wayang shows; the Borobudur, Tjandi Mendut and other shrines and temples in Java show unmistakable Indian influences in sculpture, architecture and mystical faith.

However, the Islamic religion was introduced into the Indonesian archipelago in the 15th century, and coinciding with certain weaknesses in the Hindu-Javanese Modjopahit power, it brought about many changes, gradually leading to the complete downfall of the vast empire. Inscriptions on old tombstones which may still be seen in Sumatra bear witness to these great changes of the passing of a golden age for Indonesia.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Dutch ships reached Indonesia and began regular trading in various places in West Java. The buccaneering *Dutch* (Ed.) United East India Company saw that more commercial benefit would follow control of political power, and practising such measures as were then common amongst the 'adventurers' of Western Europe, founded the colonial domains of the Netherlands. Colonial power changed hands briefly to the British at the time of the Napoleonic wars, but was otherwise unbroken for almost three hundred and fifty years, until the Japanese invasion early in 1942. And so the once-powerful and independent Indonesian nation, known and respected far beyond its own territories, maintaining its own contacts with other powerful countries in Asia, became a mere colony to serve the needs of its ruler ; its wealth and natural riches were used to bolster up the position and prestige of a country far from its shores ; and as a result, most of its people lived under bad conditions.

Resentment at oppressive measures waxed strong whenever these became too great a burden upon the people, and more than a few armed rebellions broke out in different areas and at different times. In 1908, the first modern organization of nationalists came into being, quickly followed by the formation of political parties which were more firmly nationalist in their objectives and on a more national basis as time went on.

The flight of the Dutch colonial rulers and the surrender of their forces to the Japanese sealed the fate of Dutch domination over Indonesia. Three years of Japanese occupation changed implicit belief into conviction that only national freedom could bring happiness and prosperity to the country and the people.

On 17th August 1945, Dr. Soekarno and Dr. Hatta, two leaders of the pre-war nationalist movement destined to become respectively President and Vice-President of the Republic, proclaimed the independence of Indonesia. The ceremony took place in Jakarta, and the Proclamation voiced the unanimous decision of the Indonesian people to assume their right of self-determination, so clearly enunciated in the Atlantic Charter.

A new nation was born, but that nation had still to find its place amongst the other nations of the world. Imputations were made that the new Republic had been made in Japan, but during the past four years of building and forming itself, the Republic of Indonesia has clearly disproved all such allegations.

Its real nature is laid bare in the five principles upon which the Republic is founded, the *Pantja Sila*. These great principles are : Belief in God; Humanism; Nationalism; Sovereignty of the People; Social Justice.

There is true religious freedom in the Republic of Indonesia; religious groups include Moslems, Buddhists, Confucians, Taoists, and Christians of both Catholic and Protestant sects. All groups are held alike in high esteem and no person may be compelled to conform to any of these beliefs—or to none at all.

World War II brought in its wake many great changes all over the globe, and in Asia these have taken the form of an accelerated process of national awakening, so that the demand for complete independence is being heard on all sides from countries considered for hundreds of years by Europe as colonies or semi-colonies. India, Pakistan and the Philippines, with their newly-won independence, are now ahead

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in Asia ; Indonesia now joins them and other Asian nations will surely follow.

Indonesia in the past was a centre for world trade because of its natural riches and its particular geographical condition. And it still is. When properly managed its resources can mean prosperity not only for its own population, but can also make a considerable contribution for the well-being of other peoples also. Petroleum, tin, rubber, quinine, tobacco, tea, coffee, cocoanut, palm and vegetable oils, sugar, pepper, nutmeg, clove and other species, prominent contributions to world trade in pre-war days, can only be effectively cultivated under peaceful conditions throughout the Indonesian archipelago. Consideration of these economic riches led Japan to seize these resources early in the Pacific War. A continuous war-time atmosphere and sporadic outbursts of bellicose destruction for almost a decade, have brought the sources of production to a stage where urgent improvement is needed. But again, improvement can only be effective under peaceful conditions, and the Indonesian-Dutch conflict brought about an unfavourable situation.

On the other hand, however, it was during this same period of continual struggle that Indonesia renewed its ties with fellow-nations throughout Asia. The period of struggle revived the feelings of solidarity among tht Asian nations and a sense of common interest arose. It was from such countries that Indonesia received expressions of sympathy, and practical co-operation in form of recognition and exchange of representatives. Not only did the members of the Arab League, and the people and Government of India take a definite stand in the Indonesian question, but also Australia, linked by geographical and other interests to the fringe of Asia, gave evidence of considerable sympathy both at governmental level and amongst the people. The strikes of Australian waterside workers who refused to load Dutch ships, especially at times when the Dutch were making a military attack upon the Republic, were particularly heartening evidence of support from the Australian people.

This sense of common relationship and interest was never so evident as after the second Dutch attack upon the Republic, when the Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, invited 19 Asian countries to send their representatives to an Asian Conference on Indonesia. This conference was held in New Delhi (20th to 23rd January 1949) and during the conference several speakers called for the establishment of an Asian bloc. It was decided to render assistance to Asian countries where common interests were involved, out of the desire to strengthen the United Nations Organization as the preserver of world peace.

This conference made clear to the world the new situation in Asia, a solidarity, practical and purposeful, arising out of a recognition of similar conditions and identical aims. The Asian Conference on Indonesia was responsible for three resolutions. The first related to certain recommendations to be sent to the Security Council regarding the Indonesian question; the second comprised recommendations to the governments of the participating countries, and concerned execution of any measures devolving from the first resolution; and the third resolution proclaimed the intention of the participating countries to found a permanent machinery to discuss problems of common interest within the Asian sphere.

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America Listens

Next to working and sleeping, the average American devotes more time to radio-listening than to any other activity.

This plain fact underlines the eminence which radio broadcasting and listening have attained since 1920, when KDKA, of Pittsburgh, made what was probably the first broadcast to a public audience. Only 2000 people heard it.

In a nation that straddles a continent between two oceans, it is not easy to marshal columns of figures about the ramifications of the radio industry, its effect on 150,000,000 people, its phenomenal growth within 30 brief years.

The extent to which radio penetrates American life may be judged from a few overall figures: since 1922, the number of home receivers in the United States has grown from 400,000 to 83,000,000; this includes 10,000,000 receivers in automobiles and 2,000,000 portable receivers. About 95 per cent of all American homes contain radios.

Contrary to gloomy predictions, radio has not stifled or impoverished the press; despite radio's substantial revenue from advertising, the magazine, newspaper and book publishing industries still flourish in the United States; in fact, press and radio have promoted each other's public patronage.

Radio waves effectively cover every state. Besides the 3000 conventional broadcasting stations, almost every community is served by one or more FM (frequency modulation) stations. Population centres like New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles are each served by about half a dozen television stations. While picture broadcasting makes rapid strides, the sound radio industry still holds dominant place. One radio official declared recently, "Television is the toast of the industry—but radio is the bread and butter."

In a large measure, the industry practises self-control. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) a government agency, grants licenses and frequencies; its chief function is to prevent technical confusion resulting from interferences and overlapping; in a general way it determines whether a licensed station fulfils its inherent obligation to serve the "interest, convenience, and necessity" of the people.

Within the industry, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) establishes rules of conduct, programming policies, and public ethics for all member stations. However, the actual program content and balance are controlled by a station's management.

Noted entertainers, speakers, and musicians are so costly, it has been found expedient to transmit such programs through a network of co-operating and affiliated stations.

The American network system had modest beginnings about 27 years ago, when WNAC, of Boston, was linked by telephone wire to WEAF, in New York. To-day four major net-works compete for the attention of listeners. By Federal regulation, a network may not own or operate more than six stations; however, a network may negotiate program service contracts with any number of stations, or affiliates.

Major networks are :

The American Broadcasting Company, with 273 affiliates

The Columbia Broadcasting System, with 169 affiliates

The Mutual Broadcasting System, with 519 affiliates

The National Broadcasting Company, with 165 affiliates

Besides the nationwide systems there are 13 regional networks which serve one or more adjoining states.

Private control and operation are distinguishing features of American broadcasting. While the Government licenses individual stations, nobody licenses the listeners, who are free to select any foreign or domestic program within the range of a receiver.

American listeners do not pay directly for the privilege of owning sets and receiving programs; indirectly, however, they pay all operating and programming costs when they purchase advertised merchandise. The advertisement of commercial products and services, on a time contract basis, provides the revenue for all but a very few broadcasters in America.

Through approved agencies, radio time is sold to advertisers for a fixed fee which permits a station or network to pay operating costs, plus a percentage of profit.

The ratio of time to price depends on such variable factors as the potential audience, station power, time of day or night, length of program, etc. Naturally, time on a network costs considerably more than time on a local station; however a network is said to provide an economical coverage for a nationally-sold product.

Besides buying time on the air, an advertiser pays for announcers, script writers, entertainers, musicians, producers, and the other personnel incident to a program. Thus the cost of a program varies within wide limits; some advertisers are content to broadcast recordings of classical music, while others spend substantial sums for prominent entertainers and orchestras.

Although most major programs carry brief advertising messages at their beginning and end, each station and network offers the public a representative number of non-commercial programs, including concerts, talks, news, etc.

When important events occur, such as elections or talks by the President, the broadcasters frequently cancel previously-scheduled commercial programs in order to let the listeners hear what is vital to their interests. In such cases, the broadcasting company refunds a proportionate amount of money to the advertiser.

The radio fare covers a wide variety of subjects, from lessons in foreign languages to descriptions of a solar eclipse. An averaging of daily programs from thousands of American stations shows that

41 per cent are music programs.
16 per cent are dramatic programs.
13 per cent are news commentaries.
8 per cent are miscellaneous programs.
7 per cent are comedy and variety.
6 per cent are religious and religious music.
5 per cent are talks and forums.
4 per cent are sports and sports commentators.

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Newscasting constitutes one of radio's most valuable public services. In addition to obtaining news from the large press associations, the networks and leading independent stations assign members of their own staff to cover important domestic events. Also, to satisfy America's deep interest in foreign affairs, the major networks have assigned trained news correspondents to key cities in many foreign countries. Every morning and evening American listeners get first-hand reports on developments in a dozen or more capitals around the globe. The National Broadcasting Company has correspondents in 17 foreign countries; the Columbia Broadcasting System has correspondents in 10 countries; the American Broadcasting Company in 31 countries; and the National Broadcasting Company in 21 countries.

The broadcasters carefully follow trends and tastes in radio listening. Besides analyzing the audience mail, they gauge the public's reactions by various convenient measuring techniques.—*The Voice of America.*

Waste Ashes used as Substitute for Cement in U.S. Dam Construction

Waste ashes collected from the smoke stacks of industrial plants are being used to save cement in the construction of the fourth largest concrete dam in the United States. Called "fly-ash," it is expected to cut in half the amount of cement required for Hungry Horse Dam — a huge water-controlling structure that will span a canyon in America's West.

This is the first time that this industrial by-product has been used as a mixture with cement in U.S. dam construction. It is the result of a long research by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation's concrete laboratory at Denver, in the State of Colorado. Bureau experts believe that its use will spread to many other types of concrete constructions, since it has advantages other than the saving of cement.

It is estimated that more than 261,000,000 pounds of fly-ash will be mixed with 342,000,000 pounds of cement to construct Hungry Horse Dam. This would be enough to build a walkway four feet wide half way around the earth. Without the use of fly-ash, it would take about twice the above amount of cement to finish the dam, which will be 564 feet high and 2,100 feet long.

The fly-ash mixture provides a stronger, harder, more-polished surface than does cement alone, according to construction engineers. It makes a stronger structure because less water is needed in the mixing formula. Since the cement content in the mixture is reduced, there also is less cracking in the hardening process. Concrete alone expands more with heat and contracts more as it cools than does the fly-ash mixture.

Tremendous heat is generated in pouring cement for such big dams as Hungry Horse. They are laced with an intricate system of pipes through which water is pumped to cool them during the hardening process. Since the fly-ash mixture generates less heat than does ordinary concrete mixtures, fewer pipes and less time will be needed to cool the Hungry Horse Dam. Nevertheless, some 1,000 miles of one-inch water pipe will be required in its construction. Engineers estimate that heat drawn off during the construction of the dam will equal that produced by burning 5,550 tons of coal.

Fly-ash, a ball-shaped crystal substance as fine as dust, is the residue of furnaces burning powdered coal. It is one of the several materials grouped under the geological classification of "pozzolan" — first used more than 2,000 years ago to build the ancient Greek aqueducts and the Roman Pantheon and Colosseum. Such pozzolanic materials as pumicite, volcanic and sedimentary rocks, and burnt clays have been used for some time in the United States for such huge concrete constructions as the Hoover Dam, Bonneville Dam, and the famous Golden Gate Bridge in the City of San Francisco.

Demand for pozzolanic materials has been so heavy that the supply has become relatively scarce. A constant search for new sources by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation resulted in the development of fly-ash.

Work on Hungry Horse project in the State of Montana is scheduled for completion about 1953. Its four 71,250-kilowatt generators will help provide electric power for home and industrial use in the north-western area of the United States. Water released from its reservoir will irrigate some 80,000 acres of land. It also will help control floods along the 1,214-mile-long Columbia River.—USIS.

Fire Detector

A new automatic fire alarm for homes is reported in the United States. The alarm, worked by electricity, sounds a warning within seconds after a fire starts anywhere in the house. Small detector units, located at strategic points about the house and connected to a main control box by wires in the house walls, are the "keys" to the new alarm system.

When a fire breaks out, a fusible metal link between the nearby detector unit and the wiring melts. This creates a closed electric circuit to the control box, thereby sounding the alarm. In the event of a fire within the house walls, the alarm goes off automatically, since melting of the wire also completes the circuit to the control box. International Morse Products of Cleveland, in the state of Ohio, produces the alarm.—USIS.

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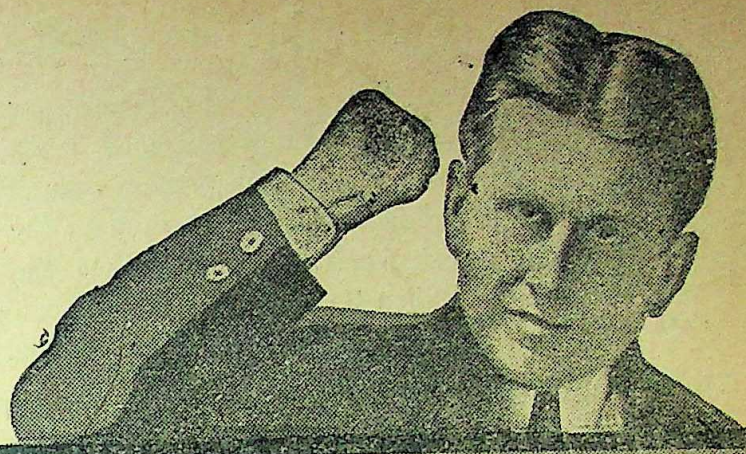

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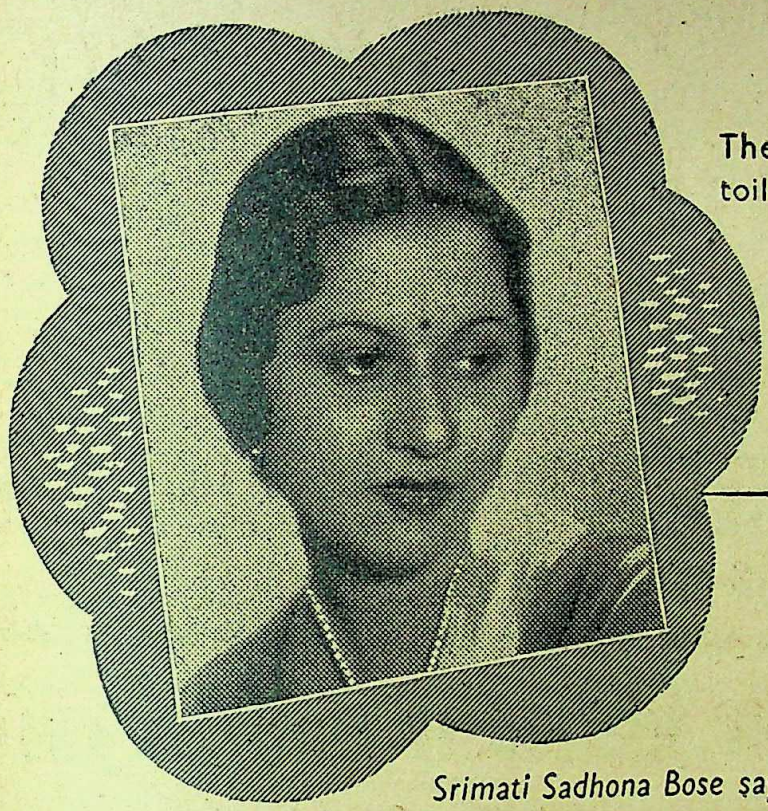

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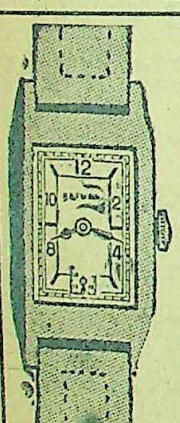

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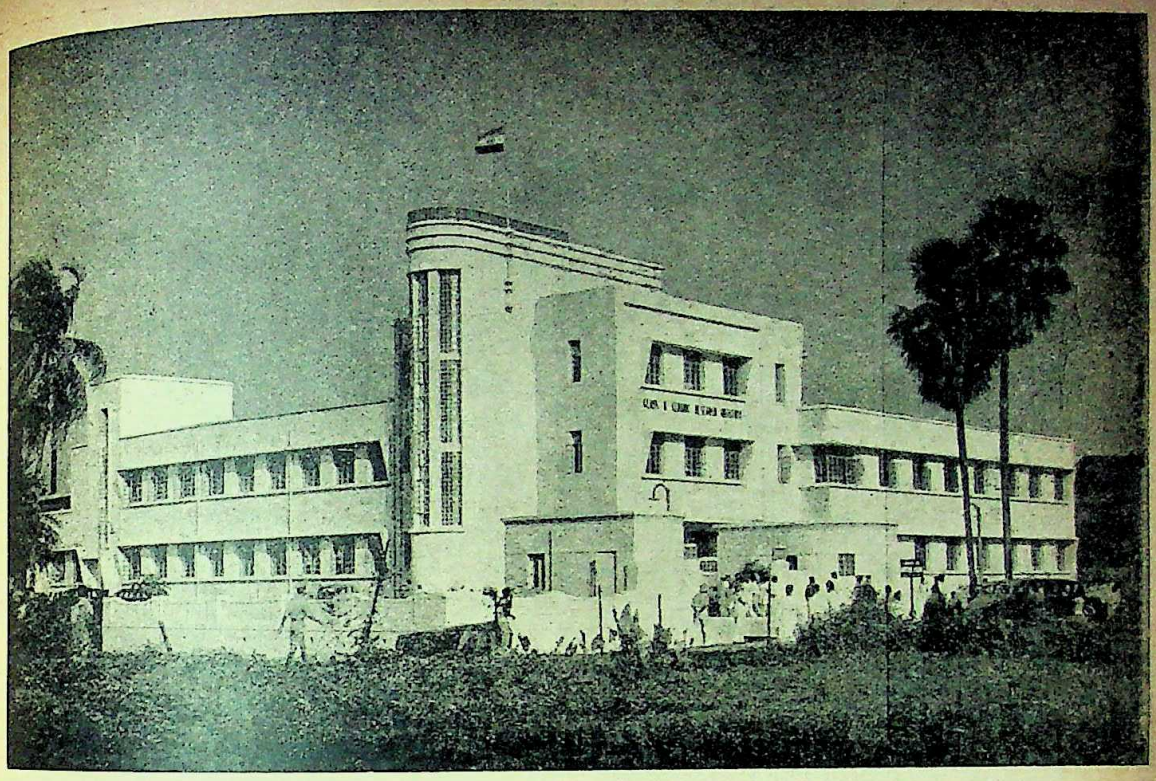

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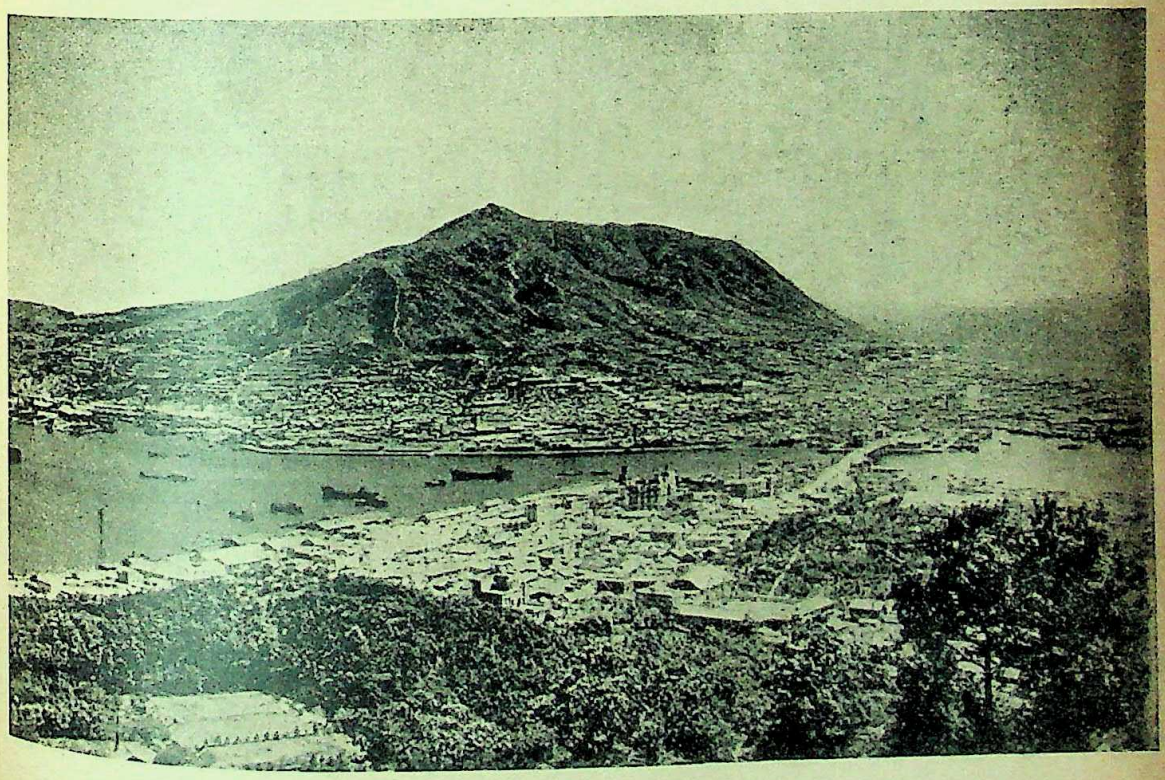

A panoramic view of the Korean port-city of Pusan

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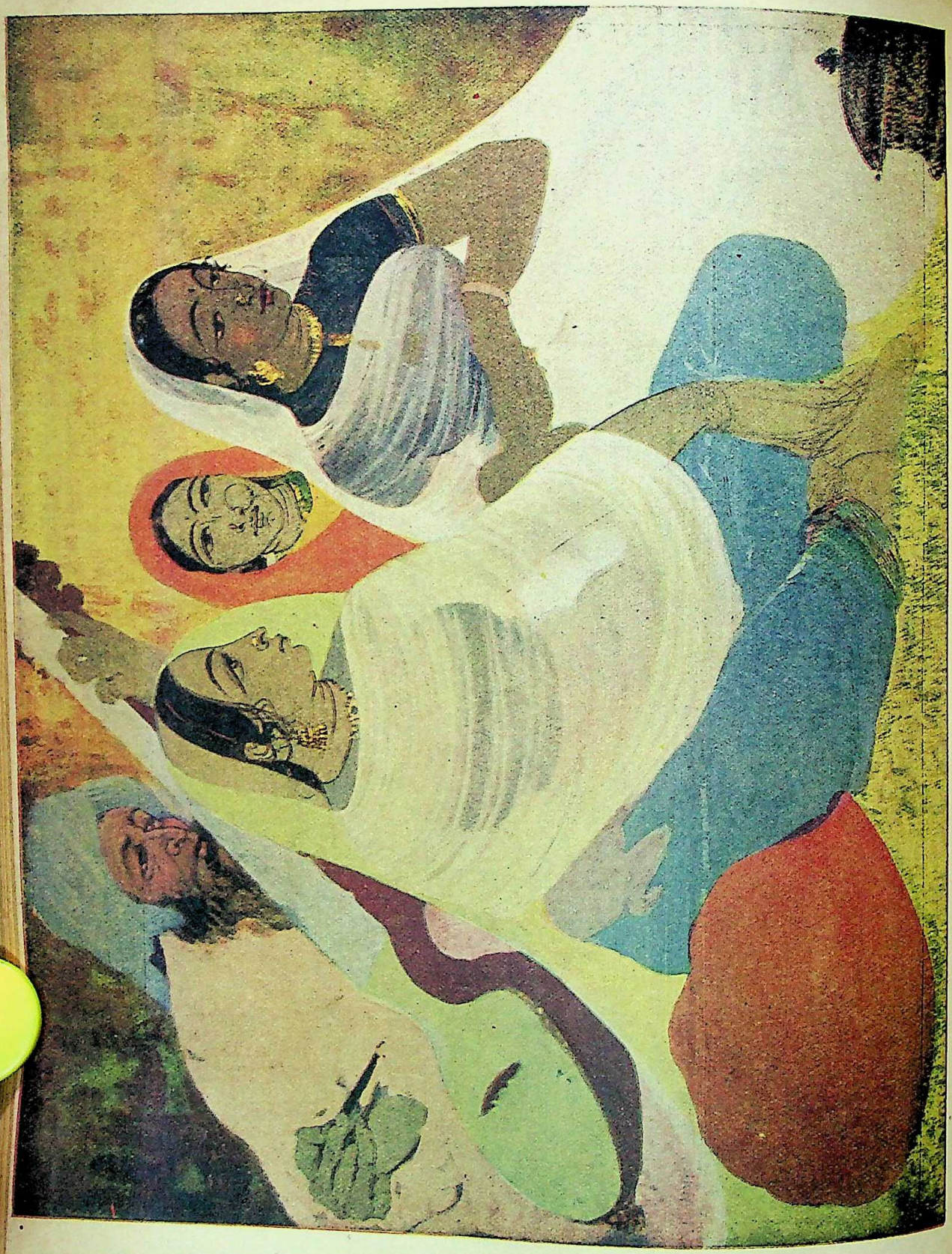

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THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1950

Vol. LXXXVIII, No. 4 Whole No. 526

NOTES

War in Korea

The Korean War has reached the critical stage, for the crisis will come when the U.N.O. forces cross the 38th parallel. Till then the U.N.O. will be fighting on invaded soil but after the 38th latitude is crossed the question of jurisdiction of the U.N.O. will become an involved point of international law and practice.

In Kashmir, Pandit Nehru sacrificed not only the initiative of the fighting forces of the Indian Union but also allowed the aggressor to recuperate, refit and to return to attack with impunity because he assumed that there was no justification for pursuing the aggressor across the frontier into his home territory.

If the U.N.O. forces cross the 38th parallel in pursuit of the aggressor's forces, it would be proved that the Indian army was halted under a wrong assumption, that has cost us grievously in blood, treasure and prestige.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Soviet Bloc will raise a storm of protests over the matter if and when the actual crossing of the invisible frontiers is encompassed. And the question that is facing an anxious and tense world is whether matters will stop at verbal protests.

If the U.N.O. forces succeed in pursuing and finally liquidating the forces of North Korea in North Korean territory then for the time being the U.S.S.R. will suffer a serious loss of face. But if that factor is viewed by her in a realistic mood then perhaps the world will gain a respite even though that may be temporary. The alternative is too grim to be contemplated, as it may involve the world in a conflagration that will mean the destruction of the civilized world.

A few days will suffice to determine the issues involved and to show to the world whether Armageddon looms ahead or not and whether the Korean War is just a try-out on the port of the Soviets, as it was in Spain under the direction of the Axis war-lords, or if it is in reality the final show-down between the rival power-blocs that dominate the sphere of world politics of the day.

The war in Korea has demonstrated beyond doubt the supremacy of the U.S.A. Bloc in the air and its complete suzerainty over the seas. On land, despite the debacle faced by the North Koreans, the lesson is not so clear. Soviet armour, training and strategy has been shown to be equal to the best that its rivals can show, measured quality for quantity. And this war has again shown amply that the Asiatic soldier is as formidable a fighter as can be found anywhere.

As we write these lines we are just in the 4th month of the war in Korea. On the 25th of June, North Korea had started this war by attacking the Republic of South Korea by crossing the 38th latitude—the frontier-line accepted by the Soviet Union and the United States as guardians of the two States—North and South Korea.

Since the 16th of September, the American fighting forces have regained the initiative and have passed into the offensive. This has been made possible by the incursion of the U.N.O. Navy into the fight; the landing of Marines at the Inchon Port, almost west of Seoul the old South Korea capital, was the first step in this offensive. The latest news show that the North Koreans are in full flight and that the U.N.O. forces are racing beyond Seoul. The North Korean forces are trying to retreat in order to their home defences across the 38th parallel. North Koreans have no doubt been resisting heroically, but the issue is no longer in doubt. The combined air, land and sea offensive has effectively disrupted North Korea's forces and resources.

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This transformation in the situation in Korea, North and South, has been wrought within a period of 14 days. On the 2nd September, the *Press of the World* had featured such headings: "North Korean's Biggest Offensive"; "Onslaught on 25-mile Front"; "Naktong and Nam Rivers Crossed in Strength"; "Americans Give Ground in One Sector." On the 24th, the papers blazed with the headings: "U. N. Troops Capture Seoul Airstrip" (this has since been officially contradicted from Tokyo); "Heavy Resistance by Reds in the City"; "Communists on the Run on the Southern Front."

These headings high-light the potential strength of the United States which has been activated since the 25th June attack, and brought to focus on the distant battle front. This has lessons for the peoples of all nations in the world whether in the Communist or Democratic camp. But even the disintegration of the North Korean offensive does not solve Korea's problem or the bigger one that has been created by the antagonism of the Soviet Union to the United States. India's Prime Minister has attempted to provide a *via media*; so far as we understand matters, the United States has been blocking the Nehru approach by a rigid legalism.

If Pandit Nehru is determined to cut the Gordian knot, he should instruct Shri Benegal Narasinha Rao, Indian representative on the Security Council, to take the whole matter out of legalistic argumentations. The Korean affair must be judged on its own merits. Even the addition of the Mao Tse-tung delegate may not remove the deadlocks which one after another the Soviet Union has been throwing up since the end of 1945. If China and India can join their forces, uninfluenced by power-politics which has been changing ideologicol differences on socio-economic matters into instruments of offence and defence, there may emerge a more hopeful future for the U.N.O. as the organ of international concord. The new ambassador to India on behalf of President Mao Tse-tung's Government, General Yuan Chung-hsien, will have deserved well of the world if he can bring it about.

Pandit Nehru at Nasik

Pandit Nehru has again demonstrated his ability to fight determinedly for his ideals. Contrary to the expectation of malcontents and disruptionists, he carried the Nasik Congress with him in all his resolutions and contentions. He has amply demonstrated his ability to rise to the occasion and to wage a vigorous campaign, even though the odds are apparently immensely arrayed against him. Nasik has indeed shown us that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is still very far from being down and out.

We very much like the clarity of his expression when he says :

"We cannot tolerate any colonial islands in India. We are against colonialism anywhere in Asia or Africa, much more so in our own country."

Likewise we are all for him when he stands firmly against communalism or when he exhorts the youth of the country thus :

"It was now for the younger generation to prepare themselves to take over the torch, keep it aloft burning and to march forward. They should at all times remember only one thing, that failures should not daunt them or dampen their enthusiasm."

But all the same we wish he would get rid of the habit of substituting the wishful thought for reality and of mistaking the sycophant for a friend or the critic for an enemy. Of all our noble leaders only Bapu had a personality completely armoured against flattery and an inherent liking for the ruthless but sincere critic. His days of silence helped in his true assessment of the values of critical comments. We only wish Jawaharlalji would take a leaf out of his revered leader's book.

As we see it today, despite all that has been said at Nasik, Congress prestige stands at a lower ebb, all over the country, than it ever has in all its history. We have hopes, it is true, but we are unable to close our ears to the persistent clamour of the real people, and that clamour we cannot mistake for acclaim.

Nasik was a demonstration of what they think within the closed ranks of the Congress. Let not Pandit Nehru mistake what transpired at Nasik as the sanction of the People.

Congress President's Address

In his presidential address, Sri Purushottamdas Tandon, President of the 56th Session of the Indian National Congress at Nasik, has traversed a wide ground and has given a clear indication of his ideas on the burning problems of the day. We are in agreement with most of his views but we may be excused for differing with some. Tandonji has rightly laid the greatest emphasis on the organisational problem of the Congress. The Congress organisation is fast losing the prestige it had held aloft during six decades of storm and stress. With the first touch of power-politics, it is now rapidly degenerating into rival party factions. Tandonji said, "If we can by our example fill the people all round with the enthusiasm to discipline their lives, then we will surely be able to raise the country. Our living should be simple and our thinking noble." But unfortunately this is the ideal from which the Congress is drifting away. Tandonji himself has explained the drift, "Profiting by the liberal provisions of the Congress constitution many persons have entered the Congress whose main desire is the gaining of power. This is natural in a political organisation. But if there remains a good number of workers whose main aim is the protection

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the country and its service and for whom office is only a minor importance, then the popularity or usefulness of Congress will rise." The fact is that the Congress has been completely captured by seekers of power and pelf for whom office is the only attraction and it is this set of people that have shut out selfless workers from the organisation who in their despair have inflated the ranks of the Communists and other parties. How can people have respect for the Congress when they find notorious corrupt people on its Executives and in the Legislatures as its nominees? Tandonji thinks that the number of persons fulfilling the conditions of active and qualified membership will not exceed three digits in a district; we doubt whether this number can be found in an entire province. In his concluding speech he said, "Congressmen will have to give up the greed of elections and capturing power. If we can capture the imagination of the people by our service, victory in election will come of its own. Corruption and injustice must not be allowed to creep into the Congress." Any talk of corruption and injustice creeping into the Congress is too late, these two evils have pierced into the Congress organisation to its very foundation eating into its very vitals.

Giving his views on the Constitution, Tandonji frankly admitted that it was not sacrosanct, it was amenable to change as democratic traditions are built up and experience gives new ideas. He placed reason over authority as revealed in books when he said, "Conscious intellect alone, and not any book, can be the foundation rock of our country. Books and traditions will be helpful but they cannot take the place of reason. To accept reason as the basis of action is itself the rejection of communalism."

Tandonji said, "Hindi has become the property of the whole country." We differ. Hindi still remains a machine for the usurpation of power in the Central administration by a section of the people who wish to impose their will over the rest. Changes in the vocabulary and grammar, and preparation of a new Lexicon are the conditions precedent to the acceptance of Hindi as Rashtrabhasa. These conditions have not been fulfilled, rather they are now being sidetracked. So long as these conditions are not fulfilled Hindi will never be accepted in the non-Hindi-speaking parts of the country.

Regarding foreign policy, Sj. Tandon said, "The Congress policy in regard to foreign affairs has been not to join either of the two great power blocs of the world, one led by the U.S.A. and the other by the Soviet Union, but to maintain friendly relation, with both the blocs and to consider every question which comes up inside the UN from the view-point of justice, propriety and establishment of world peace. This policy has certain advantages and also disadvantages. The advantage is that we place before the nations of the world the ideal of justice and propriety and are in a position to induce others to follow this course. This policy helps in the realisation of the ideal of a world Government and for that reason, those who stand by that ideal respect us. At the same time there is this drawback in such a policy that none of the two mighty blocs of the world considers us as its full ally, and this reacts on the various questions at issue between ourselves and Pakistan. Not a few nations are swayed by selfish interests in looking upon Pakistan as a possible future ally and are thus biassed in its favour. Pakistan invaded Kashmir which is a part of our country. Ample and conclusive evidence of this aggression was placed before the UN and yet the UN has not declared Pakistan as an aggressor."

He further clarified the issue thus, "It is not impossible that at some future date after taking into account all the circumstances, we may, for the protection of our country, have to consider the question of establishing closer relations with one of these two blocs. The nations of the world have not yet developed the habit of looking at problems only from the point of view of what is right and subordinating their group interests for the sake of the great ideal. One policy for Korea and another for Kashmir when the point at issue is the same, is a result of this blurred vision."

"Pakistan has gone even so far as to say that due to its entanglements at Kashmir she is unable to send her troops to Korea to help the UN. The implication of such a statement is obvious. We have to be alert in regard to such tactics of Pakistan."

About our responsibility in Asia, Tandonji said, "Our country enjoys a special position in the Asian continent. The responsibility of freeing this great continent from the exploiters of the West is very much ours. At the same time we have to shoulder the burden of maintaining peace in Asia." He fully supported Pandit Nehru's China policy.

He advocated a national levy for compensating the refugees. He said, "This much is evident that the policy of the Pakistan Government in East Bengal is not such as to remove the fears and apprehensions of the Hindus and to encourage them to stay in East Bengal in peace . . . Persons holding Islamic communal views find support there and persons belonging to other communities feel themselves insecure. Apart from the actual acts of cruelty, the exodus of Hindus from Pakistan is due to the psychological reason also. . . . Our Government has entered into several agreements with Pakistan, but they have not led to a solution of our difficulties.

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It seems to me that we shall have to be more firm in our attitude towards Pakistan."

He said, "Apart from the question of proper treatment of minorities, the problem of Kashmir has been the cause of tension between the two countries. Traditionally as well as constitutionally, Kashmir is a limb of Bharat. But we have been observing that the UN Organisation has not been able to beget among its members the sense of impartial justice and owing to their local interests there are frequent conflicts among them, the Pakistan Army which Bharat could have driven away without any aid from the UN is still in occupation of certain parts of the country. Bharat tried to raise the prestige of the UN, but the UN with its policy has foisted a problem on India and has not acted impartially."

Tandonji cleared up the difference between culture and religion and asked the people not to confuse the two.

Dealing with the labour problem, he said, "The Central Government is also alive to the problem of field labourers. This problem as compared to that of factory labour is wider and more complex. It has been estimated that the total number of field labourers and their dependents is somewhere between 7 and 10 crores." The labour policy followed by all our parties, Congress, INTUC, Socialist and others have all been onesided inasmuch as they put all their energies in the amelioration of the conditions of 30 lakhs of organised labour and that at a tremendous cost to the field labourers and the consumers. Time has now come to direct the country's attention to this wrong labour policy.

About controls and corruption, Tandonji said, "Our Governments have borrowed the system (of controls) from the West, but there is no doubt that the small officials of our governments do not possess that sense of integrity on the strength of which these controls can be successfully worked." But we think that the real defect lies not only in the small but also in the big officials and sometimes even in the ministerial entourage. With a top, weak, inept and eager to compromise with corruption, the bottom cannot but be corrupt.

We wholeheartedly agree with Tandonji when he said, "I give primary importance to the growth of co-operation for the development of self-sufficiency and its sanitation, education and moral growth." We believe that with the continuous influx of refugees it will be impossible to build up any economic structure except on the basis of multi-purpose co-operation and collective farming. Tandonji has done very well in indicating the place of electricity in village economy.

"An all-out effort to achieve a society with moral grandeur should be the object of our administration. This was Gandhiji's conception of Ram Rajya. The existence of the Congress will be justified only if it advances towards this consummation."

Nasik Congress Resolutions

The following resolutions have been passed by the Nasik Congress:

Foreign Policy

The resolution stated: "The Jaipur Congress, in its resolution on foreign policy, reaffirmed the principles that had guided the Congress in previous years, and formulated a policy which should be pursued in the new circumstances that had arisen. Since then, India has become a Republic and has, as an independent sovereign nation, continued her association with the Commonwealth of Nations. She has also continued to participate fully in the activities of the United Nations.

"In furtherance of her aim she has developed diplomatic contacts and friendly and co-operative relations with a large number of independent nations. She has avoided any entanglement in military or other alliances which tend to divide up the world in rival groups and thus endanger world peace. She has maintained her freedom of action in foreign affairs and in the economic development of the country.

"Recent developments in the Far East, leading to war in Korea, have led to an intensification of the international crisis and have brought the prospect of a devastating world war nearer. India, in accordance with her basic policy, associated herself with the United Nations in resistance to aggression. At the same time, she has laboured for peace and for the prevention of the war in the East from spreading beyond Korea.

"The Congress approves the policy pursued by the Government of India and is of opinion that every avenue of peaceful settlement should be explored. While aggression, in any shape or form, has to be resisted, it must be remembered that the sum of the United Nations, to which India, in common with other nations, is committed, is the maintenance of peace and not the encouragement of any activity which leads to war.

"The United Nations Organization was the outcome of the passionate hope of mankind for peace and co-operation among nations and for the avoidance of war. It is the basic feature of this organization to bring together all countries, however they might differ from each other, on a common platform so that they might develop the habit of co-operation and of settlement of disputes by peaceful methods.

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important nations are excluded from this great world organization, it loses its distinctive feature and significance and its power for good is lessened.

"The Congress is, therefore, of opinion that their great neighbour, China, should be represented in this Assembly of the nations of the world, through her present Government so that she may be in a position to co-operate with other nations in the maintenance of peace.

"While aggression had to be resisted in Korea, the objective of the United Nations should be clearly stated. That objective must be the establishment of a free and independent and united Korea whose future is to be determined by her own people.

"This Congress earnestly hopes that the great nations of the world will not permit fear and passion to endanger the cause of peace for which they all stand, and will not encourage any activities which add to the bitterness and hatred which unhappily fill many people's minds today. The world crisis demands from every country forbearance and restraint, the banishment of fear and a ceaseless endeavour in search of peace."

Resolution on Delhi Pact

The agreement, the resolution said, "represents a peaceful and effective approach to the solution of a very difficult problem and is in keeping with the traditions and policy of the Congress." The Working Committee also adopted a resolution on refugee rehabilitation.

The following is the resolution on the Indo-Pakistani agreement: "The Jaipur Congress drew the particular attention of the country to the menace of communalism and called upon the people to put an end to all communal and separatist tendencies which had already caused grievous injury and which imperilled the hard-won freedom of the country. Anti-national and socially reactionary forces have continued to function and come in the way of India's progress.

"The partition of India caused deep wounds in the political, economic and emotional life of the country. Passions were roused and many difficult problems arose, leading to continuing tension and ill-will between India and Pakistan.

"These problems can only be solved satisfactorily with patience and goodwill, tolerance and firmness, keeping always in view the honour and interests of India. These interests of India, as of Pakistan, require peaceful and co-operative relations between the two countries.

"This Congress, therefore, commends and approves of the proposal made by the Government of India to the Government of Pakistan for an agreement between the two countries that all disputes should be solved by peaceful methods and without resort to armed conflict.

"For this reason, among others, the Congress records its approval of the Indo-Pakistani agreement of April 8, 1950, which represents a peaceful and effective approach to the solution of a very difficult problem and which is in keeping with the traditions and policy of the Congress. It is with this approach and in this spirit that such problems can be most effectively dealt with and can yield enduring results.

"Whatever disputes and conflicts may exist now or may arise in future between India and Pakistan, they should be considered as political problems between the two countries and should be treated as such.

"In no event should the spirit of communalism or the misuse of religion be allowed to mar and distort the consideration of our internal problems. We cannot forsake our own policy in a spirit of retaliation. We have not only to treat our minorities with full justice and fairness, but should make them feel that they are so treated.

"This Congress, therefore, declares that it is the basic policy of the nation, as reaffirmed in the Constitution, that India is a democratic State which, while honouring every faith, neither favours nor discriminates against any particular religion or its adherents, and which gives equal rights and freedom of opportunity to all communities and individuals who form the nation.

"It is the primary duty of every Congressman to carry this great message and to live up to it and to combat every form of communalism or separatism in India."

Resolution on Economic Policy

"The economic progress of the country is the most urgent task before the nation in order to advance towards the attainment of the Congress objective. That objective is the establishment of a Welfare State wherein there is economic democracy, a national minimum standard in respect of the essentials of physical and social well-being, a rise in the standard of living of the people, full employment, elimination of exploitation, the progressive narrowing down of disparities in income and wealth, so that there may be equality of opportunity to all for self-development and the growth of personality.

"Every step towards this goal must be judged from the point of view of the good of the masses and vested interests should not be allowed to divert us from the larger good. Ordered progress will necessarily have to be planned and this implies a balanced and more or less controlled economy.

"The Congress has repeatedly emphasised the

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necessity for planning and the Working Cimmittee, in a resolution passed in January, 1950, recommended to the Government of India to set up a statutory Planning Commission. This Congress welcomes the establishment of the Planning Commission by the Government of India.

"The Second World War seriously impaired the economic structure and strength of the country, and the partition and the tragic events that followed independence disrupted the country's economic life still further; progress has thus been greatly hampered by limitations in respect of finance, capital equipment, trained personnel and raw materials. These limitations necessitate a careful husbanding of available resources and the laying down of strict priorities in regard to development schemes.

"It is of the utmost importance in existing conditions that measures should be devised to secure increased production and every factor militating against this aim should be discouraged. Capital formation will have to be increasingly shouldered by the common man and the small savings of large numbers of people will have to be an essential feature of the ways and means of the country's development programme.

"So long as there are conditions of scarcity, the need for the control on essential articles will continue. Such controls should be effective and must be so worked as to avoid undue inconvenience to the people and eliminate evasions. Anti-social elements seeking to exploit controls to their advantage should be drastically dealt with.

"Immediate action is necessary more especially in regard to the following matters:

(1) Basic and essential lines of development such as power and irrigation, and prior allocation of available resources for this purpose.

(2) Early realisation of self-sufficiency in food.

(3) An adequate supply of essential raw materials for industry.

(4) An orderly and progressive education in the general price-level.

(5) A full and efficient utilisation of installed capacity in industries, reducing costs of production to a reasonable level and, at the same time, providing conditions in which the workers can put forth their best efforts.

(6) Expansion of opportunities for gainful employment by planned development of village and small-scale industries on co-operative lines as far as possible, and on the basis of the highest attainable technical efficiency. Priority should be given in this respect to Khadi and the handloom industry.

"No system of planned economy can succeed and no large-scale advance is possible unless there is full public co-operation. It is, therefore, necessary to evoke public enthusiasm and harness it for the promotion of nation-building activities to raise the low productivity in industry and agriculture. Efforts should, therefore, be made to utilise the experience, energy, free time and other resources of the people on a voluntary basis and a nation-wide scale. In any such scheme Congressmen should give their full and active support."

Other Resolutions

Refugee Problem

"This Congress recognizes that the Government of India and many of the State Governments have given first importance to the problem of the displaced persons from West and East Pakistan and have applied their energy and resources to its resolution. They have given relief to and rehabilitated a substantial proportion of them. Nevertheless, a large number still remains unprovided for and in great distress. It is the duty and responsibility of Government to rehabilitate and provide opportunities for productive and gainful occupation to all these displaced persons who have suffered so much because of circumstances beyond their control.

"Delay in solving the evacuee property problem has been a constant source of distress and frustration to vast numbers of persons, and it is urgently necessary that a solution of this should be found as speedily as possible. In the opinion of the Congress, if a solution of this problem is not arrived at between India and Pakistan in the near future, it should be referred for arbitration to a tribunal consisting of representatives of India and Pakistan of high judicial standing."

Foreign Possessions

"The Congress is strongly opposed to any foreign colonial Powers continuing to hold any part of India. It, therefore, reaffirms the Jaipur Congress resolution on foreign possessions in India and declares that it is essential that these territories should be incorporated in the Republic of India."

Congress Set-up

"The working of the new Congress constitution has revealed some serious defects and difficulties. It is necessary to amend the constitution so as to remedy these and other defects and ensure the smooth and efficient functioning of the machinery of the Congress. The Congress, therefore, under Article 28, authorizes the AICC to make necessary amendments in the constitution, and to this end the Working Committee will make proposals to the AICC and inter alia give its consideration to the following matters.

"The Working Committee shall circulate these proposals by the end of November, 1950: (1)

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introduction of primary membership; (2) appointment of a central tribunal and central credentials committee; (3) vesting the Working Committee with adequate powers to deal with abnormal situations; (4) providing machinery for selecting candidates to legislatures and parliamentary activities."

Congress Session at Nasik

The organizers of the Nasik Congress have shown that for once they can rise above party bickerings. The credit of this goes not a little to Shri Bhausaheb Hiray, Chairman of the Reception Committee. A member of the Central Legislature this Maharastrian public man owed his eminence to his constructive activities on Gandhian lines. An account of his life shows that the bent of his mind has impelled him to these nation-building works. He started various organisations in the district, such as Adiwasi Seva Mandal, Young Seva Mandal and Primary and Adult Education Mandals, and with the active co-operation of a large number of co-workers expanded and intensified these activities throughout the district.

This session of the Congress has re-affirmed for the 60th time all the objectives set before the Congress by Gandhiji. Their implementation will depend on the loyalty of individuals who are really convinced of the necessity of the Gandhian approach to the solution of the problems created by centralized industrialism. The ideals of Sarvodaya, uplift of all, are there for the world to see and admire. These really constitute a challenge to many of the practices that the Planning Commission under Pandit Nehru has determined to pursue. It is this confusion of ideals that illustrate the divided mind of Indian leadership.

Times' Comment on Nasik

The Nasik Congress has evoked international interest. British and American newspapers have made important comments on this session which deserve attention in this country. We give below the comment of London *Times*, dated September 18, which deserves consideration even though the session is over. In an editorial entitled "Mr. Nehru at Nasik," the *Times* writes:

"The meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Nasik will decide which of the two rival programmes will gain the support of the Congress Party, dominate the party platform for the next year's general election, and determine the future shape of Indian policy. The choice is clear-cut: Will India become a secular 'welfare state' as Mr. Nehru has defined it, or will she become an embodiment of Hindu orthodoxy, solidly based on the Hindu social structure?

"Both programmes can be traced far back into Congress history. Until lately they were kept in step by the overriding aim of political independence. When Britain handed over power and it was necessary to decide how the power was to be used, the conflict between what may be called the reformist and the traditional views began to emerge and has now become crucial.

"Until this year it looked as if the reformers had finally won. If Mr. Gandhi had lived, his great personal prestige might have bridged the difference by holding the Congress Party together in fidelity to the ideals which he advocated. Mr. Nehru succeeded in embodying the reformist view in the new Indian constitution; and if a political opposition had appeared capable of disputing the Congress Party's control over India, even those who dislike the policy of the present Government might have accepted Mr. Nehru's ideas rather than jeopardise their own very considerable stake in the Party's fortunes.

"This has not happened. The ranks have not closed. Circumstances have weakened Mr. Nehru's position. The economic programme bequeathed by Mr. Gandhi, never accepted more than lukewarmly by the traditionalists, has come under heavy fire as failing to meet the needs of India at a time of acute inflation and severe food shortage. The Mahatma's gospel of treating the minorities generously in order to win their confidence now lacks popular appeal on account of the disastrous quarrel with Pakistan.

"Mr. Nehru is accused of 'appeasement' in his dealings with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan over the refugee question on which Indian feeling is strong. Orthodox Hindu opinion, powerful in 'big business', in finance, and in the Press, is ranged against him. He has been attacked for his policy over Kashmir; he still seeks some kind of settlement, but there is growing impatience over the whole miserable affair. He has been criticised for his intervention in the Korean issue; and some of his recent appointments, particularly in the diplomatic field, have caused unfavourable comment.

"The campaign against his policy took a serious turn when the candidate he favoured fell to the bottom of the poll in the election of the new Congress President. Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon, a highly respected 'traditionalist' and a life-long exponent of characteristically Hindu ideals of culture and social organisation, was given an absolute majority over all the others.

"The remarkable personal statement issued by Mr. Nehru gives his own estimate of the situation and of the duty of the Congress Party. It is a forthright defence of Gandhism and a passionate plea for the support of the party in his effort to carry out the political programme for which the Mahatma gave his life.

"In another country an appeal of this nature

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addressed by a Prime Minister who is a statesman of international reputation to a purely party organisation might be misunderstood; but the Indian people know that the few men who control the Congress machine are the true successors to the British Raj, that they stand behind and above Central and Local Governments, that they monopolise power and patronage. With the instinct for drama the Indians see the profound cleavage within the Congress in terms of a duel for mastery between Mr. Nehru and Sardar Patel. This view applies to two loyal servants of India whose qualities are complementary.

"Mr Nehru stands high in the estimation of Indian youth, many of whom are critical of Sardar Patel. Sardar Patel has great influence among the leaders of commerce and industry who dislike Mr. Nehru's socialist views. The two men differ greatly in outlook on some questions, particularly on communal affairs; these differences are probably accentuated by Mr. Nehru's pre-occupation with international matters and Sardar Patel's concentration on affairs at home.

"Neither can really be spared, but unless the Nasik meeting gives Mr. Nehru the support which he seeks a notable partnership may dissolve, leaving the country and the Congress the poorer. Whatever the strength of the opposition to Mr. Nehru, the power of Mr. Gandhi's name is still great."

Dixon Report on Kashmir

Sir Owen Dixon, the UN Kashmir Mediator, has submitted his Report to the Security Council on the failure of his Mission. He admitted that when the frontier of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed by hostile elements in October 1947 it was contrary to international law and that when units of regular Pakistani forces moved into the territory of the State of Kashmir, that too was inconsistent with international law. The following is a short summary of the 12,000-word report supplied by the *PTI*:

Sir Owen said that while the Pakistani Prime Minister "expressed strongly his dissent" from this position taken by the Kashmir Mediator, he expressed his readiness to accept, in compliance with Sir Owen's request, the proposition that "as the first step in demilitarization, the withdrawal of the regular forces of the Pakistani Army should begin on a specified day, and that a significant number of days should elapse before the commencement of any operation involving the forces on the Indian side of the cease-fire line."

Sir Owen's findings are contained in the last five pages of his report, the rest of the document being a resume of the various demilitarization proposals he had made to the two parties and their reactions to them.

Reviewing the Indian stand he said: "Upon a number of occasions in the course of the period beginning with the reference on January 1, 1948, of the Kashmir dispute to the Security Council, India advanced not only the contention that Pakistan was an aggressor but the further contention that this should be declared. The Prime Minister of India at an early stage of the meeting had made the same contention and referred to it repeatedly during the conference (the first conference on the demilitarization plan)."

Sir Owen added: "I took up the position, first, that the Security Council had not made such declaration; secondly, that I had neither been commissioned to make nor had made any judicial investigation of the issue, but, thirdly, that without going into the causes or reasons why it happened, which presumably formed part of the subcontinent's history, I was prepared to adopt the view that when the frontier of Jammu and Kashmir State was crossed. I believe, on October 20, 1947, by hostile elements it was contrary to international law and that when in May 1948, as I believe, units of the regular Pakistani forces moved into the territory of the State, that too was inconsistent with international law.

"I, therefore, proposed that the first step in demilitarization should consist in the withdrawal of the Pakistani regular forces commencing on a named day. After a significant number of days from the named day other operations on each side of the cease-fire line should take place, and as far as practicable concurrently. What number should be fixed as significant was a matter of detail.

"The Prime Minister of Pakistan expressed strongly his dissent from the third of the three positions I took up, that is to say, the positions as stated above. But he expressed his readiness to accept, in compliance with my request, the proposition that as the first step in demilitarization the withdrawal of the regular forces of the Pakistani Army should begin on a specified day and that a significant number of days elapse before the commencement of any operation involving forces on the Indian side of the cease-fire line."

Pakistan, Sir Owen added, complained of India's failure to agree on the practical measures to implement the Security Council resolution of August 1, 1948, and January 5, 1949, and maintained that this failure was the result of a "deliberate policy."

"But the fact remains that the agreement of India to the course to be pursued in these matters is a condition precedent to the carrying out of a plebiscite and there is no such agreement. The UN Commission failed in its efforts to secure an agreement upon them. I failed in mine."

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Sir Owen, who was authorized by the Security Council to pursue "alternative methods," if the objective of a plebiscite was found unworkable, explained why he had "turned away" from the plan of plebiscite for the whole State.

"Partition is an obvious alternative but the Valley of Kashmir cannot be partitioned." Both India and Pakistan made claims to the valley and "some method of allocating it to one party or the other was essential to any plan of partition."

"At all events I have formed the opinion that if there is any chance of settling the dispute by agreement between India and Pakistan it now lies in partition and in some means of allocating the valley rather than in an overall plebiscite."

The State of Jammu and Kashmir was not "really a unit geographically, demographically and economically. It is an agglomeration of territories brought under the political power of the Maharaja. This is the unity it possesses."

"If, as the result of an overall plebiscite, the State as an entirety passed to India or to Pakistan there would be various refugee problems for either country, much more in the case of Pakistan."

"In the interest of the people as well as of the permanence of the settlement, and the imperative necessity of avoiding another refugee problem," he suggested the adoption of partition and abandoning the alternative of an overall plebiscite.

Sir Owen's third suggestion was that the Security Council should press the two Governments to reduce their military strength on the cease-fire line "to the normal protection of a peace-time frontier."

He disclosed that in his telegram from Karachi on August 15 last he also proposed a "Nimitz administration in Srinagar."

He explained his proposal as follows: "A temporary administration under Admiral Nimitz or his representative aided by other UN officers to be set up."

They would have authority in the "limited area" to exclude all troops of every description. Both India and Pakistan should provide troops "upon request" for any purpose. There would be "equality to India and Pakistan in any right granted to lay their views before the people and in other respects."

The Indian Prime Minister, Sir Owen said, expressed his surprise at the "novel" proposal and rejected it on the ground that participation of Pakistan in a plebiscite and calling in of Pakistani troops would "in effect constitute a surrender to aggression." India could not afford to take risks regarding the safety of Kashmir State and "on no account could India permit Pakistani troops to enter the plebiscite area."

In reply Sir Owen told Pandit Nehru that he could not understand how in a settlement of the nature he had suggested "the doctrine that Pakistan is an aggressor having no legitimate interest could continue to apply."

As for Pakistan she first objected to the proposal of partition, but expressed her readiness to accept it "if the Kashmir valley would go to her automatically."

Pakistan was "afraid of compromising her unequivocal stand on the resolutions of August 1, 1948, January 5, 1949, and March 13, 1949," but was persuaded by Sir Owen's assurance that "neither I nor any other UN authority would consider Pakistan's participation in partition discussions as prejudicing her basic stand on plebiscite."

"In the end I became convinced that India's agreement would never be obtained to demilitarization in any such form as would permit of a plebiscite being conducted efficiently, guarding against intimidation and other forms of influence and abuse whereby the freedom and fairness of the plebiscite might be imperilled."

There are no plans at present to call a meeting of the Security Council to hear Sir Owen Dixon's Kashmir report, a high official of the Security Council said.

The Dixon Report admits that the tribal raiders and their abettor Pakistan are aggressors in Kashmir, but at the same time it suggests Partition as the solution. We do not understand what law it is to ask a victim to share his violated property with the robber. The stand the Security Council has taken in respect of Kashmir and Korea are so very different that peace-loving nations of Asia specially have been puzzled over it. If the Security Council feels that Pakistan and the tribal raiders are aggressors, they must name them and order them to quit Kashmir. The Dixon Report has the merit that it has crystallised the problem and has placed the Security Council in a position to commit themselves one way or the other. The problem brooks no further delay and the earlier it is solved the better it will be for a determination of the Indo-Pak relations.

Commonwealth Ministers' Decisions

The Commonwealth Ministers' Conference has concluded in London. A communique has been issued saying that they were agreed on the need to persevere in measures to increase the sterling area's dollar earnings. They said that they were pleased to note a very considerable measure of agreement on the numerous subjects discussed. The communique said:

"The possibility of increasing Commonwealth supplies of newsprint was examined and remitted for further study.

"The importance of a continued supply from the United Kingdom to other Commonwealth countries of

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capital equipment and other goods needed for economic development was recognized.

"It was noted that the U. K. defence programme is not expected to lead to any serious falling off of exports from the U. K. to the rest of the Commonwealth, but that, if there were any signs of appreciable change in particular products, the U. K. Government would give other Commonwealth Governments the fullest possible advance information.

"The Ministers considered the effects of present or prospective increase in the price of both raw materials and manufactured goods, and recognized the need for continuous close consultation between Commonwealth Governments on these matters.

"The Ministers also reviewed various questions concerning international agreements. Including the Havana Charter and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and matters relating to Japanese trade.

"On the financial side, the Ministers reviewed the developments in the balance of payments of the sterling area since the meeting of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers in July, 1949, including the effect of the measures adopted as a result of that meeting.

"They noted with satisfaction the improvement in the dollar position, to which those measures had made a most important contribution, and agreed that restoration of the central gold and dollar reserves of the sterling area to an adequate level remained of great importance.

"They discussed future prospects, including the likely effect of the recent developments in the international situation, and agreed upon the need to persevere with measures designed to increase the dollar-earnings of the sterling area, whether by exports or by the provision of dollar-earning services.

"The Ministers of the sterling area countries concerned agreed upon the need to maintain strict economy in dollar expenditure.

"Discussion on these matters will continue through the ordinary methods of Commonwealth consultation."

The communique stated that the primary object of the meetings was to provide an opportunity for mutual explanations of policy and for exchange of views. There was a "very considerable measure" of agreement on the numerous subjects discussed.

"On the trade side, the Ministers reviewed the progress which has been made in Commonwealth co-operation in trade matters, and particularly in the production of goods that are essential to the economics of Commonwealth countries."

Eight men, Mr. George MacIlraith (Canada), Mr. John MacEwen (Australia), Mr. K. J. Holyoake (New Zealand), Mr. C. Deshmukh (India), Mr. Ghulam Muhammad (Pakistan), Mr. J. K. Jayawardene (Ceylon) and Mr. Harold Wilson (Britain), called together from countries thousands of miles apart, met with their advisers in London on September 25, to take decisions that will determine how full the rice bowls shall be of the countless millions of South-east Asia.

They faced in London problems that are both crucial and urgent. Many of them attended the two earlier conferences at Colombo and Sydney. Already policies are taking shape that promise to throw a life-line to South-east Asia.

The Commonwealth Foreign Ministers agreed at Colombo last January that the economic development of South-east Asia must be stimulated and the possibilities of mutual assistance made clear. To foster these aims the Commonwealth Consultative Committee was set up.

This Committee met at Sydney in May. It then laid what Mr. P. C. Spender, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, described as "the foundation stone of the edifice which in the end will help in bringing about the stability of the countries of South-east Asia."

This programme called for: (1) a six-year plan realistically and comprehensively prepared; (2) the immediate mobilisation of all resources by the countries concerned and other countries interested in the area; (3) the launching of a Commonwealth technical scheme empowered to spend £8,000,000 over a period of three years, with a Commonwealth bureau at Colombo to co-ordinate the work; and (4) the sending of invitations to the Governments of non-Commonwealth countries in South and South-east Asia to take part in the work.

Economists of the Commonwealth countries in the area who were asked to draft a six-year plan have now reported to their Governments. It will be the duty of the eight Ministers to dovetail these draft proposals into a single working programme for the whole of South-east Asia. The time for decision draws very near.

Kashmir

Since the United Nations Organization's mediator, the Australian-born jurist Sir Owen Dixon, reported failure of his mission during the end of August last, we have had a spate of Pakistan propaganda released over the world, specially in the Muslim-majority countries and in the Anglo-Saxon world. In the former, the argument of *jehad* comes in handy; in the latter the titilation of Anglo-Saxon fears of international communism is used.

The London *Times* says in its chagrin that Pandit Nehru has a "blind-spot" with regard to Kashmir comparable to a woman's infatuation for a certain man or thing. The same feeling appears to be prevalent in the United States, Canada and Australia. These countries refuse to believe that India's partition was not forced by the

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"two-nation" theory; they simply laugh at the mention of "territorial division" of India which Pandit Nehru now and then emphasizes. And as Kashmir has a majority of Muslims, they cannot think of any reason which India could with reason put forward against its inclusion within Pakistan.

This is how a section of the world view this problem. Lord Sir Owen Dixon's findings that Pakistan broke the peace by aggression on Jammu-Kashmir during the last week of October, 1947 do not appear to have had any influence on them calling for a revision of their attitude. This appears to have affected the morale of even Shree Jaiprakash Narain, who is reported to have declared at Patna that the Kashmir question must be solved at "any cost." Are we to accept this exasperation as the way to appeasing the aggressor? Does it reflect the opinion of the Socialist Party?

We are, for the present, not concerned with what the U.N.O. chooses to do or not do. But we have to think of our home-front. Shree Jaiprakash Narain is a portent. The Pakistanis have no scruples about the meaning and significance of the Delhi Pact known as the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact. Their Prime Minister can seek "territorial guarantee" of their new State from Britain and the United States within a week or two of signing the Delhi Pact. He made no secret of the potential enemy; he pointed straight at India. Six months later, we find their Foreign Minister, Janab Zafarullah Khan, saying at New York in reply to a question about Pakistan's military help in the Korean campaign that

"We have not any to send; and after all we could not unilaterally put ourselves in a position that would be a temptation to some of our neighbours." When asked if he means Russia he replied, "No, our immediate neighbours."

Their High Commissioner in Australia, Janab Haroon Yusuf, propagandized the thought that Pakistan would have sent her contingents to the Korean war-front if there had not been the Kashmir problem. These two statements expose Pakistan's game, the "method" in her "madness." The height of mischief was reached by Governor Abdur Rab Nishtar of West Punjab at the Jinnah memorial meeting on September 11 last:

"A militarily strong Pakistan is not only essential for the existence of Pakistan as a State but is also necessary for the safety of millions of Muslims in India."

We are not sorry that this foolishness should have been perpetrated. It reminds us of the old-time robbers who used sending previous information to householders that their houses and property would be attacked and looted on a particular day. We are thankful to Governor for this warning.

India, Pakistan and Dollar Trade

The first issue of the official publication *Direction of International Trade* which is a joint compilation of the Statistical Office of the UN, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, provides an explanation of the fluctuating dollar trade of India and Pakistan.

It is generally accepted that in the first year of devaluation substantial progress has been made in closing the gap between the dollar and the non-dollar trading areas of the world. Progress to this goal has been somewhat uneven and, as might be expected, some countries have done better than others. The new statistical service publishes data for the calendar years 1948 and 1949 and for the January-March quarter of 1950, thus making it possible to maintain running contact with collated figures that are not otherwise easily obtainable.

For instance, in 1948, U.S. exports to India are shown at $298.2m and imports from this country at $265.2m, leaving a deficit for India on trading account of $33m. In 1949, the figures were U.S. exports $253.1m and imports $238.7m with a resultant deficit for India of $14.4m. In the first quarter of the present calendar year the U.S.A. exported $66.6m to India and imported $60.5m from India. In the case of Canada, which is the other large sector of the dollar area, the Dominion exports to and imports from India were just about in balance in 1948. In 1949, Canada's exports to India were $71.2m and imports from India were $25.6m leaving a sizeable deficit of $45.6m. In the first quarter of the current year, however, that deficit has been turned into a surplus in India's favour of $5.5m, Canada having purchased $8.6m of goods from India against 3.1m sold to this country.

When we come to examine the figures given for the balance of trade between the USA and Pakistan, it has to be said that the new official statistics do not support the optimistic deductions that have recently been made in Pakistan itself on the trends of the country's foreign trade. In 1948, the balance of trade between Pakistan and the U.S.A. was strongly in favour of the former whose exports to the U.S.A. were $26.1m against imports of $16.9m. In 1949, however, the position was sharply reversed, American exports to Pakistan being $45.5m against imports of $27.7m leaving Pakistan with an adverse balance of $17.8m. In the first quarter of 1950 the U.S.A. exported $7.2m to Pakistan against imports of $6.4m—net adverse balance $0.8m.

The Pakistan-Canadian figures follow much the same pattern. In 1948, Pakistan had a favourable balance with Canada of $6.4m. In 1949, this favourable balance had become an adverse balance of $16.4m and in the first quarter of 1950 imports from Canada at $3m were $2.6m greater than exports to the Dominion. It is obvious that there is a material discrepancy between these figures and those which have recently been adduced in Ministerial reviews of Pakistan's overall trade policy. The explanation is probably that

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the Ministerial statistics relate only to trade on private account, whilst those now published include Pakistani Government purchases which would perceptibly swell the total on the imports side of the ledger.

Israel Recognized

We are glad that the Government of India has decided at long last to accord recognition to the State of Israel. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, has never taken care to let his public know why he has been delaying this step; neither do the Delhi announcement or the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the subject, issued during 18th and 19th September, clear the subject.

Knowing that relations between States are ultimately governed by self-interest, enlighted self-interest if you must have it so, this recognition accords well with Pandit Jawaharlal's policy of accepting a reality, "a vital reality" which Israel has been these two years and China for about a year. Our people have ever sympathized with the Jewish struggle for "a home land;" and they have admired the "sense of mission" that have been moving them for thousands of years. And Jerusalem has ever stood as its symbol :

> "Jerusalem that 'had sprang first to the mind of the poet lamenting its destruction'; so did it spring first to the mind of the prophet rejoicing over the return from the first exile: 'Break forth into joy, sing together ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people. He hath redeemed Jerusalem,' says Isaiah. It was concern for the welfare of Jerusalem, almost equally with concern for the Jewish community in Judea, that moved Nehemiah—founding father of the Second Commonwealth—to leave the comfort and prestige of his post in the Persian Court of the 5th century before the common era. 'Why should not my countenance be sad,' said Nehemiah in epic words to the King of Persia, 'when the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire'."

These words are quoted from an article in *Palestine*, an organ of the American Zionist Council. The intense longing given expression to creates destiny in human history.

U.S.A. in Asian Affairs

Mr. Dean Acheson, U.S.A. Secretary of State for foreign affairs, has made an attempt to justify his country's attitude towards affairs in Asia. This he did in course of a television interview cabled from Washington on September 10 last. He appeared to have been worried over "the mistaken belief that Americans were all-powerful, and that if anything went wrong it must be some American mistake."

We think that the world is not wholly to blame for it. For, Mr. Acheson has more than once asserted that his country was there to afford "moral leadership" to the world—a more "affirmative leadership." And it is one of the privileges and prices of leadership that it should be prepared to accept with an unperturbed spirit praises and abuses equally. Ordinary human nature is not equal to this task. We were under the impression that the Americans were out of the ordinary.

It is quite time that an attempt should be made to analyse the various factors that have been working towards creating this unpopularily for Americans. The chiefest of these appears to be the predominance of America's finance-capital and her organized military power. We have seen an estimate which said that 6 per cent of the world's population that live in U.S.A. today has emerged from the 2nd World War of the 20th century with more than 50 per cent of the world's wealth of industrial power, of naval and military might. The contemplation of such concentrated power creates fear and prejudice in popular minds; the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are the two centres which evoke these feelings now.

The second factor that has been disturbing the world's equanimity is the prospect made fearsome by the judgment of Lord Acton that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have fallen victims to this malady. None of them has been able to use their power with moderation; the ruling classes of the U.S.A. flaunt their atom bomb; in reaction their opposite numbers in the U.S.S.R. use their propaganda machine which has proved itself to be more disruptive than the atom bomb; they exploit the world's discontents and material sufferings in the pursuit of their policy of disruption of the cherished values of human society.

The third factor was indicated by a Dutch newspaper, its comments were reproduced on July 28 last. The paper, organ of the Liberal (Conservative) Party, gives a friendly but frank analysis of U.S. policy :

> "The Far Eastern regimes supported by the U.S. are weaker than those supported by the Soviet Union. One of the reasons is that the Russians lean upon forces that have been able to carry out in the feudal East the necessary social and economic reforms. The U.S., on the other hand, has often, despite its anti-imperialistic ideology, estranged these groups. Washington has apparently underestimated the power of social movements, and thought it sufficient to back the nationalist movements."

They also flaunt their food sufficiency in the face of a world suffering from malnutrition. In nothing has the U.S.A. created more prejudice against herself than in the use made of her food surplus; almost every U.S.A. Information Service Bulletin tells us of her bumper crops; the story is that they are often forced to destroy rather than sell or loan out these to a starving world. India's Prime Minister during his American tour (September-October, 1949) proposed the loan of 10 million tons of food grains from the U.S.A. in exchange for essential raw materials from India which America needs and takes — jute products, manganese, mica, etc. The way in which American trading interests haggled over this offer has repelled all Indians.

Resentment at this policy of negation found expression in the most unexpected quarter. A Dublin newspaper set out on September 9 last is a proof thereof.

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Members of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, including American Senators, listened in silence here today to an impassioned denunciation of reports alleging that surplus food had been destroyed in the United States to preserve price levels.

"The annual conference of the Union, representing 34 countries, unanimously passed a resolution, moved by the Ceylon Delegation urging that countries having a surplus of food should refrain from measures tending to restrict the export of surpluses to needy areas.

"Mr. A. R. Perera of Ceylon said that with all deference to the United States he could not accept the position that the food destroyed to preserve price levels was very small.

"We agree that producers are entitled to fair prices, but we shall point an accusing finger at any nation that destroys food to preserve profits.....

"What we ask is no charity, I say that no nation, however powerful, is entitled to make the question of food a condition of political influence. There is not one country in Asia that will stand hat in hand on the doorstep of the White House in Washington."

An American delegate, Senator Poage, could in face of this charge be apologetic only. Intervening in the debate and supporting the resolution he is reported to have uttered the usual plea that the producers were entitled to "an adequate return for their labour," that there might have been some isolated cases of destruction of food in the United States, but under the United States law all surplus food was available for needy people anywhere if they would go and get it. Surplus food would be delivered at American ports. All that the needy countries had to do was to go and take it." We are sorry to say that Mr. Poage's pleadings do not move us.

There may be exaggeration and even unfairness in this interpretation. And to enable our readers to have a proper perspective we refer to President Truman's "fireside" radio-talk delivered on September 2. He was dwelling forth on the purposes of America's intervention in South Korea's defence. The relevant portion is printed below: "As we move forward to arm ourselves more quickly in the days ahead, and as we strive with the United Nations for victory in Korea, we must keep clearly in mind what we believe in and what we are trying to do. We also want the rest of the world to understand clearly our aims and our hopes.

First : We believe in the United Nations. When we ratified its Charter, we pledged ourselves to seek peace and security through this world organization. We kept our word when we went to the support of the United Nations in Korea two months ago. We shall never go back on that pledge.

Second : We believe the Koreans have a right to be free, independent, and united as they want to be. Under the direction and guidance of the United Nations we, with others, will do our part to help them enjoy that right. The United States has no other aim in Korea.

Third : We do not want the fighting in Korea to spread into a general war. It will not spread unless Communist imperialism draws other armies and Governments into the fight of the aggressors against the United Nations.

Fourth : We hope in particular that the people of China will not be misled or forced into fighting against the United Nations and against the American people, who have always been and still are their friends. Only the Communist imperialism, which has already started to dismember China, could gain from China's involvement in war.

Fifth : We do not want Formosa or any part of Asia for ourselves. We believe that the future of Formosa, like that of any other territory in dispute, should be settled peacefully. We believe that it should be settled by international action and not by the decision of the United States or of any other state alone. The mission of the Seventh Fleet is to keep Formosa out of the conflict. Our purpose is peace, not conquest.

Sixth : We believe in freedom for all the nations of the Far East. That is one of the reasons why we are fighting under the United Nations for the freedom of Korea. We helped the Philippines become independent and we have supported the national aspirations to independence of other Asian countries. Russia has never voluntarily given up any territory it has acquired in Far East, it has never given independence to any people who have fallen under its control. We not only want freedom for the peoples of Asia, but we also want to help them secure for themselves better health, more food, better clothes and homes, and the chance to live their own lives in peace. The things we want for the people of Asia are the same things we want for the people of the rest of the world.

Seventh : We do not believe in aggressive or preventive war. Such war is the weapon of dictators, not of free democratic countries like the United States. We are arming only for defense against aggression. Even though Communist imperialism does not believe in peace, it can be discouraged from new aggression if we and other free peoples are strong, determined, and united.

Eight : We want peace and we shall achieve it. Our men are fighting for peace today in Korea. We are working for peace constantly in the United Nations and in all the capitals of the world. Our workers, our fathers, our businessmen, all our vast resources, are helping now to create the strength which will make peace secure.

We want peace not only for its own sake but because we want all the peoples of the world, including ourselves, to be free to devote their full energies to making their lives richer and happier. We shall give what help we can to make this universal human wish come true."

India's Food Scarcity

India's new Food Minister, Shri Kanhayalal Munshi, has the mind of an artist. He has been trying to dramatize the food problem that has defied solution at the hands of his two predecessors—Babu Rajendra Prasad and Shri Jairamdas Daulatram. His tree-

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planting propaganda has been followed by a "Miss a cereal meal a day." We wish him success in all experiments. But we own to a feeling that the food problem is being discussed without settling the controversy whether or not there is real food deficit in India. Shri R. Sidhwa, a member of the Central Legislature, has long been a protagonist of the idea that there is no deficit; what appears to be so is the creation of the Food Departments, Central and Provincial. The latest supporter of his thesis is Chowdhury Mukhtar Singh, another member of that august body.

In a recent *Indian News Chronicle* (Delhi) "forum" he gave out his opinion with relevant statistics. He is a practical large-scale agriculturist of western Uttar Pradesh.

"Everybody in the country feels that controls, specially on food, are not desirable. But we see no possibility of food being decontrolled specially when the experiment was made in 1948 and was given up after a short period. Even if the position is proved to be satisfactory no Minister wants to take courage to decontrol this essential commodity. I maintain that there is more food than the country can consume, and if need be, we can easily produce about 50 per cent from the already cultivated area.

It is a tragedy that the Government figures are admitted to be unreliable. How can then anybody prove that there is no necessity of control or how much food we should import from outside? In spite of the fact that in the last eight years, we have been trying to grow more food, we have never cared to create the yard-stick by which the increase is to be judged.

There is another important factor. Since the Central Government were insisting upon procurement from different *States*, the latter *seem to have* tried to report as little production as possible.

Then there are no reliable figures for consumption. The only method which may perhaps be resorted by a common man will be to take the average of the last five years and to arrive at a figure which should be considered as the consumption of the country. The final figures prove that the total average consumption in India including wastage and seed-requirements, cannot be more than 45.18 million tons.

Year	Gross production	Imports	Total available
		(*In Million Tons*)	
1946	41.9	2.6	44.5
1947	42.5	2.7	45.2
1948	43.7	2.8	46.5
1949	40.5	3.7	44.2
1950	44.0	1.5	45.5
Average	42.52	2.6	45.18

Thus our total requirements are 45.18 million tons. If we calculate on the basis of 76 per cent adult and take the population to be 350 million, our requirements will be much less.

In all the calculations that the Government make they take only rationed crops into account and exclude those cereals which are unrationed but are produced in large quantities. All these cereals are good food and in certain cases just as good as rice and are eaten by the people of the State in which these are produced. These cereals have to be produced because of the rotation of crops and climatic conditions. There seems to be absolutely no reason as to why this production should be excluded in calculation.

Taking only the U. P., the area under crops other than rationed crops, excluding gram, is 75,05,584 acres, while the area under wheat is 79,75,062 acres and that of rice 69,14,485 acres. Similar will be the case in other States.

A question may be asked as to why the food prices do not depress if there is surplus in the country and imports are added to that quantity. My answer is that a year before last in the U. P. wheat prices at the harvesting time were over Rs. 20 a maund while the Government procured it at much cheaper rates and there was much discontentment amongst the people. Last year, wheat was procured at Rs. 16 a maund and that was the price in the open market of wheat and the people did not feel the pinch of procurement. This year Government decided to make purchases on a voluntary basis and at control price and they have been able to procure much more than the target figure. Is it not, therefore, clear that the surplus grain is affecting the market prices?

It must be remembered, however, that in Government procurement *a very large quantity is wasted, pilfered and destroyed by careless storage.*

According to Government figures, about 7 per cent is lost that way. If we add to it 6 per cent specially to wheat in storage, the total loss cannot be less than 10 per cent. The greatest defect in the system of control is that the States do not co-operate with the Centre and have always tried to make money out of the Central revenues. To give only a few instances, Bombay was allowed a subsidy of Rs. 21.5 crores in 1948-49 with the object of keeping the grain prices in the State at a reasonable figure; but the Government, instead of utilising that money for that purpose, lowered down the price of imported wheat in the towns of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona and Sholapur from Rs. 19-6 a maund to Rs. 13-12 a maund. The Government of Madras, another deficit State, levy Sales Tax on the imported grain and thus make money.

The other defect is that out of about 40 types of grain only eight are rationed and people are forced to

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ke finer grains. The manual labourers consume much f these grains and get less nutrition than they would ve got from the coarser grains. In Bombay, for stance, though the area in *ragi* is no less than four five lakh acres, it is one of the most deficit pro- ces. *Ragi* is not utilised for ration. The indirect fect of this is that the consumer also does not co- erate with the Government as he is not asked to ep economic habits. If masses do not feel that there a shortage of food in the country, no Government, owever, resourceful and powerful, can solve the oblem of food."

We should like to know what the Food Depart- ents have to say to this challenge to their basic eory. And leaving them to their own resources we nd in the report of the Central Rice Research stitute, Cuttack, of the year 1948-49, summarized by ew Delhi, signs of a better future for India's food ent:

"The discovery of two early maturing and high elding varieties of paddy of Chinese origin, suitable r Orissa conditions, is an important result obtained om research work on rice-breeding carried out at e Central Rice Research Institute, Cuttack, accord- g to the Annual Report for 1948-49 of the Institute.

During the year under report, 82 varieties of addy were studied in the Institute in 12 yield trials. ne outstanding result from these studies is the find- g of two early maturing and high yielding varieties paddy of Chinese origin which are suitable for rissa conditions. These varieties have also satis- ctory grain characters and are generally more sistant to diseases.

To study the maximum production possible under timum conditions, a block of 4.8 acres of land was ltivated, green manured and 100 lbs. per acre of monium sulphate applied as top dressing. The erage acre yield obtained from the block was 2550 . of grain and 4340 lbs. of straw. The cost of culti- tion worked out at Rs. 135 per acre and gross income Rs. 283. This gives a net profit of Rs. 150 per acre.

The possibilities of growing two crops of rice in e canal areas of Orissa were also investigated. It as found that long duration varieties followed by ort duration ones constituted a profitable sequence. e first crop yielded about 1,500 to 1,800 lbs. per acre d the second crop from 1,200 to 1,500 lbs. per acre. e above result was obtained without application of rtilisers. With the use of fertilisers, the report says, e yield from the two crops can easily be raised to 00 lbs. per acre.

The comparative efficacy of the various types of rtilisers in paddy cultivation was also studied and was found that application of nitrogen on the basis 40 lbs. per acre increased the yield between 300 to 500 lbs. It was also noticed that the response of both groundnut cake and ammonium sulphate was practically the same. The manurial trials conducted during the year showed that under Cuttack conditions 20 lbs. of nitrogen applied per acre to the soil either in the shape of fertiliser or as organic manure was the most profitable. Application up to 40 lbs. nitrogen gave some increase in yield but doses beyond 40 lbs. had no additional response."

Sikh Politics

We are sorry that Master Tara Singh, the guiding spirit of the Akali Dal, should have given a twist to Sikh politics which is in the border-line of the mentality that has created Pakistan. We have given general support to the Sikh demand for a Punjabee-speaking province or State in India, we sympathize with their suffering, being special fellow-victims of Pakistani disruption. And we are sure that the vast mass of our fellow-citizens appreciate the intensity of our frustrations.

But Master Tara Singh and his immediate followers have been pursuing a policy with which there can be no compromise. They appear to have learnt nothing from their recent experiences. Freedom from British control has been reached; as always and in all history it required a sacrifice. It has been Punjab's and Bengal's privilege to be chosen for this sacrifice. The realization of this fact should have created in the minds of the people of these two provinces an exultation that would uphold them in the new crisis that faces them. Instead, we notice whining and an inclination to blame others, to avoid introspection, a looking into our own inadequacies and weaknesses. This is not the spirit that has been enabling Germans and Japs to get over the consequences of their "high audacity," of their defeat. There is yet time to retrace, to regain balance. Otherwise, Hindus from West Punjab and East Bengal, and Sikhs can only make a nuisance of themselves to all India. This dire prospect awaits them.

Master Tara Singh, however, has been playing a more dangerous game. In his exasperation he has taken the help of anti-Indian elements, British and Pakistani, that will recoil upon himself and his followers and fellow-believers. The *Indian News Chronicle* of Delhi in its issue of September 2 has published a letter from its Karachi correspondent that throws a sinister light on his doings. It appears that Master Tara Singh had recently had an interview with a correspondent of the London *Observer*, a Sunday weekly which the Karachi *Dawn* has featured for its own purposes. Masterji is reported to have told him: "There will be trouble soon in East Punjab." The correspondent took the hint and asked, "But do you

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want trouble after the tragedy of 1947?" We will now allow the *News Chronicle* report to tell this story:

"'It was a tragedy,' he replied, 'but we taught the Muslims a lesson. We do not want much trouble. Just a little would do to teach the Hindus a lesson.'

"One of his followers interrupted hastily to explain the Akali Dal plans for winning more seats at the forthcoming general election.

"'Personally,' said Master Tara Singh, leaning back in the chair with that same smile on his lips, 'I put my trust in chaos'.

"This confirms the *Dawn* correspondent's earlier talk with Master Tara Singh in which the Master had said that an Indo-Pakistan war would afford the Sikhs the best opportunity for the Khalsa to create chaos and 'reign supreme.'

"In this atmosphere of gloom and despair, the Sikhs have been faced with another challenge, the challenge of communal chauvinism. The Hindus of East Punjab have disowned their mother-tongue, the Punjabi. This has opened the eyes of the Sikhs. They see it very clearly that communal war-mongering would act as a fatal boomerang.

"It will bring communalists to the top who after the 'purification' of India will definitely try to enforce 'uniformity' and 'oneness' in the country. The Sikhs have seriously begun to feel apprehensive of their socio-cultural entity, because they know it for certain that they will not be able to maintain their separate entity before the onslaught of Hindu reaction working for the establishment of a Hindu raj with Hindi as the State language.

"They have also realized that in case of conflict (with Pakistan) the Sikhs will be surely reduced to a community of destitutes, if not altogether annihilated. For the people of East Punjab, a border Province, cannot escape that dreadful fate."

An Indian citizen may have his grievances against his State. But he who runs to alien publicists to ventilate these cannot blame his fellow-citizens if they regard his conduct as treason and if his State puts him behind prison-bars as Masterji has been done during the first week of September last. The limit to mischief-making appears to have been reached. And we hope that Masterji will be able to review his activities away from the excitement of sabre-rattling, and that his followers will be able to induce in him a spirit of accommodation to the needs of the Sikh situation. We are led to entertain this hope by what Sardar Aukum Singh, President of the Shiromani Akali Dal, is reported to have said in course of a speech delivered at Delhi on the occasion of a reception given him on September 7. The summary, as published in the Press, is printed below:

"The *demand for a Punjabi-speaking province* was democratic, and there was 'nothing separatist or disruptionist' about it. The Punjabis had a distinctive taste, culture and way of living, and it was unfortunate that all of them had not joined in this demand.

"The demand *should not be understood to mean a desire for a separate State or even a majority area.* The Sikhs only asked for readjustment of boundaries 'on purely linguistic and cultural basis.'

"As a minority the Sikhs wanted protection, and they could get this protection by the creation of a Province where they would have a more effective voice."

We have said that we support this demand for re-adjustment of State frontiers on a linguistic basis. But our support is qualified with an outright denunciation of Master Tara Singh's doings as reported in the London *Observer* and the Karachi *Dawn*.

A Valuable Suggestion

Shri Gobindalal Banerjee, Chief Whip of the East Bengal Congress Assembly Party, in a statement has suggested that the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan should meet the representatvies of minorities in a conference and try to find out a formula for the speedy solution of the minority problem. He added that the resolution passed at the East Bengal Minorities' Conference at Mymensingh in June this year should be the subject for discussion at the proposed conference. He stated, "It is very often said that if anything happens in one of two Bengals, it will have its repercussions in the other. It makes the life of the minorities in both the Bengals precarious and subject them to victimisation for no fault of theirs." He therefore suggested that there must be some sort of administrative alliance between the two for the good of both the provinces.

Any serious attempt for the implementations of the Delhi Pact should now take definite steps to ascertain the opinion of the representatives of the minorities who have chosen to stay in their homes. The present procedure to adopt decisions affecting the life, property and honour only at Ministerial and Secretariat levels have not proved very successful. It would be much better if the representatives of minorities were associated with those discussions, because it is they who are in a real position to supply real inside information of what is happening in actual field. It is only in this way that a proper diagnosis of the ailment can be diagnosed and effective remedy suggested.

Bihar Gives the Lead

This is the caption to a news-item published in a daily, sent from Patna on September 1 last. Ravaged by flood and food scarcity as Bihar has been, there is a chance of this achievement of State management in the Province being ignored.

"The first venture of the Bihar Government in

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ing industry has brought them a profit of rupees lakh and thirty-nine thousand in 1949-50.

Since the merger of the States of Seraikella and Kharaswan in 1948 with Bihar, the State Government been working in the district of Singhbhum two anite mines, one asbestos and one steatite mine.

Kyanite deposits of Seraikella and Kharaswan are posed to be the best in the world. This mineral which is found in abundance in Seraikella and Kharaswan—has come into prominence because of its e in ceramic industry. Almost the entire annual tput of kyanite—in 1949-50 it was 455 tons—was orted abroad where it is in demand for the manuture of refractory bricks.

Both spinning and non-spinning varieties of estos are found in Seraikella and Dhalbhum.

All the four mines are controlled by Mr. ghesh war Prasad, Mining Officer, Bihar."

As we know these deposits, we must express iety as to whether the extraction is being done iciently, as there is a chance of enormous waste in n quarrying.

River Control Projects in Madras

Next to pre-partition Punjab, Madras has had, think, the best record in irrigation and river control jects. The Mettur Dam and the Pycara Electric eme given shape to by Shree C. P. Ramaswamy r as a member of the Madras Executive Council ing Lord Willingdon's Governorship against heavy osition, is an instance of far-sighted statesmanship. e rise of Coimbatore as a cotton mill centre in th India was made possible by this multi-purpose ject. So we hope that the other projects under nstruction and consideration in the Madras Presiency will have the same re-constructive results. At meeting of the Madras Assembly, Shri M. Bhakthasalam, Public Works Minister, told us on the 7th ptember last that the 17-crore Tungabhadra project s expected to be completed by 1952-53. It would ng three lakh acres of land under cultivation; rious works connected with the project were proeeding according to programme and all steps were ing taken to complete it within the scheduled e.

A proposal relating to hydroelectric schemes imated to cost Rs. 733 lakhs initially and rising to Rs. 794 lakhs in ten years was awaiting orders. e scheme was expected to commence operation in 54 as programmed at present.

The Krishna-Pennar project was still under preiminary investigation. The project would be taken by stages if it was found feasible. The recent ods in the Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa and West Bengal have shown the danger of uncontrolled rivers.

Development Projects in Uttar Pradesh

We have the feeling that Shree Govinda Ballav Pant's Government have built a fine record in giving concrete and working shape to development projects that hope to re-make life in the Nainital, Tehri and Garhwal areas. A recent report tells this story.

"A party of the officials of the *U. S. Agriculture Extension Service* paid a visit to the *Pilot Project and Naini Tal Tarai areas* a few months ago and saw for themselves how the work was being carried on at places which were considered to be uninhabitable. A letter received from the U.S.A Agriculture Extension Service Department by the U.P. Food Production Commissioner says : "The extension or advisory work being conducted experimentally was being conducted on a fundamentally sound basis and was producing most worth-while results. The use of local young men with as much technical training as possible—with that training supplemented by the job-training in extension methods—is most commendable. Also maximum use of practical demonstration of improved practices and methods is bound to produce most worth while results."

The letter adds : "We are greatly impressed with the effective job being done in the Naini Tal Tarai region. This effort should not only make a significant contribution to your pressing food problem but also is an excellent example of what can be done with mechanized farming where circumstances are such that this type of farming can be successfully employed."

To improve the lot of the inhabitants of the districts of Garhwal and Tehri, which are deficit areas, small intensive cultviation schemes are being planned by the Garhwal Survey Division of the Irrigation Branch of P.W.D. So far detailed estimates for constructing 15 units comprising 55 miles of channels to irrigate 10,000 acres of land annually have been worked out and constructions will be started as soon as weather conditions permit and an effort will be made to complete them during the current financial year.

In the Almora district, the construction of five channels with a total mileage of 16 has already been completed, extending thereby irrigation facilities to about 1,000 acres of cultivated land. Work is in progress on other nine channels with a total mileage of 30 which is expected to be completed shortly, when it will be possible to bring an additional area, about 3,500 acres, under irrigation.

In the district of Naini Tal investigations have been carried out in respect of 15 schemes, while the construction of three channels with a total mileage

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of 9 has already been taken up. On the completion of these three channels irrigation facilities will be available to about 4,000 acres of land, hitherto unirrigated."

This Province appears to have entered into the spirit of the new challenge to their capacity for work. In the "Grow More Food" campaign, individual cultivators in it are known to have increased their per acre production of wheat from the usual 18 maunds to 58 maunds, of potatoes from 250 maunds to 687 maunds. In West Bengal also individuals have raised 76 maunds of rice per acre in place of 18 maunds. The Central Food Minister proposes, we understand, to institute competitive cultivation over approximately an area of two crore acres. A Delhi daily recently featured the photo of a potato-producer in Uttar Pradesh who had got a prize of Rs. 5,000 for his skill. The West Bengal Government have, we see, distributed a few money prizes to producers of rice who have shown themselves awakened to their duties to society. The good example will spread.

"Communist-Infected" Telangana

The Pakistan Radio has propagandized that in the Telangana area of the Andhra Desa and Hyderabad, the Communists have set up a rival government. This activity on the Radio's part has curiously almost coincided with the news flashed in the Indian Press that the "Azad Kashmir Government" is disrupted into two rival groups, the original President Sardar Ibrahim having lost the confidence of the Pakistan Government. This is a by-play of Indo-Pakistan relations, and we do not complain.

What is of more importance to us is to get light thrown on Telangana affairs. We know that the back of the Communist mischief in this area is broken. But this is the least part of the business—the suppression and control of anarchic conditions created by Communists taking advantage of ages-long discontents. This light comes to us from the account of a "queer atmosphere" that we find in Swami Ramananda Tirtha's tour impressions of the area. It has been published in the September 4 issue of his weekly, *The Vision.*

"I wished to touch the mind of the peasant direct. The emaciated skeleton of the Telengana peasant spoke to me through thousands of eyes of men, women and children who had gathered in a mood of uncertain expectancy. His sufferings are not yet at an end. He had been made the victim, an object of prey by the past regimes. The feudal autocracy had almost reduced him to a sub-human existence. In his anxiety to terminate his sufferings, he allowed himself to pass into the hands of the Communist, who, for some time, offered a measure of relief and gave him a sense of hope which could not be fulfilled. The experience during the past few years, the atrocities committed on the kith and kin, by the Communist himself, the sufferings due to military operations which have their own oddities, the dislocation of the social and economic life—all these have turned him almost into a cynic, who takes things that happen around with indifference and views life as something which is shaping strangely where he feels his fate oscillating this way and that without any power or strength on his part to direct it in his own interest.

"Where is the relief for him? A bold, decisive and better alternative which would remove his immediate sufferings and give him a free and honoured social and economic life by squarely solving land problem is the only way to wean him away from the Communist. Mere palliatives will fall flat."

Konarak Temple in Orissa

That "experts" develop a certain indifference to their own special subjects has been once more illustrated in the case of the Konarak Temple in Orissa dedicated to the Sun-god. Non-Indian artists and archaeologists had gone into raptures over it; Fergusson has often been quoted as saying that it was "the most richly ornamented building externally at least in the whole world."

Abul Fazl, author of *Ain-i-Akbari,* estimated that the entire revenue of Orissa for 12 years were lavished on building this temple. Now, it stands in solitary glory on the sea-shore, encroached on and eaten into by salt waters. Even in ruins it has retained a character of its own appealing to successive generations of lovers of beauty in architecture. India's Prime Minister on his visit to Orissa during last spring had been struck with the inroads of man and Nature on this temple; his interest appears to have hustled the Archaeological Department into activity. An Experts Committee has been appointed with Shri Biswanath Das, ex-Premier of Orissa as Chairman; its membership consists of noted chemists, archaeologists, geologists, engineers, architects and others.

They are charged with the duty of suggesting remedies to this progressive decay, the nature of which are indicated in the following quotations from a description published in the Calcutta *Amrita Bazar Patrika,* English language daily. The temple was last repaired in 1903; but it has proved to be a stop-gap.

"But even a greater problem than that is to find out some means by which it may be possible to neutralise the destructive effect of the sea-salt on sculptures in general. Some beautiful specimens have entirely disappered; not a few are disintegrating and several others are crumbling away because of the effect of sea salt. It appears that the mediaeval builder of

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famous temple knew some washes to prevent sea- destroying the stone sculptures. This is apparent some of the relics which have wonderfully stood without any effect. . . ."

The Huk Revolt in the Philippines

The defeat of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and control over the State in China established by Communists over China under President Mao Tse-tung has overshadowed events that have been happening in the Philippine Republic. Of these the Huk revolt is the most significant. We in India hear little of it, and know less of it. A New Delhi contemporary has described this portent thus :

"Who are the Huks or Hukbalahaps who are giving President Quirino of the Philippines a major headache?

In origin they are not unlike Aung San's A.F.P.F.L. (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League) in Burma or the Anti-Japanese Army which formed itself under Chinese auspices in Malaya during the war. Aung San was able to purge the A.F.P.F.L. of Communist elements and keep it a nationalist organization. The Malayan Anti-Japanese Army changed into the Three-star Movement shortly after the war and remained so. It forms the backbone of the present rebellion in Malaya.

The Hukbalahaps were similarly an anti-Japanese People's Army formed in the Philippines during the war. They are composed mainly of poor, share-cropping peasants organized on Communist lines, and are confined to the rice and sugar producing areas of Central Luzon. In August, 1946 they claimed an army of 80,000 and a total membership of 150,000.

Their leader is Luis Taruc and in the Presidential elections of April 1946 they supported ex-President Osmena against Roxas. More recently the Hukbalahaps have changed their name to Hukbong Mapagpalaya Sa Bayan or National Liberation Forces."

New Ministerial Party in Indonesia

With the inauguration of the unitary State in Indonesia on August 17 last, the anniversary of the setting up of the Republic Movement in 1945, the old Ministry headed by Dr. Mahommad Hatta resigned, and Mr. Mohammad Natsir, leader of the Masjoemi Party, the Muslim Party, was called on by President Soekarno to form a Ministry. It has taken the latter more than three weeks to carry out the commission given him, and he succeeded in his attempt on September 6 last.

We cannot say that we understood the party calculations that have required this change-over. The setting-up of a Ministry with a distinctly communal tone is a portent which we should watch.

We are told that Mr. Natsir's Ministry is "a muti-party Government," that the Muslim Party has only four representatives in it with the Prime Minister without any specific portfolio. A Djakarta news-item of September 7 describes the process of this Ministry-making, of the distribution of portfolios, of the new Premier's declaration of policy:

"It was Mohammad Natsir's second attempt to form a Government, and it was successful only after President Soekarno had changed his mandate to enable him to cut down party bargaining.

"The Sultan of Jogjakarta becomes Deputy Premier and is expected to be charged with the co-ordination of security. Mohammed Roem, at present Indonesian High Commissioner at the Hague, becomes Foreign Minister.

"Other appointments include that of the former Premier of the defunct Jogjakarta Government, Dr. Abdul Halim, Defence Minister, and former acting-President, Dr. Assaf as Minister for Home Affairs.

"There might be more Ministers without portfolio appointed possibly including one to handle New Guinea affairs.

"Five ministers are non-party men headed by Indonesian 'strong man' the Sultan of Jogjakarta. The Nationalist Party, left out of the Government, has forty-two seats in the Indonesian Parliament which consists of 243 members."

In Dr. Hatta's Cabinet there was a Hindu member, a Bali princeling. He was Minister of the Interior, a most important post. Whether or not he has been included in the Natsir Cabinet, we do not know. Neither do we know why the Nationalist Party decided to go unrepresented in it. The news-item referred to above does not tell us more of the new Prime Minister than the following: "Mahommed Natsir, 42 years old, austere in appearance, has been a fighting Republican from the beginning of the Indonesian struggle for independence. He was twice Information Minister in previous Governments."

Australia's Place in the Pacific

With the weakening of Britain's imperial position, Australia appears to think herself entitled to inherit the former's position in the Pacific region. We are sorry to notice that she has not begun well in her new adventure. She has started it with her support to Dutch claims to a West New Guinea renewed after her departure from Indonesia herself. As forming part of the Dutch empire in the 2,000 islands which form Indonesia, the Republic of Indonesia inherits by law the territories lately held by Holland. In the matter of West New Guinea, Indonesia contests this claim, and it is a matter of negotiation between the two States. Why Australia must butt in is incomprehensible.

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Her External Affairs Minister, Mr. Percy Spender, told a Press Conference in London on September 4 last that Indonesian claims were "untenable." Because, "there were only 5,000 Indonesians in Dutch New Guinea. Racially the people were the same as those of Australian New Guinea, eastern half of the island, and not related to Indonesia."

"Nor was Dutch New Guinea geographically part of Indonesia but actually part of the continental group of which Australia was the base." One is tempted to ask how many Australians are there in East New Guinea, held under a mandate since the League of Nations' days?

In a recent issue of *The Modern Review*, we referred to an incipient rivalry developing in Australia to India in the vacuum created in South-East Asia. We have discounted the idea on behalf of India, basing our argument on the fact that we have our hands full with our own problems, and foreign adventures are not to our interests now.

They are anxious for a Pacific Pact also. India has expressed unwillingness to join it. But Mr. Spender believes that "the Commonwealth could and should form the basis of the pact. He hoped India would join, but even if she did not, he believed the Pact should be made and he hoped that India would see that it was in her interest to participate."

The initial step to this Pact was the Peace Treaty with Japan. On this point Mr. Spender was positive and his stand will have a wide support in Asia. "The sooner a Japanese treaty is brought about and the Japanese people know the nature of the obligations placed upon them, the better it will be for the stability of that area and the smaller will be the field of propaganda presented to Russia and those associated with her." But where is the difficulty? Is it in the Soviet Union's non-co-operative spirit or in the fears and doubts of the United States? Who will help remove these? Can Australia play the part of an honest broker?

Field-Marshal Jan Smuts

The death of this elder statesman of the British Empire on his 80th year removes a historic figure from the world stage. He was a Boer general who fought against the British during the Boer War 50 years back. He fought, and after about 3 years accepted defeat. The British Government under Campbell-Bannerman as head of the Liberal Party made conditions easy for the defeated; self-government was almost immediately conceded; and this policy turned inveterate foes into friends. Smuts lived to symbolize this friendship. He personally attained an international status though his country is a small one.

But to non-whites—brown, yellow and black—the majority population of the world, he represented a retrograde policy—the racialist policy that Dr. Daniel Malan, the present Premier of South Africa, works with such brutal purpose. We have read that Smuts had a philosophy which was known as "holiness." But this did not stop him from saying to the late Srinivasa Sastri that "in Church and State there cannot be any equality between the white and the non-white," almost quoting words from the charter of the established Church of Transvaal.

An Ignoramus as Editor

We do not have the *National Standard* of Bombay in Calcutta's newspaper-stalls; its editor, Mr. Frank Moraes, is unknown to us; neither can we claim acquaintance with his ideological inclinations and political affiliations. Therefore, when a friend sent us the following "cutting" from Bombay, we put it by. But this vulgarian installed into an editorial chair has perpetrated such a stupidity that his lucubration in the third anniversary number of *The Onlooker* could not be dismissed as the consequence of a bad liver. He is congenetically defective somewhere. He says:

> "I thought of what the vain-glorious Dr. Tagore once said to a group of Indian students many years ago in Oxford, 'If Europe takes notice of you, it is because Europe respects me.' Pandit Nehru is incapable of these egotistic flights, but if South-East Asia respects us today, it is very largely because of our Prime Minister."

We shall like to know what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru thinks of this officious compliment offered him.

Nari Siksha Samiti

The 1949-50 report of this women's education association, started in 1919, is to hand. This association (294-3, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta) has been one of the pioneers of education among rural women in Bengal, the fruits of whose labour in the primary stage are being enjoyed today by the Government in West Bengal who have decided to take this branch under its direct charge. In the field of adult women's education in Bengal, the Nari Siksha Samiti can claim to be the pioneer since 1937; apart from literacy, the Samiti's teachers have been carrying on what has come to be known as "social education" in reference to women's special needs.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, The Modern Review office and the Prabasi Press will remain closed from 16th to 28th October, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,
Editor

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WAS THE CONGRESS A CHILD OF RUSSO-PHOBIA?

By Dr. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
University of Lucknow

It is indeed curious that there is yet no satisfactory answer to the question as to why actually the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. It would be wrong to assume that the Congress appeared as a sudden efflorescence. It would be equally misleading to assume, as many are inclined to assume, that the Congress was ushered in as a freedom movement. It is true that the Congress constituted a visible embodiment of the national awakening that came over India as a result of the impact of Western civilisation on Indian thought. It was thus in a way a fulfilment of the forces which British rule itself had set in motion. But, when one examines the various theories which have been advanced to explain the actual inception of the Congress, one finds that not one of them furnishes a convincing explanation. This creates the suspicion that the real object behind the foundation of the Congress could not be publicly acknowledged by its British promoter, Mr. A. O. Hume.

In the history of British rule in India, there occurs no greater paradox than the fact that the Congress which has successfully fought for India's independence for more than six decades owed its origin and initial progress to the enterprise of a British ex-Secretary to the Government of India in the Home and Revenue Departments, Mr. Hume. The considerations which impelled Mr. Hume and his co-adjutors are not clear. We have it on the authority of an ex-President of the Congress, Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, that Mr. Hume at first had intended to bring together leading Indian politicians once a year to discuss questions of social interest only. In other words, the Congress was intended to have been just a social conference. It is a pity that our historians have so far paid little attention to the considerations which induced Mr. Hume to transform the Congress into a political body. To average Englishmen in the last century, the idea of an all-India national organisation might well have sounded fantastic, if not positively dangerous. Yet, it is a fact that to a small group of enlightened Britishers the idea seemed desirable that Indian leaders should be organised for the benefit of England as much as of India.

There is no doubt about the fact that Mr. Hume was a liberal statesman and that he had little faith in the doctrine of "the whiteman's burden"—the jewel of the white bureaucracy to which he had himself belonged. He was one of those rare "White Babus" who thought it essential in the interest of the British Empire itself to direct the Indian political aspirations into constitutional channels. But, it was certainly not India's freedom or home-rule to which Mr. Hume could have looked forward to. He and his collaborators sought in fact to strengthen rather than undermine the foundations of the British Empire. If they pleaded for reforms, they desired no snapping of the existing ties between England and India, but only asked for the loosening of those ties so as to make the connection both durable and popular.

An inquiry into the available evidence leads one to suppose that Mr. Hume's real originality lay not so much in the propounding of the idea of an Indian National Congress, for the Indian Association of Calcutta, founded in 1876, had already arranged for the Indian National Conference in 1883 at the instance of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, but that his achievement was the by-passing of the aforesaid Indian National Conference and the formation of an admittedly loyalist organisation apart from, and independent of the existing body. It seemed, as if Mr. Hume was out to sabotage the Indian National Conference sponsored by "a dismissed Government servant," Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, and controlled by "Babus from Bengal." The student of Indian history is entitled to ask why a parallel body with an identical programme had to be brought into existence, even though the National Conference was going to hold an all-India session at Calcutta in the Christmas week of 1885—the same fateful week which saw the birth of the Congress at Bombay.

It is regrettable that not much contemporary evidence is available which might elucidate the inside story of the inception of the Congress. But, the scrappy details which may be gleaned from authoritative records give us some clues to the real motives of Mr. Hume, the father of the Congress and its first General Secretary. A study of this evidence serves to show that the Congress was founded in fact as a precautionary move against an apprehended Russian invasion of India. Mr. Hume and his friends were afraid that at a time when discontent was growing among the educated Indians through the activities of the Indian Association the rapid progress of the Russians in Central Asia might give rise to obvious complica-

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tions. The steady advance of the Russians inspired the European mind all over India with open alarm so much so that in the eighties of the last century a Russian attack on India was supposed to be imminent. These fears were aggravated by the fact that much of Russia's conduct seemed unfriendly from the time of Lord Northbrooke onwards. In February, 1875, even the Secretary of State for India, Lord Salisbury, warned the Governor-General, Northbrooke :

> "I agree with you in thinking that an immediate Russian advance upon India is a chimaera. But I am by no means sure that an attempt on their part to throw the Afghans upon us is so improbable."

It is well-known that it was the Russian intrigues in Kabul which upset the Governor-General, Lord Lytton, and finally led to the Second Afghan War. Lytton later admitted this in so many words :

> "I affirm that the real and the only cause of the Afghan War was an intrigue of long duration between Sher Ali and the Russian authorities in Central Asia, an intrigue leading to an alliance between them for objects which, if successfully carried out, would have broken to pieces the Empire of British India."

The notorious Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton was an avowed attempt to gag the Indian press at a time when the safety of the Indian Empire was seriously threatened by the events in Central Asia. The Viceroy himself declared that the vernacular papers of Bengal had begun "to inculcate combination on the part of the native subjects for the purpose of putting an end to the British Raj." "Not content with misrepresenting the Government and maligning the character of the ruling race in every possible way and on every possible occasion," he alleged, "these mischievous scribblers have of late been preaching open sedition." The Afghan War itself evoked no enthusiasm among the educated Indians, and, on the contrary, occasioned strong criticisms in the Indian press on the score of financial strain the War imposed upon India, for it was well-known that the War cost the Indian tax-payer £21,000,000. The Indians' dislike to an anti-Russian policy was thus becoming a matter of deep concern to the watchful Britishers who realised the need for building up a strong home front in India through some loyalist organisation. If, therefore, Mr. Hume decided to sponsor the Congress movement, the object is intelligible indeed.

That mere repressive measures such as those that had been introduced by Lord Lytton could not create a loyal public opinion in India was emphasised by that liberal Viceroy, Lord Ripon, through his radical reformist policy. Ripon referred to the grave implications of Indian discontent in these significant words :

> "A movement has begun which will advance with greater rapidity and force every year. Such a condition of affairs is one in which the task of government and specially despotic government, is beset with difficulties of no light kind; to move too fast is dangerous, but to lag behind is more dangerous still; and the problem is how to deal with this new-born spirit of progress so as to direct it into a right course and prevent it from becoming a source of serious political danger."

Ripon was more explicit when he warned the Secretary of State in these words :

> ". . . as the Russians approach our frontiers more nearly, they may try to stir up discontent and trouble by intrigues carried on within our dominions, and the real question, therefore, is how can such intrigue be best met and defeated."

Ripon's words indicate that the official mind in India was on the look-out for some means whereby Indian agitation could be directed "into a right course" and Russians might be prevented from fomenting intrigues in India. Bearing this in mind, one can readily infer why the Congress owed its birth to the initiative of Mr. Hume, and, what is still more interesting, to the secret encouragement of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin. The Viceroy, it appears, had stipulated that his name in connection with the scheme of the Congress must not be made public. That is why the Viceroy's personal share in the scheme was not known for a long time. The matter received publicity for the first time in 1898 when the first President of the Congress, Mr. Bonnerji, pointedly referred to it in one of his published writings. There is a further corroboration of this matter in a published statement of Sir William Wedderburn, another ex-President. Thus, two Congress Presidents have borne testimony to the surprising fact that the Congress came into being at the instance of a British Viceroy. Evidently, the Congress was meant to be the long-awaited counterpoise to possible Russian intrigue in India. The growing indications of political discontent culminating in the country-wide propaganda started by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and his Indian Association, and also the Ilbert Bill episode which stirred up bitter racial feelings in India convinced Mr. Hume and the Viceroys like Ripon and Dufferin that unless the Indian agitation was diverted to constitutional channels, there was the obvious danger that this might serve as a direct inducement to Russia in her ambitious designs. The potential conspirators and disloyalists could be prevented from becoming a tool of Russia, only if a pro-British Indian organisation was created with the support of the Indian public opinion.

It is worthy of note that Sir William Wedderburn later explicitly corroborated the fact that the foundation of the Congress was a move to safeguard India against the menace of Russian invasion. According

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him, the Russian authorities in Central Asia depended for success in all their schemes for the invasion of India "on a hoped-for rising of the native population." In the course of his presidential address at the fifth session of the Congress held at Bombay in 1889, Sir William Wedderburn made a statement which has so far escaped the attention of historians. This statement reveals that in 1885 when the Congress was founded in all haste, the Russians were planning at least pretending to plan an attack in the hope that the Indians might rebel against the British Government. Wedderburn suggested that the birth of the Congress discouraged the Russian designs. It may be pointed out that he mentioned this to emphasise the utility of the Congress.

"In 1885," he said, "they (Russians) appear to have put this idea to the test by a pretended advance. Had this move been followed by any signs of sympathy, or even by an ominous silence of expectancy throughout India, Russia would have rejoiced, and we should have felt our position weakened. But India does not treat England's difficulty as her opportunity. On the contrary, there went up on all sides a patriotic cry calling on all to join with men and money, and make a common cause against the common foe."

As was expected by the sponsors, the Congress became in its early years a platform for anti-Russian and pro-British propaganda. A few instances of such propaganda may be cited here. The first President, Mr. Bonnerji, asserted in 1885 that there were "no more thoroughly loyal" well-wishers of the British Government than the Congress leaders. The second President, Mr. Naoroji warmly eulogised the charac- of British rule, and said in the course of his speech in 1886, "Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone" (Cheers). The third President, Mr. Tyabji, went one step further and openly decried Russian designs on India. He warned the Congress session of 1887 that if India came under Russia, the people would have "nothing but a haughty and despotic government, whose chief glory would consist in vast military organisation, aggression upon our neighbours, and great military exploits." This remark was greeted with loud applause. The fourth President, Mr. Yule, likewise emphasised in 1888 the beneficent character of British rule and hoped for an enduring connection between "the two extreme branches of the Aryan race." The fifth President, Wedderburn, as has already been mentioned, went out of his way to preach pro-British and anti-Russian sentiments. He cautioned his audience in 1889 not to exchange "the rule of England, the freest and the most enlightened country in the world, for that of Russia which is one of the most barbarous and retrograde." The sixth President Mr. Mehta, declared in 1890 :

> "I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilising principles of English culture and English civilisation."

Another President, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, declared with his usual oratorical flourish :

> "I have heard of this Russian invasion since the days of my childhood. The Russians have not come. If they do come, they will find the multitudinous races and peoples of India united as one man ready to die for the Sovereign."

Mr. Sankaran Nair, the President for 1897, dilated on the blessings of British rule, and warned his listeners that if British rule ever declined, there would be "anarchy, war and rapine." He added significantly, "And we have Russia and France waiting for their opportunities."

These Presidential pronouncements would go to establish the fact that the Congress was originally intended to be a bulwark of British rule in India. The early leaders fulfilled this cherished expectation by making an ostentatious exhibition of their unswerving loyalty to the British Government. They avowed their faith in the British sense of justice in unequivocal terms, and even boasted that they were not seditionists. They repeatedly proclaimed year after year that they aimed at making the bonds between England and India "a blessing to themselves and the whole world." Such flamboyant expression of loyalty must have at times proved embarrassing to those for whom it was meant. It was clear, however, to all concerned that the Congress was ushered into existence to mobilise the public opinion in favour of the British connection, sing the praises of *Pax Britannica* and counteract the possibility of Russian intrigue in India.

Strange as it might seem, the old loyalist Congress worked up later to its own transformation, and, like the legendary Phoenix burnt itself into ashes in Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation movement whence to be re-born as the spearhead of India's freedom movement. The story of this transformation forms one of the most stirring chapters in Modern Indian History.

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SOME BEST REMEMBERED BOOKS

A Haphazard Sketch

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"You only, O Books, are liberal and independent; you give to all who ask."
—Richard de Bury.

The first book that gripped my fancy was John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. I was then in my fourth form and our Bible teacher never failed to impress upon us the manifold beauties of that unforgettable allegory. There was no help for me, therefore, but to borrow a copy of it from the school-library and to set to work upon it in my spare hours. It instantly struck a chord in me and I followed the hero's nerve-racking adventures with breathless interest. I used to heave a profound sigh of relief whenever he came out unscathed from his hair-raising encounters with his adversaries; and it was positive delight to me when, at long last, his terrible "burden" dropped from his shoulders and the pearly gates of heaven swung wide open on their hinges to receive him. I have had many literary heroes, since then, but none so ennobling, I dare to say, as Bunyan's Christian. I read the book twice in quick succession; and though it would be idle for me to pretend that I remember much of it now I feel immensely proud of having grappled with one of the world's acknowledged masterpieces so early in my life.

Shaw on Bunyan

Then, rummaging in the library, I was beside myself with joy when I discovered another book by the same author, *The Resplendent City*, I think. I devoured that also with the same eagerness as the first. To this day I feel a warm interest in Bunyan; and it is a source of the most unalloyed gratification to me to reflect that in this I am in excellent company, indeed, as no less a person than the great G.B.S. himself shares my enthusiasm. Mr. Shaw adores Bunyan "'this side idolatry"; and so do I. Bunyan's prose is markedly Biblical; but that held no terror for me, because I was familiar with the Holy Bible and its lovely cadences. His book firmly set me on the literary path that I was to tread thereafter; and though there have been many Sloughs of Despond and Valleys of the Shadow of Death in my career, just as in that of the valiant Christian himself, I have never felt the slightest remorse for continuing on the trail that Bunyan blazed before me.

The Good Sir Walter

At about that period I had a school-chum who was in the habit of boasting that he had read this novel of Sir Walter Scott and that; and, not being content with that boast, would actually produce before our envious eyes brand-new volumes in the Nelson's Classics Series. Our interest in Scott, let me interpolate, had been kindled by the fact that we had, at the time, as our English text, an abridged edition of *Ivanhoe*. My friend used to look down upon us because, according to his own testimony, he had finished the *un*abridged edition, and, appetite obviously growing by what it fed on, was fully determined, wind and weather permitting, to exhaust the whole unwieldy lot. This, of course, was too much for mere flesh and blood; and we vowed within ourselves that we would not lag behind him in that effort. Well, speaking for myself, I was as good as my word, reading, as I did, almost all the *Waverley* novels, including even *Peveril of the Peak*, which Robert Louis Stevenson confessed to having baffled him continuously, and which, in the end, he gave up as a bad job.

Scott's Remarkable Eloquence

I am not, let me submit, among those who take pride in scoffing at Scott's work. It is not everyone that has his matchless eloquence, what the ancients, I believe, used to call the *copia fandi*, the giving out of the full man because he was full. Nor can there be any two opinions about his extraordinary creative ability. Nevertheless, I must enter a respectful *caveat* against his over-indulgence in a certain kind of detail which is not only apt to weary us but has the additional disadvantage of impeding the movement of his narrative. His style of writing, to be quite candid, is definitely not *my* cup of coffee. I like a chaste, elegant diction, and Scott is verbose to a degree. Even his grammar is not always completely above reproach. *The secret of all good prose is the art of omission*, and Scott and Ruskin and Carlyle and De Quincey seem never to have even heard about it. The consequence is that they revel in sentences that, in the late Mr. G. K. Chesterton's memorable words, "lengthen

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like nightmare corridors, or rise higher and higher impossible eastern Pagodas." The lesson that the inimitable R.L.S. inculcated to Edmund Gosse himself, be it remembered, a stylist "to the manner born") is as true today as it ever was :

"*Beware of purple passages* . . . And in a style which (like yours) aims more and more successfully at the academic, one purple word is already too much ; three—a whole page—is inadmissible. *Wed yourself to a clean austerity* : that is your forte. Wear a linen ephod, splendidly candid. Assemble its folds, but do not fasten it with any brooch. I swear to you, in your talking robes there should be no patch of adornment ; and where the subject forces, let it force you no further than it must." (My italics.)

Scott at His Best

Scott, in my opinion, is at his best in his *purely Scotch* novels ; and in *The Antiquary* and *The Heart of Midlothian* and *The Bride of Lammermoor* are to be found his peculiar virtues. *The Abbott* and *The Monastery*, however, are mere pot-boilers. My heart, unfortunately, does not warm towards historical fiction, nor am I (worse luck !) excessively partial to that kind of story-telling which, when all is said and done, is nothing but a record—a fascinating record, if you will, but just a record—of the adventures (breath-taking or otherwise) of the hero and the heroine. Naturally, therefore, *Ivanhoe* and *Quentin Durward*, to take but two examples, fell flat upon me.

Charles Dickens

After that I began to tackle Dickens. Dickens was, by *any* standard, much more interesting than Scott, and, besides, he had the saving grace of wit and humour. I was extremely fortunate in that, by a curious combination of circumstances, the very first book of his that came my way was his universally acknowledged masterpiece, *David Copperfield*. In his Preface to it he himself confesses his preference for it over the rest of his novels and reveals also, with a twinge of remorse, how he took leave of the characters in it :

"It would concern the readers little, perhaps, to know how sorrowfully the pen is laid down at the end of a two-years' imaginative task : or how an author feels as if he were dismissing some portions of himself into the shadowy world, when a crowd of all the creatures of his brain are going from him for ever. Yet I had nothing else to tell, unless indeed I were to confess (which might be of less moment still) that no one can ever believe this narrative in the reading more than I believed it in the writing."

The Quality of Exuberance

David Copperfield, as everyone is aware, is a chunk (and not an insignificant chunk at that) of his own autobiography. "Master Davy" is none other than himself, and Wilkie Micawber is but a thinly-veiled caricature of his own ludicrous father. Micawber is a masterly creation and Dickens could have been sure of his niche in the temple of fame if he had contented himself with writing only that book and resting on his laurels. But he marched—or, rather, "leap-frogged"—from strength to strength and was responsible for many more lovely creations. If ever there was a "prolific" author it was himself : he was of the race of giants of Colossi who lord over lean earth. There was nothing that he touched that he did not adorn. One unmistakable quality of genius is that which is known as exuberance ; and this Dickens had in plenty. We instinctively hug to our bosoms authors who have the superb fertility of Shakespeare and Victor Hugo, authors possessed of an infinity of riches, of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, flinging their treasures abroad with the recklessness, if I may say so, of Omar's rose :

"Look to the blowing Rose about us—'Lo,
Laughing', she says, 'into the world I blow,
At once the silken tassel of my Purse
Tear, and its Treasure on the Garden throw'."

Those Mystery Novels

From *David Copperfield* I passed on, by another lucky chance, to the *Pickwick Papers* and it was as though a new planet had swum into my ken. And then there was no restraining me. The man who created Wilkie Micawber and Samuel Weller was, obviously, "a gem of purest ray serene," in his own chosen field, and, thereafter, whatever book of Dickens happened to fall into my hands I devoured eagerly. This is not, of course, to suggest that I liked them all equally. *The Tale of Two Cities* was definitely not to my taste, nor can I lay my hand upon my heart and say that I succeeded in unravelling the mystery that is at the core of *Little Dorrit*. I suffered from the same handicap as regards *Oliver Twist*. Either Dickens was not good at mystery stories, or I do not possess the knack of following them intelligently. But I had never any difficulty with the *Sherlock Holmes* volumes, so I suppose I must regretfully assign the blame to Dickens himself. The gods are notoriously jealous and they do not confer all the gifts on the same individual. I verily believe that, having seen to it that Dickens was a superb creator and humourist, they decided within themselves to call it a day so far as he was concerned.

Dickens's Magnoperative Power

I am, in my own way, a connoisseur of style, but I do not agree with those literary "exquisites" who deny, with more than a hint of superciliousness, that Dickens was an artist in words. But Dickens had not, in my judgment, just *one* style of writing : he was given to varying his mode with the occasion and, in

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the process, mastered many different kinds of style. That is a point which many critics are in danger of overlooking. Without pretending that, as a stylist, Dickens is in the same class as William Hazlitt or Charlotte Bronte I yet maintain that his prose is definitely not to be sneezed at. I think it is at its best in his best book, *David Copperfield*. It is where it is at its simplest, with the fewest of frills and furbelows. Before closing this part of my article I may revert to Dickens's magnoperative power. In this he can claim kinship with Shakespeare himself. People are either born with this creative ability—on such a magnificent scale—or not ; and though, as we have been assured, by taking thought we may contrive to add several cubits to our stature, we cannot, unfortunately, become creative artists by merely willing to become such. One has, or one has not, the "divine afflatus": that is the Law, and most of the Prophets, too.

G. K. C. on Dickens

G. K. C., as usual expresses the truth of this for all time in his inspired monograph on Dickens, with reference to that fool in a million, young Mr. Guppy of *Bleak House* fame :

> "A man looking at a hippopotamus may sometimes be tempted to regard the hippopotamus as an enormous mistake : but he is also bound to confess that a fortunate inferiority prevents him personally from making such a mistake."

Well, one cannot, surely, improve on this ! Continuing, Mr. Chesterton says :

> "Not one of us could have invented Mr. Guppy. But even if we could have stolen Mr. Guppy from Dickens we have all to confront the fact that Dickens would have been able to invent another quite inconceivable character to take his place."

William Makepeace Thackery

I have to confess, regretfully, that my Thackery infatuation did not last long. Having read *Vanity Fair* and *Esmond* and *The Newcomes* and half of *Pendennis* —in that order—I had to bid good-bye to him. I much preferred his style to that of Dickens, but fate intervened before I could thoroughly master his novels, as someone snatched away my copy of *Pendennis* before I had finished it. The same misfortune befell me when I was halfway through Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*. After that I had not the heart to begin over again. The only other Russian novelist that I tackled was the incomparable Dostoevsky. Arnold Bennett was firm in his conviction that Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* is decidedly the greatest work of fiction in any language. Not having a tithe of his erudition I am not, naturally, in a position to lay down the law in this fashion. But having read that novel diligently from the first word to the last I am inclined to agree with the author of *The Old Wives' Tale*. Dostoevsky's masterpiece is terrific. Walt Whitman said of some book : "It is not a book: those who come to it come to a man." (I am repeating this from memory.) The same comment can be made about *The Brothers Karamazov*.

Dostoevsky

The writer of it was a genius, if ever there was one. I know that that word has lost much of its original force : it has become a sort of rubbed coin. At present there is a general abuse of words. They do not stand singly for an idea, as the late Mr. Edmund Candler has noted somewhere, but have become clotted in the mosaic of a formula which may mean anything, but which generally does not mean anything at all. Genius is a very rare phenomenon : almost as rare as the flowering of the aloe, or the laying of the phoenix's egg. Dostoevsky was among the elect : he was terribly at ease in Zion. No novelist, I believe, ever analysed human motives as meticulously as he did : he was the cartographer of the emotions of man. His character study of Ivan Karamozov is excelled only by that of Raskolnikov in his second greatest book, *Crime and Punishment*. Raskolnikov finds himself callously murdering an old woman for her bag of money ; and the epic may be said to start from that point. There is a remorseless man-hunt for that crime, and until the last moment Raskolnikov manages to elude his hunters ; but, ultimately, his own conscience gives him up. If ever a *denouement* was masterly it was this. Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables* comes nearest to *Crime and Punishment*; but I am certain that Dostoevsky's two novels are much bigger than Hugo's *Les Miserables*, even with its penetrating studies of Jean Valjean and the Bishop.

Arnold Bennett

I have mentioned Arnold Bennett's name in connection with Dostoevsky. I was once idly glancing at a railway-station bookshop when my eyes caught the name, *The Card*, on the dust-cover of a book. I bought it instantly and read it in the train at one stretch. That was my introduction to Arnold Bennett. I liked his sly humour and his staccato style and proceeded to his most celebrated novel, *The Old Wives' Tale*. Most of Bennett's books are nothing much, are mere pot-boilers ; but three or four of them, including this, belong to quite a different category ; and it is by them that his fame lives. I always preferred him to those eminent contemporaries of his, Wells and Galsworthy. But that other eminent contemporary of his, Joseph Conrad, was in a class by himself : he was head and shoulders above Bennett. Conrad's *Nostromo* took me to a wholly different world from that of Bennett's *Five Towns* ; and *Nostromo*, the Pole's masterpiece, was breath-takingly wonderful. That exotic atmosphere was very much to

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taste. Then I switched over to his novels in a Malayan setting, like *Almayer's Folly* and *An Outcast of the Islands* and the most glorious of the series, *Lord Jim*.

Joseph Conrad

Whenever Conrad takes me to the Straits of Malacca and the innumerable lagoons round about I am all attention. No less important than Conrad's novels and short stories are his prefaces. As for his English I can say only that it is superb. We are told that he began to learn English after he was twenty-one. Before that he had been writing in French. His mastery over the English language was simply marvellous. Wells, Bennett, Galsworthy, and Conrad belonged to the same generation. I have no hesitation in saying that Conrad takes the top place among these. Curiously enough, it was to Galsworthy that Conrad owes his greatest debt, as it was he who detected his genius after a perusal of *Almayer's Folly* and encouraged him to proceed with his work. Next in the list amongst those who constantly cheered him on was Edward Garnett, whose assistance, at every stage, was invaluable.

G. B. S.

I came to Bernard Shaw later than many other people, but, once having come to him, I vowed allegiance to him till the last breath of my body. I have read all his plays and most of his prefaces; and, needless to say, I like the prefaces more. More vigorous prose one does not often come across now-a-days. But I am not a whole-hearted admirer of it, as I agree with the late C. E. Montague's criticism when he wrote:

> "Mr. Shaw's writing, while it has no stupidities, has no beauties; the fairies seem to have made a very strict arrangement, before his birth, that the ones with force, lucidity, and mordancy to give away to new-born infants should all be there, and that all the ones with sensuous loveliness of any kind in their gift should stay away."

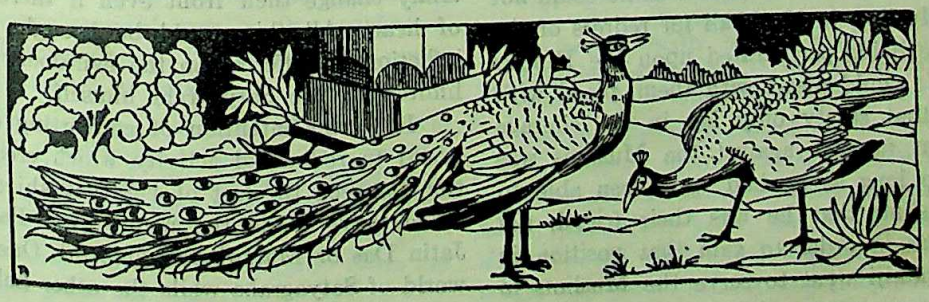
William Hazlitt and Charlotte Bronte

In conclusion I must confess that, in English poetry, I like Shakespeare and Wordsworth most and that, in English prose, my partiality is for William Hazlitt and Charlotte Bronte. I agree with Stevenson when he says: "We are all mighty fine fellows, but we cannot write like William Hazlitt." If any young man comes to me and tells me that he admires Hazlitt very much I am certain that there is a glorious future for him. In Hazlitt one finds English prose at its very best: in his own chosen field there is no one to compete with him. Next to him comes Charlotte Bronte. What *can* ever be said about Charlotte Bronte that shall do the completest justice to her? I am also, like Rudyard Kipling, a "Janeite," and am ready to take up the cudgels in Jane Austen's behalf as against anyone else—*always excepting Charlotte*. Jane Austen's whole stock-in-trade was an almost unlimited capacity for specializing in what I am designate as storms in tea-cups. There never, perhaps, was a writer that revelled more in the delineation of the *minutae* of life: give her, in social matters, an inch and she would take an ell.

A Terrific Hurricane

Not so with "Currer Bell." *Her* genius was less circumscribed. It required, for its satisfactory operation, *real* storms, storms the size of life itself. Her own spirit was a terrifiic hurricane, and as such could be at home only in a similarly bizarre emotional atmosphere. She might have justified herself in the celeberated pharse of Charles Lamb's: "I am made up of queer points and I want so many answering needles". Where Jane Austen was supremely content with the mere surface Charlotte knew no peace until she could delve beneath that surface to whateper lay below. Read her *Villette* and *Jane Eyre* and tell me whether this is not so. I am prepared to say of *Villette* that it is the grandest novel in the English language. As the late Mr. Maurice Baring has said in another connection: "It is the Pillars of Hercules of mortal achievement."

This is only, as I have indicated in my title, a rough and haphazard sketch; and it is my duty to remind my readers that though, according to the poet, heard melodies are sweet, those *un*heard may well be sweeter.



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FASTING IN SATYAGRAHA

By NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

FASTING has been looked upon as a form of coercion by various people. When Gandhiji fasted at the Aga Khan Palace, the Secretary of the Home Department described it as a form of political black-mail. On the other hand, Gandhiji insisted upon describing it as an integral part of Satyagraha, as a form of action which sprang from the depth of anguished love. Of course, there can be difference between fasting and fasting. The question is, what are the distinguishing features of a fast which is to be considered as a part of Satyagraha? Pandit Ramrakha, Jatin Das or Terence Macswiney went on hunger strike and they became martyrs in the end. Gandhiji went on a fast unto death in 1932 unless the wrong done by Hindus to the so-called untouchable castes was righted, and a suitable amendment consequently made in the Communal Award. This time, when Calcutta once more lapsed into madness on the 1st of September, he went on an indefinite fast which was to be broken only when he felt that Calcutta had returned to sanity. We have to find out what is the distinction between these two types of fasts.

I believe the difference lies in the intention. The aim of Pandit Ramrakha, Jatin Das or Terence Macswiney was not to convert their opponents. They were at war; they found themselves in prison under conditions in which life became unbearable for them. They did not wish to live in disgrace, but with honour even if they were in prison. And this fine sense of honour led them to lay down their lives when honour was at stake. The fast unto death of these brave men, whom their respective nations rightly honoured as martyrs, was a form of suicide with honour. It was the same thing as the *harakiri* of the Japanese nobles.

Gandhiji's three fasts, to which reference has been made were, however, of an entirely different order. The aim of the Satyagrahi is always to convert an opponent, not to coerce him. Last time, when Gandhiji went on fast in Calcutta, friends argued long with him that his fast, even if it were to lead to his death, would leave no impression on the anti-social elements who had been responsible for the latest flare-up. Gandhiji agreed that in Satyagraha a fast cannot be undertaken against one who considers the Satyagrahi as an enemy. Gandhiji said several times that he could not fast against the Muslims in Noakhali for redress of the wrongs which were being perpetrated upon the Hindus in that district. He could plead with them, plead with the Hindus also that safety only lay in the courage to die calmly; but fasting against the Muslims was out of question so long as he had not been able to prove to the Muslims that he was their friend, not their enemy. It was in order to gain that position in Noakhali that Gandhiji went to serve the Muslims in Bihar when they were oppressed in that Province. It was for the same purpose that he befriended the Muslims in Calcutta, when after going through one year's misrule and anarchy, the Hindus turned aggressor and made a determined effort to oust the Muslims from the pockets in which they were still confined. This service, according to Gandhiji, gave him the right to fast, if necessary, against the Muslims if and when they went on a mad career. It is thus that Gandhiji's many activities in life become interlaced with one another.

During the last Calcutta Fast in September 1947 when Gandhiji clearly admitted that his fast might have little or no effect upon the turbulent elements in society, someone asked him, what then was the object of his fast? He explained that it was directed against his friends, whether Hindu or Muslim, in order to rouse them to sufficient activity. The good element in society was lying dormant. By its inaction, it was practically co-operating with the forces which were evil and which were playing havoc with the lives of the people. The good had to assert itself and clearly demonstrate that it was non-co-operating with evil. If this non-co-operation was sincere and active, the evil elements would find themselves isolated; and the purpose of the fast would be achieved.

The question however remained, if the forces of good asserted themselves only now and then, *e.g.*, when a precious life like Gandhiji's was in danger, would it be worthwhile sacrificing his life for such a temporary gain? Gandhiji promptly replied that if such spasmodic goodness was all that could be evoked in the world round him by means of the fast, then he would prefer not to live but to die. Perhaps after his death, those who had come in intimate contact with him would now become active, vigilant and continuously so. Its purpose would be served because the good in society would have then shed its present sluggishness and been roused to sufficient activity. The object of the Satyagrahi which was to convert would have been fulfilled in one way. But so far as the evil elements were concerned, they would be isolated and would die through lack of co-operation of the rest of society. Some of the evil-doers might be converted, others might not; but all would certainly change their front even if there was no change of heart. All this would be brought about, not by infliction of suffering on the evil-doer, but by suffering limited to the Satyagrahi himself.

It is this intention of converting or stimulating a friend to redoubled activity which creates the distinction between the fast of a Satyagrahi and the *harakiri* which have made the names of Pandit Ramrakha, Jatin Das or Macswiney immortal. One belongs to the world of Satyagraha while the other belongs to another world, though intensely brave and romantic.

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THE ROLE OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN INDIAN ECONOMY

By Prof. S. L. DOSHI, M.A.

The cold wind of economic reality is blowing in India. Our sterling balances are being exhausted day by day. The coming in of foreign capital is a big question mark. What are the overall objectives of the Government's economic policy? These are the questions that are in the minds of thinking people to-day. Leading as we do to-day a hand to mouth existence which just enables us to scrape through, the question itself may appear somewhat irrelevant, but, though there is very little that we can do about at the moment, our day-to-day actions will lack motive force unless we have at least some sort of an idea of the state of society we want to set up. Now that a National Planning Commission has been set up, this becomes all the more necessary as the allotment of priorities must depend a great deal on the objectives to be realised. Taking all our material and man-power resources as they are to-day and the extent of unemployment and under-employment existing in the country, a solution can come only by way of the decentralised industrial system functioning through cottage and small-scale industries. Gandhiji with his practical insight into the economic problems of the masses of our people, was convinced that economic uplift could come to them only by way of small-scale rural industries and not through centralised large-scale production.

The phrase 'Cottage Industry' has been defined by various writers and committees differently. The cottage industries were first defined by the Industrial Commission,

> "as industries carried on in the home of workers, where the scale of operation is small, and there is but little organisation, so that they are, as a rule, capable of supplying only local needs."

It appears that the Industrial Commission described the conditions as they existed rather than defined the term itself. The U.P. Industrial Organisation Committee, while discussing the scope of cottage industries did not agree with the above definition. They explained cottage industries as those 'in which work is done, generally speaking in the homes of artisans, and occasionally in small factories run by small industrialists of the entrepreneur type, power-driven machinery being rarely used.'

The question again came before the Committee constituted in Bombay presided over by the well-known industrialist Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas. The report defined Cottage Industries as follows :

> "Cottage Industries are industries where no power is used and the manufacture is carried on, generally speaking, in the home of the artisan himself and occasionally in small *karkhanas* where not more than 9 workers are employed."

All these definitions suffer from ambiguity. There are certain controversial points in each.

For example, the definition propounded by the Industrial Commission is not comprehensive enough as it assumes that the organisation is insufficient and marked, as a rule, local. There are cottage industries, the markets for the products of which extend far beyond the locality in which they are established. Another controversial point is whether power should be used or not. A correct definition of Cottage Industries should only be based on the realisation of our economic life. In the beginning the conception was that cottage industries must be carried on in the place where the workers lived or in their cottages without any outside help. As a matter of fact, this was the first conception of all industries in the beginning. This was one of the first stages in the industrial development. We are living in an age when things have changed considerably. It is not at all necessary now that workers must work in their cottages only. There are some industries which can not be easily carried on in cottages where the workers live. Tanning of leather is an example.

The use of power is another important controversial point. Everybody agrees that the use of better tools is a necessity to improve production and if that is so, new tools or complicated machinery will have to be utilised by the cottage worker and in most of the cases they may not be worked by manual labour at all. Electricity is a boon to humanity and when India reaches a stage in which electricity would be easily available at cheap rates in the villages, it should certainly be utilised by the cottage workers as well. In almost all Western countries power is used very freely in all cottage industries.

The National Planning Committee agreed on a definition which runs as follows :

> "A small-scale or cottage industry is an enterprise or series of operations carried on by a workman skilled in the craft on his own responsibility, the finished product of which he markets himself. He works his own house with his own tools and material and provides his own labour or at most labour of such members of his family as are liable to assist. The workers work mostly by hand labour and personal skill, with little or no aid from modern power-driven machinery and in accordance with traditional technique—such supplementary energy as is provided by animal power may add to the economy and efficiency of the industry. He works finally for a market in the immediate neighbourhood that is to say in response to known demand with reference to quality as well as quantity."

But as already mentioned, it is not necessary that a cottage industry should possess all these attributes, as it is not necessary that labourers other than the members of the family should not help. But the necessity is that there should be no element of wage-slavery in the additional labour employed. Secondly, a large output is no barrier to a small-scale industry; so long as there is an actual demand

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of unknown customers, the industry will continue to be a cottage industry. Thirdly, the machinery used should not render that industry a mass-producing one of standardised goods.

Cottage Industries in the Past

There is ample evidence to prove that Babylon traded with India in 3000 B.C. and the arts and crafts were in a high state of proficiency two thousand years ago. According to the Indian Industrial Commission :

> "At a time when the West of Europe, the birth-place of modern civilisation, was inhabited by uncivilised tribes, India was famous for the wealth of her rulers and the high artistic skill of her craftsmen. And even at a later period when the merchant adventurers from the West made their first appearance in India, the Industrial development in this country was at any rate not inferior to that of more advanced European nations."

The fact that Egyptian mummies of two or three thousand years are found embalmed in Indian silk proves the high skill of the craftsman in the past. In this connection we may quote an eminent writer. In manufacture India attained the marvellous perfection at a very early period and the courts of Imperial Rome glittered with the gold and silver brocades of Delhi. The muslins of Dacca were famous ages ago, throughout the civilised world. Textile fabrics of inimitable fineness, tapestries glittering with gold and gems, rich embroideries and brocades, carpets wonderful for the most exquisite harmony of colours, enamel of most brilliant hues, furniture most elaborately carved, swords of curious forms and excellent temper are among the objects that prove the perfection of art in India. In the words of Sir William Hunter :

> "The industrial genius of her inhabitants, even more than her natural wealth and her extensive sea-board, distinguished her from other Asiatic lands."

So also M. Martin in his *Indian Empire* says :

> "The gossamer muslins of Dacca, the beautiful shawls of Kashmir and the brocaded silks of Delhi adorned the proudest beauty at the court of Caesars when the barbarians of Britain were painted as savages. Embossed and filigree metals, elaborate carvings in ivory, ebony and sandalwood, brilliant dyed chintzes, diamonds, uniquely set pearls and precious stones, embroidered velvets and carpets, excellent porcelain and perfect naval architecture, were for ages the admiration of the civilised mankind, and before London was known in history, India was the richest trading mart on earth."

Megasthenes writes :

> "They love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin."

The products of cottage industries were so famous that it is said that the Roman trade in Indian luxuries reached its zenith in the reign of Nero causing an enormous drain upon Roman finance. Pliny (79 A.D.) complains :

> "In no one year does India drain our empire of less than 550 million sesterces (80 lakhs of rupees) giving back her own wares in exchange which are sold among us at freely one hundred times their cost price."

By far the most important factor working for our industrial decay was the advent of machine-made goods following the Industrial Revolution in England. The introduction of steam as a new force in human economy, with its inevitable reaction on transport, on the metal industries, on the textiles and on the chemical industries, entirely transformed the industrial output. In the face of the competition of machine-made goods which came on them with the suddenness of a catastrophe (for the Industrial Revolution had been a fortuitous accident) the Indian artisans lacking the means as well as opportunities to adjust themselves to the new order were entirely swept off their feet.

Moreover, the direct consequence of the railway was the destruction of indigenous industries facilitating the carriage of imported goods into the remotest corners. The onslaught of British industries was so great that most of the industries could not compete with the factories and had to give way to the British machine-made goods. Unfortunately, the Government was also indifferent and adopted an attitude of direct apathy towards them.

The patronage and the honour given to these artisans by royal courts were no more existent. This resulted in a complete cessation of the main demand for the product of the indigenous handicrafts.

Lastly, the unpreparedness and absence of any initiative among the artisans to adapt to the changing circumstances and to combine against the corroding influence of the Western industrialisation, led to the extinction of the cottage industries. The result was that by the middle of the last century India found herself reduced to the position of an almost exclusively agricultural country.

It is a well-known fact that the Indian cultivator is unoccupied anywhere from four to six months in a year excepting in places where he has undertaken the cultivation of wet crops or where he grows more than one crop from the same soil in a year, and the cultivator's women-folk are unoccupied for even a longer part of the year. This period of agricultural unemployment or under-employment varies from one part of the country to the other. Thus according to P. J. Thomas and Mr. K. C. Ram Krishnan :

> "As a general rule single crop cultivators have little or no work on land for three months in the year at a stretch."

"On the average," says the Report of the Land Revenue Commission of Bengal, "the Madras cultivator sits idle for six months in the year. The position is the same in Bengal and is even worse in districts where practically no crops are grown except aman paddy."

According to Dr. R. K. Mukerjee, the peasant in North India, outside the more intensively cultivated

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s, is occupied for not more than 200 days. Dr. er has computed that taking South India as a whole cultivator is occupied only for 5/12 of his possible king time. Again according to Keatings, there are 180 to 190 working days in Bombay, Deccan, reas according to Calvert the working days of an rage cultivator in the Punjab do not constitute more about 150 days full labour. The U.P. Banking quiry Committee estimated that the cultivator is ged for not more than 200 days. Most of his spare e is spent in idle gossip, litigation and marriage and es.

This state of chronic under-employment, one of the causes of the low standard of life in India, can remedied by the development of subsidiary rural stries which will enable the peasant to earn some-g in his spare time. The peasant cannot keep out debt unless he is exceptionally industrious and frugal has a "second string to his bow."

"The English small-holder," says Mr. Cutler, without any by-industry has hitherto only been able to keep his head above water by a life which may be called one of incessant toil and frequent privations."

In Japan, where 90 per cent of the cultivators live less than 8 acres, more than one-third of the farming pulation keep themselves afloat by the rearing of silk-orms. In Italy and France sericulture plays a similar rt as also does the making of toys in Germany and ssia.

A vast mass of people, especially those resident the rural areas, are unable to procure a sufficiency of d, clothing, housing and other bare requirements of healthy, efficient and decent living; and a large tion of them are in a state of constant want, semi-rvation, enforced idleness and economic insecurity. The llowing means of improving the economic conditions the rural masses, such as improvement of agriculture, tension of irrigation and other means of extensive ltivation, provision of public utilities and social ser-ces in rural areas such as medical and educational cilities, transport service, water supply, and State pro-mme of providing roads, irrigation facilities and other ms of capital equipment, will, if vigorously pursued, d to a considerable amelioration in rural conditions. These measures will take time to materialise. The rival and expansion of old and the introduction of w cottage and rural industries will be an important d indispensable means of rehabilitating the villages d providing adequate and suitable employment to the ople in the villages and ensuring to them a satis-ctory level of income and resources.

The importance of cottage and rural industries ises from the various advantages which they possess, *viz.*:

1. Employment in the natural setting of the rkers' own place of habitation combined with numer-s physical, moral, material and other benefits that go th such employment.

2. Finding means of livelihood for a larger number of persons.

3. Offering opportunities for profitable employment and the development of inherent talent and aptitude in occupation which should be congenial to them.

4. The comparatively lower cost of living for a similar standard in rural areas than in urban areas.

5. The increased employment in the rural areas leading to the increase of purchasing power which is confined to urban areas at present.

The Cottage Industries in some countries of the West and in India

Though there is a difference of opinion as regards the success and the future prospect of the small-scale industries in India, yet a review of the present position of the small-scale industries in various parts of the world leads one to think that they form an organic and inseparable part of the economic structure of every country and they are flourishing side by side with large industries in most industrially developed countries of the world. In this the experience of Great Britain, Germany and Japan would be a valuable guide. When Japan entered into the markets of the world she brought about a new orientation of manufacture on a different scale. The Japanese divided the entire scope of industries into two clear-cut divisions : one consisted of those industries which could not be done on a small scale and for which big plants, buildings and organised labour were needed, the second consisted of those organisations which could be worked on a small scale. They studied the engineering principles adopted in the manufacture of complicated machinery and tried to make small but effective working models so that the unit of manufacture may become simple. In this way the work of big factories working in different parts of the world was split up into numerous small machine workshops in cottages. Development of cottage and small-scale industries on scientific lines placed Japan in the fore-front of industrial nations. When Europe and America were mechanising industries, depending more on machinery than human hands, Japan realised the potentiality of the machine and reorganised the social and economic structure of her villages. She made her village "the nerve-centre of industrialisation." Before the last war began Japan had become a menace to every country in the sale of cheaper goods. Big factories everywhere were not only challenged but successfully vanquished through mass production on these lines in Japan.

Speaking of the industries of Switzerland Mr. Tressler says: "There fully one-third of the industrial population is engaged in cottage industries." Besides, statistics show that in England in the majority of trades, the number of persons employed per establish-ment commonly falls below twenty. In America 61 per cent of all establishments employ fewer than six

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operatives. In Germany 90 per cent of the industrial establishment are small-scaled. In Belgium 90 per cent of the establishment employ less than five employees.

Need for Decentralisation

Strategic reasons apart, the structure of Indian economy is most conducive to a scattering of small industries. This is more so in the context of a rapidly growing grid system and vast development of hydro-electric projects all over the country.

Speaking of Lancashire, Green in his *Rural Industries in England* says :

> "It would be a great boon if in bad weather and winter the agriculturists had something to do in their homes of a remunerative character as in the days past."

In Italy it is said that peasant women of every district where mulberry trees can be grown are fully occupied with spinning. In India the need for subsidiary industries for the peasant is even greater than in other parts of the world.

Which Industries should be Developed ?

The problem in India is to find out such rural and cottage industries as can be undertaken by the ryot profitably without any encroachment upon his husbandry and can be performed by his own unskilled manual labour and that of his family with the help of meagre capital that he possesses, and thus to restore the balance in his otherwise precarious and weak economic position. Their revival will mean an extra income to the cultivator, increase in Government revenue, maintenance and improvement in the standard of old manual craftsmanship, improvement in the quality of the rural artisanship and establishment of contact between rural and urban areas and in general will lead to social contentment on which alone the economic and political structure of the State can be securely based. There are innumerable industries which can be developed as subsidiary occupations for the agriculturists.*

The National Planning Committee have recommended the revival and development of the following industries :

Agricultural Industries

(1) Husking of paddy and pulses; (2) Grinding of wheat and other cereals; (3) Oil pressing or crushing of oil seeds; (4) Gur and sugar making; (5) Confectionery and sweet making; (6) Preservation of fruits, vegetables and preparation of pickles, Chutnies, Jam, Achar, etc.; (7) Tobacco curing; (8) Manufacture of Hookah, Tobacco and Snuff, Zarda, Sukha and Bidi and Cigar making; (9) a. Dairy farming; b. Rearing of Livestock; c. Poultry farming; d. Bee keeping and honey collection.

Textiles Industries

(1) Cotton ginning; (2) Cotton spinning; (3) Hand-weaving of cloth, Newar and Durries out of mill yarn; (4) Sericulture; (a) Eri rearing and spinning; (b) Tassar rearing; (5) Wool shearing, spinning and blanket and rug weaving; (6) Rope-making; (7) Mats and mattings; (8) Weaving of palm leaf or bamboo mats and fans; (9) Calico printing and dyeing of cotton and silk cloth; (10) Tailoring, needle work and knitting; (11) Hat, cap, turban and shoe-lace making.

Wood Working Industries

(1) Sawing, (2) Village carpentry, (3) Furniture and cabinet making, (4) Moonda and cane chair making, (5) Making of cart and cart wheels, (6) Making of combs, toys, clogs and hooks, Taklis, flutes and other miscellaneous articles.

Metal Industries

(1) Extraction of metals from ores, (2) Village smithy, (3) Cutlery, (4) Electroplating, (5) Manufacture of trunks, boxes, safes locks and steel furniture, (6) Brass and bellmetal work, (7) Wire drawing and manufacture of Salma and gold and silver leaves, (8) Making of cheap ornaments and utensils of alloys.

Leather and Allied Industries

(1) Tanning, (2) Manufacture of foot wear, (3) Manufacture of fat and manure from dead animals, (4) Bone crushing horn work, (5) Glue and gutts making.

Ceramic Industries

(1) Village pottery, (2) Brick and tile manufacture, (3) Manufacture of glass bangles, (4) Manufacture of stone ware and porcelain articles, (5) Washing of china clay, soft and hard stone and slate industries, (6) Manufacture of lime.

Chemical Industries

(1) Lac manufacture, (2) Making of lac bangles, (3) Manufacture of dyes, inks, paints and varnishes, (4) Manufacturing and refining of saltpetre, (4) Soap making, (6) Manufacture of toilet requisites, (7) Manufacture of indigenous drugs and medicines.

Miscellaneous Industries

(1) Printing and book binding, (2) Making of Taklis and tinsel articles, (3) Making of musical instruments, (4) silvering of glass, (5) Button making, (6) Paper making, (7) Manufacture of charcoal.

Fishing and Pisciculture

(1) Fish oil extracting, (2) Fish manure making, (3) Isingglass and gelatine making.

The Present conditions of Cottage Industries

The cottage and rural industries are at present labouring under serious handicaps, the chief of which are those relating to finance, marketing and organisation. The Bombay Industrial and Economic Committee Report divides under six heads the handicaps under which cottage and small-scale industries suffer, *viz.*, (1) raw materials, (2) technique of manufacture, (3) finance, (4) marketing, (5) taxation, (6) other difficulties.

The problem of the supply of raw materials is not so very difficult in so far as these industries are worked as supplementary occupations for the agriculturists in off-

* *National Planning Committee Report : Rural and Cottage Industries*, pp. 167-68.

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reason, but it becomes complicated wherever a large-scale industry competes for the same raw material which the cottage industry uses. The former is in a position to offer and take large quantities at a time. The supply available for the small-scale producer is thus of the lefters necessarily poor both in quality and quantity. For example, hand spinning and weaving is a very important industry of ours. Because the weavers cannot combine, the yarn supplied to them is usually less in weight, less in length and inferior in quality. Instances from different industries can be multiplied to show that the small man has not only to pay higher rates for his raw materials but does not get it in unadulterated form.

Another difficulty is of equipment and technique of production. The tools, implements and equipment as well as the technique of production are obstacles, and the production is uneconomic in comparison with factory work. Science has so far played very little part in improving the implements of the cottage workers. Whenever a new method of manufacture is evolved the cottage worker is hit hard. Nature does not want to keep alive those who do not move forward. Some of our old workers and industries have already disappeared and others are disappearing. Dyers have almost disappeared, the oil man is living in a precarious condition. It is only in textile trade that a good many old workers still survive.

The most important problem for a cottage worker is that of finance. Banks do not give him credit. Philanthropists do not help him. He is therefore always driven to take advances from such dealers who besides charging a very high rate of interest supply the raw material at high prices and force him to sell his goods to them at a considerably lower rate than the current market rate. Thus at every step he is cheated. For this purpose co-operative banks should be established which should give loans more liberally and should look after the purchase of raw materials, the sale of finished products and the supply of implements, tools and improved machinery. The Central Government should also lend a helping hand by allocating a substantial sum through the Provincial Government for financing small and cottage industries as regards supply and purchase system, and also furnish patterns, ideas and designs to village artisans.

Cottage industries also have great difficulties in marketing their finished products. Lack of suitable marketing organisation and mutual co-operation, lack of longer staying power due to extreme poverty and isolation lead easily to the exploitation by the middleman. It is necessary that all the Provincial Governments should assist these industries by propaganda, research, demonstrations and technical assistance through organised exhibitions and fairs. Dr. R. K. Mukerjee has recommended the formation of a central buying and trading organisation which could be utilised for working out a constructive policy of commercial and technical information and guidance without which industries will remain unrelated to the exact nature of demand or the cost of production abroad. The Arts and Crafts Emporiums at Lucknow and Lahore, the Swadeshi Stores at Bombay, the Commercial Museum run by the Calcutta Corporation and the Industrial Museum run by the Department of Industries, Bengal, held to advertise the indigenous industries. Yet more emporiums and sales depots should be opened. Further, a central intelligence agency should be established with a view to advise on the improvement and reconstruction of processes of village industries, to introduce and apply modern mechanical implements and tools, to experiment and introduce improved designs and to collect and diffuse information on commercial subjects like market intelligence, foreign competition and methods of organisation and propaganda. The Central and Provincial Banking Committees have recommended the establishment of licenced warehouses and co-operative wholesale depots for the storing and selling of products of cottage industries. Co-operative purchase and sale societies should also be instituted in larger numbers for supplying raw materials and tools and for disposal of finished products. Co-operative sale societies in India seem to belie this expectation. In the first place, considering the poverty and small resource of the workers co-operation in marketing and financing of industrial products has not progressed to any extent. Secondly, the societies that were organised have not worked satisfactorily enough to warrant the conclusion that co-operation among cottage workers has struck root. Nevertheless efforts must be made in this respect.

As regards cottage industries the Bombay Industrial and Economic Inquiry Commission recommends the organisation of workers into associations to secure them the benefits of large-scale organisation. But this kind of organisation, we are convinced, cannot be expected to spring spontaneously out of the endeavours of the artisan classes due to their ignorance, illiteracy, conservative outlook and the grip of the middlemen over them. According to the Report, State help and initiatives of substantial type over long period are absolutely necessary and the Commission also feels that State management is also necessary. It also recommend the formation of a provincial cottage industries research institute, the formulation and execution of a stores purchase policy with a cottage bias, the holding of periodical exhibitions and creation of permanent museums for these industries.

The cottage workers have no idea of the recent improvements in the art of technique of production for they are ill-equipped with necessary information about them. It is therefore necessary that the Provincial Government should organise technical training and education by starting technical schools in all industrial and artistic centres, by giving an industrial bias to the primary and secondary education. Besides the opening up of technical institutions, it is necessary that the State-aided demonstration and handloom factories should be set up to train intelligent artisans. Introduction of new patterns and designs, invention and introduction of efficient tools and implements and research should be carried on by experi-

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mental factories and industrial institutes set up by Governments.

Co-operation can play a very important part here. The entire sector of cottage industry can well be permeated by co-operative ideals and practice. This is the only way for the attainment of a higher and ascending level of rural prosperity. On a basis of co-operative and regional control of industry, we shall work through the upliftment of the village population to a solution of the problem of modern industrialism.

Co-operation can help the cottage industry in three ways: (a) by providing cheap capital, (b) by helping them in the purchase of raw materials, (c) by finding means for the sale of finished goods. As regards capital in Europe:

> "In spite of the relatively inferior position of the small artisans in the modern industrial world of the West, the aid which co-operative societies are still rendering to independent artisans in different countries is remarkable."

As for the purchase of raw materials and the sale of finished goods, Prof. Gide remarks:

> "Co-operative association societies for the purchase of raw materials or for the sale of finished goods, or societies of mutual credit sided by mechanical inventions, will permit a new form of industrial enterprise capable of resisting successfully the encroachment of large industries."

Conclusion

A small or cottage industry owned, managed and worked by the craftsman himself with his own tools, technique and labour in his own home, has thus a definite place in our national economy, if only a proper scientific plan for a number of years is prepared and put into execution.

The industrial development of our country must be co-ordinated with rural cottage industries so that the purchasing power of the vast mass of the rural population should be increased who are unemployed or under-employed. It is paramount that gainful employment must be provided to idle manpower in the rural sector. Large-scale industries can never provide adequate employment for them all. The solution lies in the reorganisation of rural economy by a vigorous development of small-scale cottage industries with and without power. The industrialisation of rural India by the process of dispersal of industries is an urgent necessity, for the economic salvation of our teeming millions depends on the development of rural and cottage industries.

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SRI AUROBINDO
A Study in His Philosophy

By Dr. S. C. CHATTERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,
Calcutta University

Sri Aurobindo is one of those great Indian saints who have maintained the continuity of Indian culture through the ages. The foundation of this culture was laid in the Vedas and the Upanishads. Since then, there is an unbroken succession of different teachers and religious leaders at different times and places in this ancient land of ours. They have infused new life into the body of Indian culture and saved it from the attacks of rival cultures by expanding and enlarging it, so that it might assimilate the best in them or absorb them altogether. There were certain periods of Indian history which presented a crisis in Indian culture and threatened it with disruption and disintegration. But Providence has so ordained it that at every such juncture, one or more of India's great teachers and reformers have sprung up and met the challenge effectively. The result is that although there have been ebb and tide, rise and fall in the stream of India's cultural life, it has maintained an unbroken continuity from the hoary past to the living present. Sri Aurobindo's present life and philosophy constitute a golden link in the chain that connects the past with the present in our cultural life.

The culture of a country is mainly constituted by its philosophy. In truth, the philosophy of a country is the cream of its culture and civilisation. It springs from ideas that prevail in its atmosphere and bears its unconscious stamp. In the different systems of Indian philosophy we can thus discern the common stamp of an Indian culture. We may describe this fundamental unity of the Indian systems of philosophy as the unity of moral and spiritual outlook. These systems are inspired by the faith in "an eternal moral order," barring, of course, the solitary exception of the materialistic philosophy of the Charvakas. This faith in a moral order of the world—a law that makes for regularity and righteousness—pervades the poetic imagination of the Vedic seers as well as the philosophic thought of the post-Vedic thinkers.

Another common character of the Indian systems is the presence of a practical motive. In India, philosophy was never divorced from life. It is culti-

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ted not so much for the satisfaction of intellectual riosity as for the guidance of life in order that one ay lead an enlightened life in the world and attain n's highest goal.

According to almost all the Indian systems, the ghest goal of man's life is liberation from bondage the flesh. Man in his real nature is the immaculate pirit, free from greed and lust, passions and impulses, s and sufferings. If in his worldly life he seems to ve lost his pristine glory and become mean and serable, it is both his birth-right and divine destiny regain his soul and realise the freedom that is his d, as spirit, he really *is*.

The root cause of man's bondage and consequent fferings is according to the ancient Indian thinkers is ignorance of reality. Liberation from these must, herefore, come from knowledge of reality, *i.e.*, of the elf within and the world outside. But while kowledge was regarded as essential, the Indian thinkers never believed that a mere intellectual understanding of the truth was sufficient for liberation. On the other hand, they insisted upon the practice of continued meditation with perfect self-control, *i.e.*, *yoga*, for the realisation of philosophic truths. It is the realisation of truth through calm contemplation and deep concentration that leads to liberation. Hence the necessity of the practice of *yoga* for the attainment of philosophical wisdom.

Sri Aurobindo's philosophy reaffirms the spirit of Indian culture and reorients it in the light of modern thought. It is the philosophy of the original Vedanta that he teaches to the world by following the method of yaugic intuition, but with the additional support of modern science and philosophy.

Sri Aurobindo starts with the conception of an omnipresent Reality of which neither the Non-Being at the one end nor the universe at the other are negations that annul; they are rather different states of the Reality. This omnipresent reality is the truth of all life and existence whether absolute or relative, whether corporeal or incorporeal, whether animate or inanimate, whether intelligent or unintelligent. The Reality is one in all its infinitely varying and even conflicting self-expressions. From that all variations begin, in that all variations consist, to that all variations return. This omnipresent Reality is the Brahman, not an omnipresent cause of persistent illusions. Brahman is the Alpha and the Omega of all existence. Brahman is the One besides whom there is nothing else existent. In it all affirmations are denied only to lead to an wider affirmation, and all antinomies confront each other in order to recognise one Truth in their opposed aspects and embrace by the way of conflict their mutual Unity. This, Sri Aurobindo thinks, is 'the real Monism, the true Advaita which admits all things as the one Brahman and does not seek to bisect Its existence into two incompatible entities, an eternal Truth and an eternal Falsehood, Brahman and not-Brahman, self and not-self, a real Self and an unreal, yet perpetual Maya.' The highest experience of the omnipresent Reality in the universe shows it to be not only a conscious Existence, but a supreme Intelligence and Force and a self-existent Bliss; and beyond the universe it is still some other unknowable existence, some utter and ineffable Bliss.

When we look at the world around us in a calm and dispassionate spirit, what we observe is a boundless energy of infinite existence and infinite movement pouring itself out in infinite Space and unlimited Time. Modern science and some modern Western thinkers like Samuel Alexander assure us that the universe is a play of this infinite energy and movement. But what is this All, this infinite and omnipotent energy. The Vedanta declares that this movement is an aspect of a great timeless, spaceless, motionless Existence which is immutable, unexhaustible, actionless, though containing all this action. This is pure existence—existence without quantity, without quality, without name and form, and so ineffable and indescribable. This is the *nirguna* Brahman of the original Vedanta, *i.e.*, the Upanishads.

We have then two fundamental facts or realities, the fact of pure existence and the reality of energy or movement. We have to accept the double fact, admit both Siva and Kali, the motionless and the moving, and try to understand their relation. Is this universal energy an unintelligent power, an unconscious mechanical force, or is it a conscious energy, an intelligent power? Sri Aurobindo's answer is: 'It is really the power of *chit*, conscious force, in its nature of creative self-conscience.' Behind the cosmic energy which we observe all around us, there is thus a cosmic consciousness of which cosmic energy is an outflow and manifestation. Modern western scientists and philosophers admit the doctrine of evolution as a progressive process in which from pure motion arises matter; from matter, life; from life, mind with consciousness. But evolution is a word which merely states the phenomenon without explaining it. There is no reason why the cosmic energy should progressively manifest matter, life and mind, at different stages of evolution, unless we accept the Vedantic view that life is already involved in matter and mind in life, because in essence matter is a form of veiled life, life a form of veiled consciousness. The idea of a cosmic consciousness has now the support of modern Psychology as well as of some Scientist-philosophers like James Jeans, A. S. Eddington and others.

The ultimate existence of Vedantins is not bare existence; it is a conscious existence or conscious energy, the very nature of which is bliss. An absolute existence which is infinite energy of consciousness is

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bliss itself. Absoluteness of conscious existence is illimitable bliss of conscious existence; the two are only different descriptions of the same thing. Brahman is thus infinite bliss or the infinite delight of the creative play of Force. The self-delight of Brahman is not limited. Just as its energy of consciousness is capable of throwing itself into infinite forms, so also its self-delight is capable of movement and variation, of revelling in the infinite flux of innumerable universes. The one Existence-consciousness that is Brahman manifests Itself in numberless universes to enjoy the infinite movement and variation of its self-delight.

So far we have found that the omnipresent Reality is *Sat-chit-ananda* and that all things are *sachchid-ananda*. But how from Reality the phenomenal world arises requires explanation. That there is a process and a law guiding it, is recognised by us when we study the history of the world. This law cannot be, as some thinkers suppose it to be, a blind mechanical law of the equilibrium of forces working by the accident of development and the influence of the past. Since Force is a self-expression of conscious Existence, the line of development which force has taken must correspond to a perception of some self-truth and the determination of the line must result from a power of self-directive knowledge inherent in consciousness which enables it to guide its own force along the chosen line. That is, evolution must proceed from God's self-determining power to think or perceive (*ikshana*) a certain Truth in Himself and to guide His force of creation along the line of that Truth. God as infinite consciousness can produce only infinite results. To settle upon a fixed Truth or order of truths and build a world in conformity with that which is selected out of infinite possibilities requires a selective power of knowledge commissioned to shape finite appearance out of the infinite Reality.

This power was called *Maya* by the Vedic seers. *Maya* meant for them the power of infinite consciousness to form Name and Shape out of the vast illimitable Truth of infinite existence. It is by *Maya* that the Infinite finitises itself, the Static being becomes dynamic becoming, and out of the Absolute the world of phenomena emerges, for the play of one existent with another, of one self with others. The mental play or the *illusion* of Maya conceals the truth from man and misleads him into the belief that he is one against others and not inseparably one with the rest of existence. But he has to emerge from this error into the supramental play or the *truth* of Maya where the "each" and the "all" co-exist in the unity of the one truth and manifold symbol or appearance. We have first to embrace the lower or mental Maya and then transcend it; for it is God's play with division and limitation, strife and suffering. The other or higher Maya has to be overpassed, then embraced; for it is God's play of the infinities of existence, of the lights of knowledge and the ecstasies of love, that for which God's Energy went out of Him at the first and in which she finds her fulfilment at the last.

There is, therefore, no ground for pessimism and illusionism in the Vedanta. Those who declare the world as full of misery and suffering, or disparage it as void of reality, miss the link between the lower and the higher Maya. To them the mental Maya is the creatrix of the world, and a world constructed by the mental Maya is an inexplicable paradox, and a fixed yet floating apparition which can be called neither real nor unreal. But on Sri Aurobindo's interpretation of the Vedanta there is a relation between Reality and appearence, the Truth behind and the conceptive phenomenon in front, a relation which is not merely that of opposition. For him 'the creative Idea is the Real-Idea, that is to say, a power of conscious Force expressive of real being, born out of real being and partaking of its nature.' 'The world is, therefore, not a figment of conception in the universal Mind, but a conscious birth of that which is beyond Mind into forms of itself. A Truth of conscious being supports these forms and expresses itself in them, and the knowledge corresponding to the truth thus expressed reigns as a supramental Truth-consciousness.' 'The world expresses a foreseen Truth, obeys a predetermining Will, realises an original self-vision,—it is the growing image of a divine creation.' But all this remains unintelligible to us so long as we try to grasp them through our thought and reason. It is only when we cease to reason and go deep into ourselves that in a state of ecstatic intuition, the Truth becomes really manifest to us.

One thing, however, becomes quite clear to us at this point. The Vedanta does not countenance, as it is generally supposed, pacifism and inactivity even on the part of one who has realised Brahman. Far from that, the Vedanta philosophy of life teaches that man becomes perfect only when he has found within himself that absolute calm and tranquillity of the Brahman and supports by it, with the same divine intolerence and the same divine bliss, a free and inexhaustible activity. Mukti or liberation for man lies, not in apathy or indifference to the world's affairs nor in withdrawal from life's activities, but in absolute peace and freedom of the self within and ceaseless activity without for the good of suffering humanity. This explains Sri Aurobindo's intense life of *sadhana* after his spiritual realisations, and that for the liberation of mankind as a whole. May his *sadhana* bring peace to the war-weary world, happiness to unhappy mankind, and salvation to all souls!

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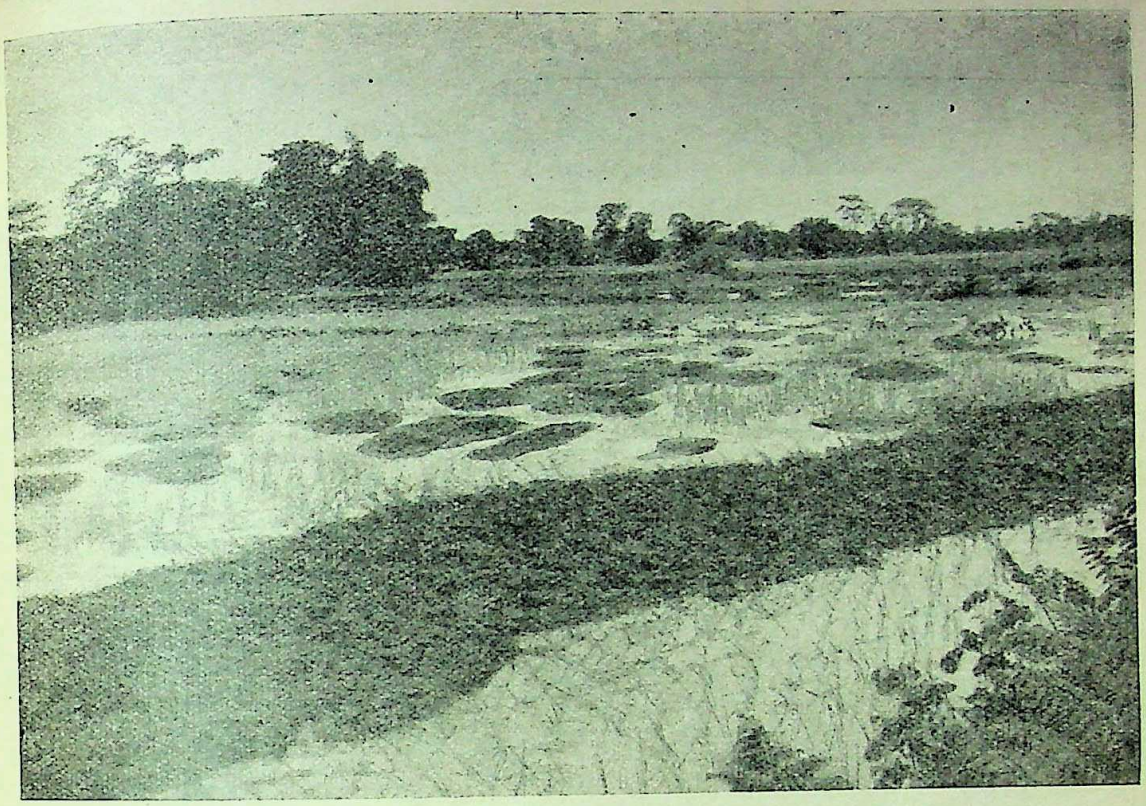

Layers of sands and small sand-dunes formed in a paddy field in Saikhoa Ghat area, Upper Assam, following the 15th August earthquake

Fissures in Sukreting Road in Upper Assam after the earthquake of August 15

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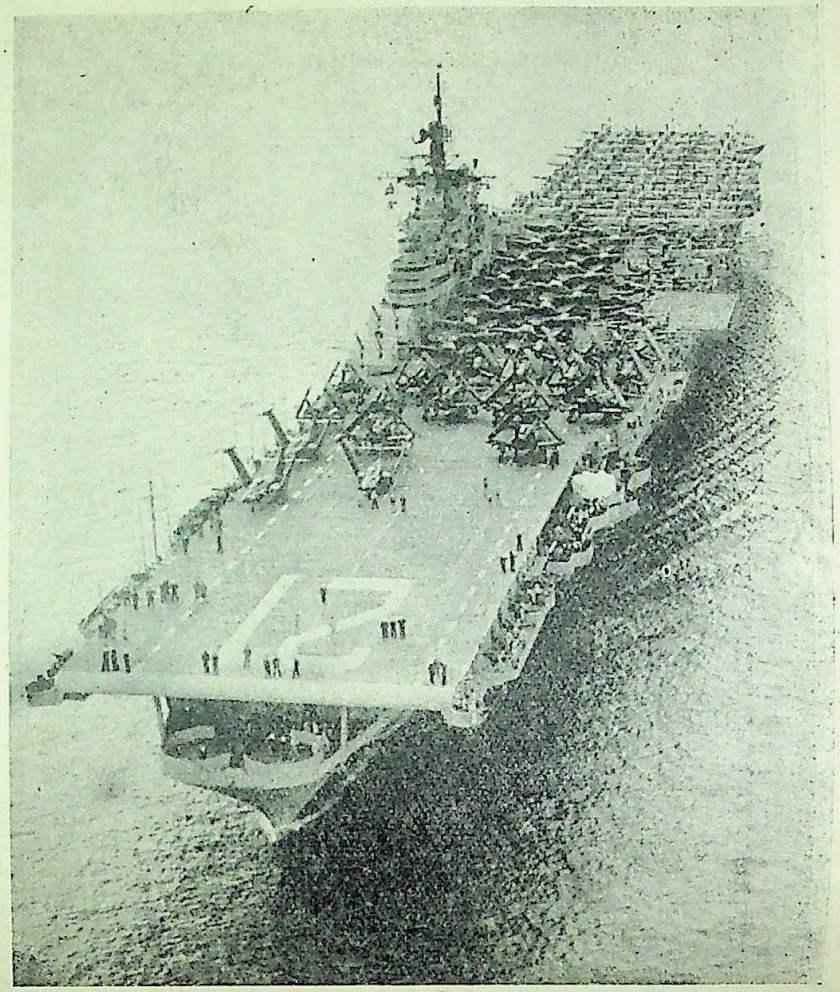
A U. S. Army infantryman is shown with the new 3.5-inch bazooka in an anti-tank position



One of the largest aircraft-carriers of the U. S. Navy on its way to help the Republic of Korea

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FISCAL POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT OF BACKWARD AREAS

By SASHIKANT V. SHAH, M.A.

ARTICLE V of the Atlantic Charter declares as a policy the United Nations "the fullest collaboration in the economic field" with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security. Article VI looks forward to a world where "all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." President Truman's speech last year, on the objectives of the American foreign policy declared, among other points, the facilitating of the economic development of the under-developed countries. And it was this objective that caught the imagination of the people everywhere. The world has reached the stage where the development of backward areas is not a question of economics alone but also of politics. For, poverty breeds not only misery but also communism. Hence the development of backward areas is no longer an academic problem but a vital necessity.

Economic development is not an isolated phenomenon but a combined operation. This combined operation involves the introduction of better techniques, better capital equipment, expansion of commerce, etc.

In this combined operation Fiscal Policy is one of the prime tools with which the problem of under-developed areas can be tackled.

The essential characteristics of a backward area (in the majority of cases) are dense population and pressure on land. The increased population, for lack of industrial development, is driven into rural occupations and thus we have the viscious circle of population pressure and poverty.

These surplus workers must be withdrawn from agriculture to be absorbed into other industries. In that event agricultural output will not suffer while the whole new output would be a net addition to the total national income.

The problem of backward areas has to be attacked by stimulation of investment and effective demand. But both of these are so interlinked that we cannot separate them in our analysis.

Development of industries is the first step in the development of backward areas. This means that there should be an increase in the investment activity. As a consequence of this there will be an increase in effective demand.

But the risk of starting a vast enterprise is prohibitive unless the programme of expansion is consciously planned and co-ordinated. The infant industry argument will cover the whole economic system of under-developed countries. In many cases protection might equalise the difference and thus resolve the contradiction between private unprofitability and public desirability. It would seem, however, more efficient to direct investment activity by the grant of subsidy. Because, firstly, the budgetary charge which becomes necessary renders the burden visible. Secondly, subsidies are more specific in their application and better amenable to control than tariffs. Thirdly, while the burden of tariffs falls upon the consumers who are generally poor, the burden of bounties is shifted to the general tax-payer. And lastly, bounties are administratively more convenient and can be managed more cheaply.

Protection by itself would not lead to industrialisation. The taxation policy of the state would have to be evolved in such a way that it would not deter the would-be investors.

To promote investment activities Simons recommends the suppression of corporate income-tax. Neisser is opposed to excessively high corporation taxes on high incomes but in order to discourage corporations from keeping liquid funds idle, he advocates an imposition of a special tax on corporate profits which are neither distributed nor actually invested.

Lerner, on the other hand, suggests promoting of risk capital by having the Treasury refund immediately a part of the losses that enterprises incur in a given year. He thus goes a step further than the actual system of carrying forward or carrying back of one year's losses to be applied against the income of the next two or the preceeding two years. His recommendation thus contains a more open acknowledgement of state's partnership in private enterprise.

Kalecki on the other hand has suggested a plan by which gross investments (including replacement) actually undertaken during the year to be deducted from gross income for income-tax purposes instead of the traditional depreciation allowances.

Coming to personal taxes Neisser stresses the point that income-taxes in the highest brackets contribute relatively little to public revenue. This means that emphasis on the problem on greater progressiveness in income groups below the very highest, the high middle and upper income groups, should be given. Greater progressiveness in these brackets might permit a shift of the tax burden from low income receivers towards the high income groups even if the cost to

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the Treasury of the investment incentives is considered. This would encourage total consumption. Then if investment is taken care by Lerner's device, high progressiveness might be beneficial to industrialisation.

In the above discussion it was assumed that private enterprise was relied upon exclusively for investment purposes. But private enterprise by itself, cannot be relied upon fully, however modified by public intervention and assistance.

State initiative is called for to the extent that private enterprise fails to comply with the task. State initiative may be envisaged in the form of public investment—mostly by deficit financing. It is not necessary to go into the technique of deficit financing. What is material to our discussion are the effects and its shortcomings.

The effects of public investment depend to a large extent on the method by which they are financed. It is fortunate that we have got rid of the classical assumption that the rate of investment depends upon the voluntary savings of the people. It is possible to render economic progress independent of the voluntary decisions of individuals by financing investments out of communal or enforced savings. Investment financing institutions can be established by using revenue obtained from progressive direct taxation and/or private savings, enforced by a strict control of consumption and could be canalised for purposes of domestic investments.

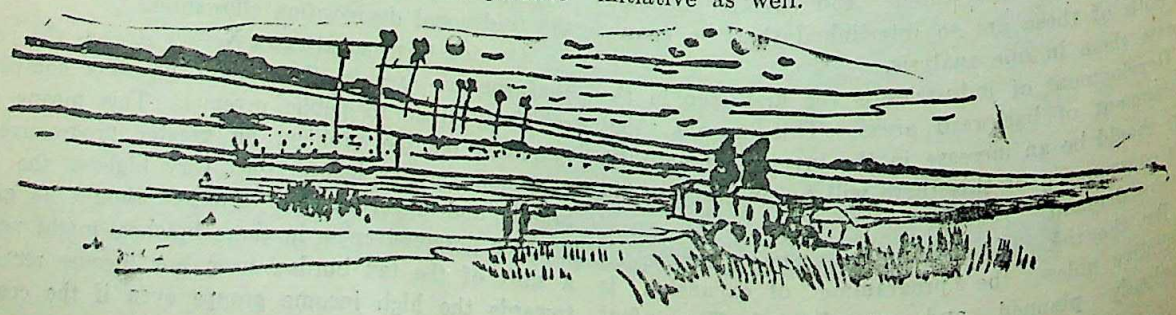
But this method of financing investments from taxation is fraught with danger. The collection of business or personal income-taxes tends to restrict consumer spending, because in themselves such taxes reduce disposable incomes. Moreover, high taxes on business profits or personal incomes may discourage private investors. We must not forget the sufferings of the U.S.S.R. which followed this way to finance its investments. It was with this in view that the Australian White Paper on Employment envisages to finance its public investment programmes from loans as is reasonable in a relatively young country. Taxation is made the main source of revenue, and will be at such levels that the yield from incomes when the economy is fully employed will cover all expenditures on current items including maintenance of assets. The taxes will be designed to have the least possible restrictive effect on incentive and efficiency. On the other hand, borrowing from public being voluntary will avoid the disadvantages of taxation.

It is true that a tax-financed investment can have positive secondary effects on income and employment, if a redistribution of incomes from savers to spenders is accomplished. But a simple redistribution of income might have little effect in mitigating poverty, though its indirect effect on maintaining effective demand is considerable. Total demand can be increased by a redistribution of incomes from the rich to the poor. Increased taxes on the rich, offset by decreased taxes on the poor, will increase total demand without unbalancing the budget.

It is possible that deficit financed public investment will have a discouraging influence on private investment. But it should be possible to avoid such an influence by public education to dispel unfounded fears concerning National Debt structures, maintaining adequate flow of credit to private enterprise at low rates of interest and by other methods to improve profit expectations.

There seem to be two main dangers to be guarded against in deficit financing. First, the closer the approach to full employment and the larger the volume of liquid assets in the hands of the public the greater the possibility of inflation. Secondly, the servicing of the National Debt may lead to increased maldistribution of incomes unless the tax structure is geared to the debt structure so as to make the debt service neutral in this respect. However, a deficit financed public investment will in most cases lead to a less mal-distribution of income than the private investment it replaces since the ownership of private capital is even more heavily concentrated in the upper income groups than the ownership of government debts and the rate of return on Government obligations are lower than on private capital.

In the development of backward areas private investment and state initiative should not be conflicting elements but rather complementary to each other. The engine of industrialisation of backward areas should be powered not on one motor but on two motors, not only on state enterprise but private initiative as well.



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THE VETASA PLANT

By JOGES CHANDRA RAY, Vidyanidhi

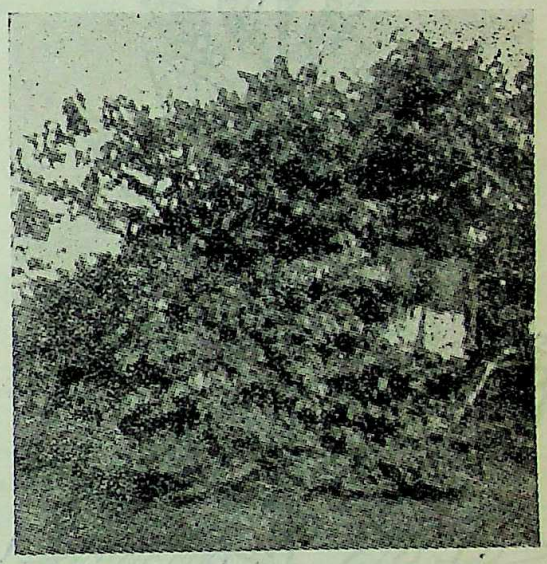
Introduction

Vetasa[1] is the name of a plant well-known in Sanskrit literature. It had many other synonyms of which *anjula*[2], *vanira*[3] and *nichula*[4] were as commonly used as *vetasa*. Kalidasa, Bhababhuti and Jayadeva have made the name familiar to the readers of Sanskrit classics. The plant forms *kunja*[5], a natural arbour described as *griha*[6], a 'hut' with roof and sides covered with foliage. It forms a shady secluded retreat for lovers. The name was not confined to the classics only. The Mahabharata, some Puranas and Varahamihira in his *Vrihat Samhita* have mentioned it. Vetasa happens to be a medicinal plant and Charaka, Susruta, Bhavaprakasa and other medical writers have noticed its medicinal uses. It was known to some of the Vedic Aryans. Indeed they were familiar with it.

Yet it is strange to say, the plant has not been identified. On the contrary, it has been supposed to be *vetra*[7], the ratan cane. Bhanuji Dikshita in his commentary on the Amarakosha (Maharastra, 17th century) has given *veta*[8] as the vernacular name of Vetasa. Apte in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* explains Vetasa as the ratan, reed, cane. In his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Monier Williams writes: "The ratan (*calamus rotang*) or similar kind of cane, a reed; *vetasa-griha*[9], an arbour formed of reeds." The modern commentators and English translators of Kalidasa understood Vetasa as *vet* or *bet*.[10] The Sanskrit scholars of the West have understood Vetasa as the ratan cane or some reed of like nature, and almost all Pandits of the present day, east and west, north and south of India, regard it as *vet* or *bet* or its equivalents in the Dravid languages.

A little reflection would have, however, shown that Vetasa could neither be the ratan, nor a reed. The ratan is *calamus rotang* or some species of calamus. It is armed with spines and grows in impenetrable thickets which no one would dare handle. It may climb up a tree but never forms an arbour. It is cut either from the outside or by means of a pole with a knife fixed at its end. A reed has stiff, straight stems which can never bend and form the roof of the arbour.

Vetasa is a *lata*[11] and can never be a reed. The word *lata* in Sanskrit usually denotes a weak plant which cannot stand. It may creep along ground or up a wall when it becomes a creeper, or it may climb upon a support either by twining round it or holding it by tendrils when it becomes a climber. Vetasa cannot be a creeper, it was a climbing plant and could therefore form an arbour. A *kunja* is not a grove. It is defined in the Amarakosha as a cavity covered with *lata*, 'climbing plants' or plants of like nature.[12] In *Meghaduta*, Kalidasa speaks of *jambukunja*.[13] *jambu* is not the tree of the well-known edible fruit. It was perhaps *bhumijambu*[14] (*Ardisia humilis* of Botanists) a large shrub or a small tree growing in clusters in damp situations; the drooping branches with leaves form a shade resembling an arbour. Fortunately there is a passage (VII. 42) in the *Vrihat Dharma Purana* in which *vetasa* and *vetra* are mentioned together.[15] The *Purana* was composed in West Bengal, probably in north-east Burdwan somewhere near the Ganges early in the fourteenth century. *Rajanighantu*, a medical dictionary (15th century A.D.), has treated *vetasa* and *vetra* separately and given their different medical uses.



Betasa shrub

Vetasa

I have accidentally found a climbing shrub in this district of Bankura, West Bengal, which agrees with Vetasa as shown below. It is abundant on the shores of the river Silai as well as in jungles. Villagers use it as fuel and Santals and Doms make light baskets with slender stems and strips of older stems which readily split. The plant grows very rapidly and forms a bush about ten feet high with a circumference of fifteen feet in the course of a year. In old specimens the spreading branches intertwine and spread outwards and bend down looking like a flat-topped umbrella. The pendent branches constantly swing even in the absence of appreciable wind. Sometimes they reach the ground and trail along it to considerable distances. A cavity is formed inside which is cool even in hot summer. In still older specimens the bush forms an arbour where half a dozen persons can easily stand or sleep. In winter, the plant bears profusion of grey-white small flowers. In those places where this plant

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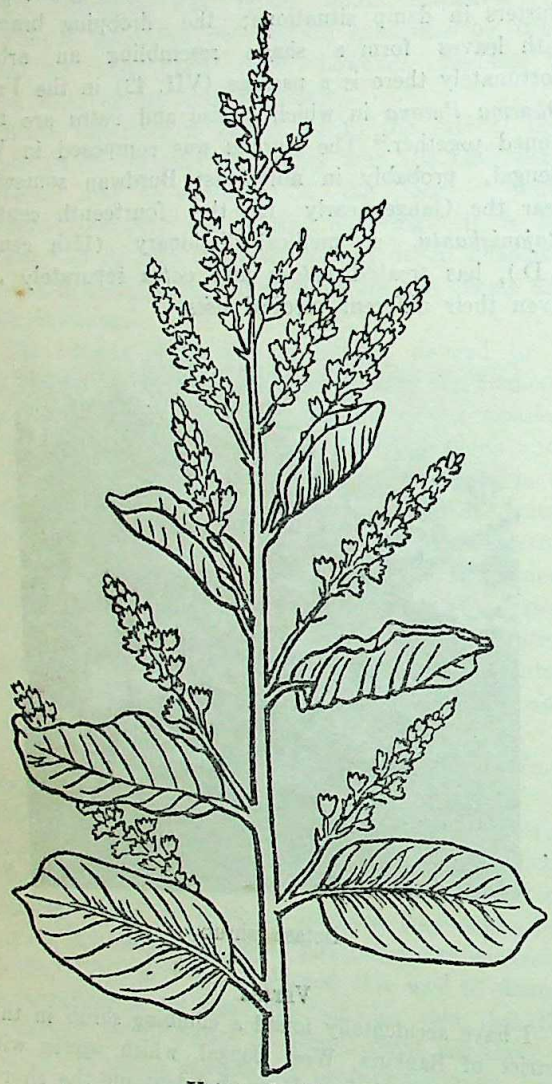
is found and *vetra* (calamus) is unknown, it is called *bet*[16] specially by Brahmins and makers of baskets. It is also called *atanri*.[17] In those places where true *bet* (calamus) is also found it is called *atang*[18] or *atanri*.[19] In the north-east of the district of Burdwan, the plant



Vetasa in flower

has been completely exterminated but the name *bayasa*[20] is still there, and the people generally point to some other twining plant as *bayasa*.[21] Bharata Mallika (17th century A.D.), a Bengali commentator of *Amarakosha* gives *bayasa*[22] as the vernacular name of Vetasa. The name has been quoted in the *Sabda-kalpa-druma*. A little over a century ago Colebrooke in his edition of Amarakosha gives *bayas*[23] or *bent*[24] as the vernacular name of Vetasa. The word is an easy corruption of the Prakrit *beasa*[25] of the Sanskrit name Vetasa. The plant has been identified as *combretum decandrum*, Roxb.

COMBRETUM DECANDRUM, ROXB

A large, ever-green, woody, climbing shrub; young parts covered with thin, brown bark which peels off easily in long, thin, strong strips; internodes long, 9 in. filled with spongy flesh-coloured pith; branches numerous, pendent. Leaves opposite, short-petioled, waved, oblong, 4-5 by 1.5—2.5 in. abruptly accuminate. Floral leaves 1.5-2 in. long, cream-white, conspecious. Flowers ashy-white, small, less than ¼ in., scented, numerous, in racemes, arranged in large terminal panicles. Calyx lobes 5, valvate, petals 5, stamens 10 in two series. Ovary one-celled, inferior. Fruit 1 in. long, oblong or elliptic, with four or five papery wings. Flowering time from February to April according to climate.

DISTRIBUTION AND VERNACULAR NAMES

Abundant in Bengal [Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam], very common in North Deccan plateau, less common South. North-east provinces [United Provinces], nearly to the Punjab.—Hooker's *Flora of British India*, II, 452.

Abundant in western parts of West Bengal (Bankura): Bengali—*atanri, atang,*[26] *bet*[27]; Santali—*aten*.

North-east Burdwan : Old Bengali name *bayasa*.[28]

North Bengal : Nepalese—*kali lahara*.

Assam : Common throughout the province; growing usually on hill slopes; common round about Gauhati. Assamese—*latachali, sali* with various adjectives.

Bihar : Abundant specially in the district of Gaya. Kol—*phalandu*, Santali—*aten*.

Western Dun (Dehra-Dun): Common chiefly on hill sides. Flowers—February, March. Hindi—*ruel* or *roel*.

Central Province : Found in jungles, also on the shores of the Narmada near Jubbulpore. Hindi—*dhobela*, Marathi—*piwar vel*.

Orissa : Found in the hill-states of Orissa and Khurda including Ganjam down to the Godavari. Oriya—*atundi*.

Not found in Western India.—Nairne's *Flowering Plant of Western India*.

Not reported from Central India.—*Forest Botanist*, Dehra-Dun.

It will be thus seen that the plant has well-defined distribution from Assam to the United Provinces, from western part of West Bengal to Central Province and Orissa to Berar.

Of the vernacular names the Assamese name *latachali* is significant. *Chali*[29] or *sali*[30] is a hut; and *latachali* is a hut made of climbing plants. The Bengali name *atanri*[31] and *atang*[32] and the Oriya name *atundi* are practically the same and are probably derived from Santali *aten* or *atena*.

DESCRIPTION OF VETASA IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

We shall now examine the characters of Vetasa. These are mostly found in its names, which fortunately for our enquiry are many. The name of a plant or an

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nal expresses some noticeable character. In course time, the origin is forgotten and the name becomes mere symbol. But all Sanskrit names are based on s which preserve to some extent the original idea ch gave the name. Some of the names of Vetasa easy to understand. Some require the aid of mology. In a few others the etymological ning is vague and doubtful. In a few such s the same name is common to other plants ch happen to be known to us. These point to some acter which is common to them. In these three s it has been possible to explain the meanings of names of Vetasa.

The *Amarakosha*, the standard Sanskrit lexicon s seven names of Vetasa and four names of *buvetasa*.[33] The first group thus comprises the names *sthalavetasa*,[34] *'land-vetasa'*, and the second group se of *ambuvetasa*,[35] 'water-vetasa' only.

The names of 'land-vetasa' are :

1. *Vetasa*[36]: There is no difference between the tasa of these two groups, except in the situation in ch it grows. Thus the name Vetasa may mean nd-vetasa' as well as 'water-vetasa.' In *Meghaduta*, alidasa mentions *vanira*[37] growing on the shores of e Gambhira, and also in *Raghuvamsa*, on the bank the Godavari. Kshirasvami (C.P., 11th century), e earliest commentator of the *Amarakosha* so far own, derives the name Vetasa from root *vi*, to go, spread and supposes that the plant seeks water. t Sarvananda, a Bengali commentator (12th cen-y) and a follower of Svami, as well as Dikshita ive the name from root *ve*, 'to weave, braid, inter-ine.' The young stems intertwining with one another d forming the roof of the arbour.

2. *Ratha*[38]: It resembles the convex roof of our d chariots with fillets hanging all round as seen in odern *tonga*.

3. *Abhrapushpa*[39]: It has flowers of the colour of *bhra* (the highest cloud) which is grey-white.

4. *Vidula*[40]: The drooping branches constantly ving.

5. *Sita*[41]: The inside of the arbour is very cool en in hot summer and that is one of the reasons hy Kalidasa placed Sakuntala and Dushmanta in a etasa arbour.

6. *Vanira*[42]: It is a difficult word. The word s derived from *van* 'to aid, to be occupied,' referring to e habit of forming a cover for men and animals.

7. *Vanjula*[43]: It is another difficult word. It is rived from *vanch* 'to wonder about.' It is also the name of *soka*, a middle-sized flower tree (Saraca Indica) and *ksha*, a middle-sized timber-tree (Ougenia dalber-oides). There must be some point of resemblance among the three plants. In a Sanskrit dictionary the ord *vanjula* as an adjective means crooked. The three ants agree in having crooked stems.

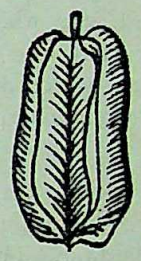
8. *Ambuvetasa*[44]: It does not mean that the plant grows in water. The plant *hijjala* (Barringtonia acutangula) is called *ambuja* in *Amarakosha*, but we know, it does not grow in water, it grows near water courses.

9. *Nadeyi*[45]: It refers to its growing near water. *Nadeyi* is also the name of *bhumijambuka*[46] which, as we have already seen, grows in moist situations.

10. *Parivyadha*[47]: Literally it means what is attacked (by water), suggesting occurrence of the plant near water. *Vidula*[48]—the branches being swayed to and fro by current of water. The word is already mentioned.

The *Amarakosha* has another word—

11. *Vetasvat*[49] which means a place abounding in Vetasa referring to the plant growing in large numbers in one place.



Vetasa fruit

Kshirasvami quotes Chandra, a lexicographer and gives a list of names of Vetasa of which the additional names are the following :

12. *Nichula*[50]: It is also the name of the tree *hijjala*[51] (*Barringtonia acutangula*) in Amara. *Hijjala* is a middle-sized tree growing on the shores of rivers like Vetasa with leaves crowded at end, the branches droop down resembling Vetasa also in this respect. In *Meghaduta*, Kalidasa mentions *nichula*[52] which looked fresh and green[53] even in mid-summer.

13. *Namra*[54]: Drooping.

14. *Dirghapatraka*[55]: Having long leaves, *i.e.*, having oblong leaves.

15. *Gandhapatra*[56]: Perhaps a misprint for *gandhapushpaka*[57] (see below).

16. *Ghanapushpaka*[58]: Having clusters of dense flowers.

17. *Samvrita*[59]: Entirely covered with foliage. *Jalduka, nadikulapriya, jalajata, toyakama*[60]—the meaning is obvious.

The *Dhanvantariya Nighantu*, the earliest medical lexicon, gives a long list of names which is also quoted in *Sabda-kalpa-druma*. The following are new:

18. *Kalama*[61]: The pith drying up the internode may be used as a reed-pen.

19. *Sushena*[62]: (?)

20. *Gandhapushpaka*[63]: Having scented flowers.

21. *Nikunjaka*[64]: Forming an arbour.

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Vaghbhata, a medical writer, mentions a surgical instrument named *vetasapatra* used for piercing and cutting open. It is thus a lancet having two edges and a point exactly resembling the apex of the leaf of c.d.

When does Vetasa flower? Varaha-mihira in his *Vrihat Samhita* (Ch. XXXIX) forecasts the outturn of linseed (*atasi*)[65] by observing the amount of flowering of Vetasa. Linseed ripens in spring and Vetasa is in flower a little earlier. The *Vamana Purana* (Ch. VI) is more explicit and describes Vetasa in blossom in spring on the banks of rivers.

Summing up the characters of Vetasa it may be described as a large climbing shrub supporting itself by the intertwining of young stems and forming a natural arbour which is cool even in mid-summer. Its young branches bend outwards and downwards which constantly swing. Its leaves are oblong, apex, like a lancet. Flowers scented, grey-white, in dense clusters. It grows both on dry lands as well as near water courses. Flowering time winter and spring. These are also the characters of Combretum decandrum as noted above.

A few places of occurrence of Vetasa can be gathered from Sanskrit literature:

1. North-east Burdwan (West Bengal): The *Vrihat Dharma Purana*, as we have already noted, was undoubtedly composed somewhere there. It mentions Vetasa. Bharata Mallika also found Vetasa probably somewhere there. Jayadeva refers to *vetasa-kunja* on the bank of the Jamuna. Apparently he was acquainted with the plant and probably saw Vetasa on the bank of the Ajaya, the river on which his village stood.

2. Kamarupa (Assam): In one of the landgrants of Ratnapala, King of Kamarupa, Vetasa is mentioned as a boundary plant on a river bank.

3. The shores of the Narmada. *Kavyaprakasa* in a famous verse mentions *vetasa taru*[66] on the shore of the Reva (Narmada). From enquiries I understand, both C. decandrum and Calamus grow on the bank of the Narmada off Jubbulpore, and both are used for making baskets. Vetasa is described here as a *taru*,[67] 'a tree.' It stands like a tree to a certain height and may be described as a tree.

4. Central Province: The *Markandeya Purana* mentions *vanjula*[68] in Ch. VI and many times *vetasa* towards its end. The *Purana* was composed in the Central Province somewhere between Nagpore and Jubbulpore as shown by me in a Bengali article. Probably the plant occurs in Berar, the native place of Bhavabhuti.

5. In *Raghuvamsa* (Ch. XIII, 35), Kalidasa refers to the occurrence of Vetasa on the bank of the Godavari.

6. Upper India: The *Vamana Purana* as noted above mentions Vetasa. It was probably composed in Upper India.

In all these places *C. decandrum* is found. The identification is therefore complete.

We shall now explain the references of Vetasa in the Vedas. Some of the Rishis of the Rigveda seem to have been very familiar with the plant. In the Rigveda (IV.58.5) a Rishi describes the flickering flame of fire as *hiranmaya vetasa*,[69] 'golden vetasa' from its resemblance with the waving shoot of *C.d.* In another place (X.95.5), the derivative word *vaitasa*[70] occurs. It is explained in *Vedic Nighantu* as the male organ of generation, because it resembles pendulous stems of *C.d.* In both the Yajurvedas and the Atharva Veda, Vetasa is called *apsuja*[71] 'born in water' referring to its growing close to water courses.

An interesting historical fact may be deduced from the occurrence of the plant. As it is unknown in the Punjab, it appears that some of the Aryans had spread to the United Provinces, a fact otherwise known. It is obvious from absence of Vetasa in Malwa the theory that Kalidasa and Varaha-mihira were natives of that place seems doubtful.

In concluding this paper I thank Professors K. V. Varadpanda of Science College, Nagpore; A. C. Dutta of Cotton College, Gauhati; P. K. Parija of Cuttack College; A. C. Joshi of Government College, Lahore; and T. N. Venkatanathachari of Presidency College, Madras for supplying me with information regarding the occurrence and vernacular names of the plant, and my friend Sri Taraprasanna Bandopadhyaya, Engineer of the district of Bankura, without whose help in various ways this research would have been impossible.

1. वेतस 2. वञ्जुल 3. वानीर 4. निचुल 5. कुञ्ज 6. गृह 7. वेत्र 8. वेत 9 वेतसगृह 10 वेत 11. लता 12. "निकुञ्ज कुञ्जौ वा क्लीवे—लतादिपिहितोदरे" इत्यमरः। 13 जम्बूकुञ्ज 14. भूमिजम्बु 15. वेत्रकीचकान् खर्ज्जूरान् वेतसान् 16. वेत 17. आटाँड़ी 18. आटां 19.आटाँड़ी 20. वयसा 21. वयसा 22. वयसा 23. वयस 24 वेंत 25. वेअस 26 आटां 27. वेत 28. वयसा 29. चालि 30 सालि 31. आटाँड़ी 32. आटाँ 33. अम्बुवेतस 34. स्थलवेतस 35. अम्बुवेतस 36. वेतस 37 वानीर 38.रथ 39 अभ्रपुष्प 40 .विदुल 41. शीत 42 वानीर 43. वेञ्जुल 44.अम्बुवेतस 45 नादेयो 46. भूमि जम्बुक 47 परिव्याध 48. विदुल 49. वेतस्वत् 50. निचुल 51. हिज्जल 52 निचुल 53. सरस 54. नम्र 55. दीर्घपत्रक 56. गन्धपत्र 57. गन्धपुष्पक 58. घनपुष्पक 59. संवृत 60. जलौका, नदीकूलप्रिय, जलजात, तोयकाम 61. कलम 62. सुषेण 63. गन्धपुष्पक 64. निकुञ्जक 65. अतसी 66. वेतस तरु 67. तरु 68. वञ्जुल 69. हिरण्मय वेतस 70. वैनस 71. अप्सुज।

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SHRI RISHABHDEO

By LEHAR SINGH MEHTA, B.A., LL.B.

ARDS the end of the twelfth century all was life chivalrous glory in Mewar. The excitement and ndour of war's alarms, the bray and blare of the moning trumpet, and the beat of the battle-drum ng all stresses and dangers were the incidents of occurrence. But this does not mean that that age devoid of cultural attainment. One of the best-erved monumental remains of the time is the most orately sculptured temple of Shri Rishabhdeo in lev. It is about thirty-nine miles from Udaipur, which it is connected by a metalled road.

The road from Udaipur to Rishabhdeo passes ugh a valley, which is the most diversified and antic in this sub-continent of India. Each hill dale, tower and tree, each altar, cenotaph and ne furnishes a legend of its own. Here you will streams to angle in, dense teak-forest, deer and s galloping from one place to another, much, in rt, to please the eye and gratify the taste. On your and at a distance of about twelve miles from ipur you reach the percipitous precincts of the ous silver and lead mines of Zawar, where the rdest Rajput of splendid courage—Rana Pratap—ided to take up arms once more and keep alive the ering flames of Rajsthan's life. This is the celebrated ot where the public-spirited and benevolent Bhama h, the hereditary Prime Minister of Mewar, sought his great master and offered everything he pos-ed for the liberation of the broken, crushed, and but annihilated country he loved. You will further et interesting aboriginal tribesmen, the Bhils, and e glimpses of the sweet and simple Indian jungle they lead, the humble life so close to nature. You observe how they are racing after their wandering tle or joining in some merry rustic romp. Their life full of mystery, romance, starvation and drudgery. ey will not like to be caught up in the current of twentieth century.

I am not aware of the precise period of the ction of the temple. But one of the inscriptions, the nail-headed character, records that as far back the year 1431 V.S. one Hardan Seth, under the structions of his spiritual Guru Bhatarak Shri Dharamkirti, got it repaired and illuminated it with a ght that will never die down. Another important ord inscribed on stone narrates that the Mandap Navchawki, in front of the idol, was erected by Shri Hansa in 1572 V.S. Tiny shrines all over the ple, wherein are placed a number of gods and ddesses, were raised by the descendants of Seth pat in 1754. Gandhi Vijayachand and Seth Guman and Bapna crowned the temple with high loopholed lls and arcade in the years 1863 and 1889 respec-ly.

Among the wonders of the place is the inner temple, in which is installed the idol, called Shri Risabhdeo or Keshariaji or Kalaji or Adi Baba, the first Jain Tirthankar and the eighth Tirthankar of the Hindus. The idol is about five feet high and is made of black marble of exquisite beauty and magnificence. All around the temple you will witness, with thrill, no less than seventy-six statues, resplendently installed in small shrines. Of these thirty-eight are

Shri Keshariaji (Rishabhdeo), Dhulev, Mewar

connected with the Jain Digambar Sect and eleven with the Swetambar Sect. These images, the inscriptions reveal, were enshrined between 1611 and 1863 V.S. Mahadeo and Hindu Tirthankars, in white or black granite, come into actual contact with the Jain deities. Majestic in its isolation stands a Mumba or pulpit, whence a Muslim can enunciate the dogma of Mohamed, "There is but one God." Intolerance of difference is a hardy plant and in its refined form exists even in countries that loudly boast of their civilisation. But this temple goes a long way to prove that in spite of innumerable taboos real tolerance exists in India.

It is impossible to do full justice to the architectural beauty of the place. Its vaulted roofs are a perfect model of the most ancient style of dome in the East, probably invented anterior to the Roman architecture.

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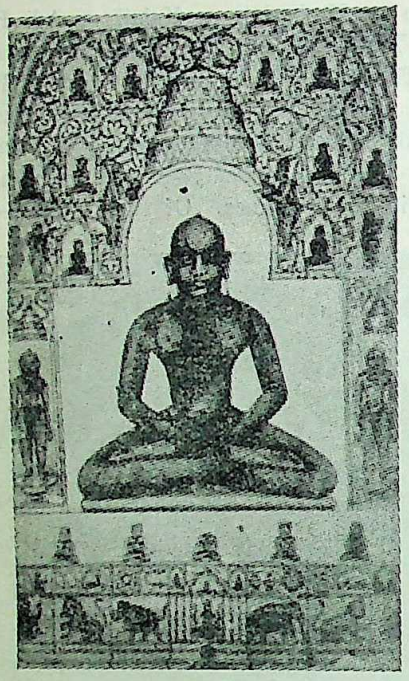
The temple is surrounded by abundant space. There is space for the establishments of the priests, for the numerous resident worshippers, and for a constant influx of votaries, numbering about more than a lakh per year. Those whom ambition has cloyed, superstition unsettled, and commerce ruined may be found as ascetic attendants. Determined upon renouncing the world, they first renounce the ties that bind them to it. No blood-stained sacrifice scares away the timid devotees, no austerities terrify, no tedious ceremonies fatigue them. From the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the holy Ganges, from the great uplands of the Deccan and the country stretching up from the snow-clad majestic northern fringe of the Himalayas down to Cape Comorin, gifts, more especially in the form of saffron, worth about a lakh of rupees per year, lavishly pour in. No donation is too great or too trifling.



Shri Rishabhdeo

The Muslims, so the legend runs, attempted to invade this common place of pilgrimage in or about the year 1792, and the Marathas, under the leadership of Sadashiv Rao, desired to over-run it during the year 1863. But the Bhils are reported to have repelled the assailants with stubborn courage. With swords and spears, bows and arrows the Bhils dealt death on every side, charging and wheeling and charging again, heedless of the loss they were suffering. Fighting desperately the invaders were driven out, and the tide of victory, after dreadful carnage, turned in favour of the defenders.

——:O:——

DHARAPAT TEMPLE

By RABINDRANATH CHAUDHURI

Member, Institute of Archaeology, London University

In the ancient land of Bankura[1] during the pre- and early mediaeval period a strong Jain culture, the history of advancement and decay of which could not be fully traced out, abruptly developed on the banks of the two principal rivers, *viz.*, the Dhalakisore or Darakeswar and the Kansavati.[2] The chain of temples which sustained the flow of Jain culture are noted below :

1. River Dwarakeswar—
   - (*i*) Sonatapol Temple, Police Station—Bankura, Bankura Subdivision.
   - (*ii*) Siddheswar Temple,[3] P.S. Onda, Bankura Subdivision.
   - (*iii*) Deulbherya Temple, P.S. Chattana, Bankura Subdivision.
   - (*iv*) Dharapat Temple, P. S. Vishnupore, Vishnupore Subdivision.
   - (*v*) Parashmani Temple (or Parsvanath) at Panchal, P. S. Vishnupore, Vishnupore Subdivision.
2. River Kansavati—
   - (*i*) Ambika Temple (Jain Smasanadevi), P. S. Ranibandh, Bankura Subdivision.

1. "Bankura, the westernmost District of the Burdwan Division (in Bengal Province), is situated between deg. 23 37m. and deg. 22 54m. north latitude, and between deg. 87 33m. and deg. 88 51m. east longitude."—*Statistical Account of the Bankura District* by Hunter.

2. "Colonel Dalton identifies the Bhumij with the 'Vajra-Bhumi' of Jain legendary history, who hunted with dogs and arrows the deified saint Mahavira, when engaged in performing an ascetic pilgrimage through their country. The conjecture is strongly supposed by the prevalence of Jain remains in many parts of Manbhum District, and by the tradition of both Bhumij and Hos that a people called Sarawakas, who can hardly be other than Jains, were the earliest civilised inhabitants in Manbhum and the eastern portion of Singbhum . . ." (Ancient Bankura was included within this area). —*A Statistical Account of Bengal* (Vol. XVII) by W. W. Hunter, (pp. 278-79).

3. (*i*) "The Siddheswar temple at Bahulara in the Bankura District is probably the finest specimen of a brick-built Rekha temple of the mediaeval period now standing in Bengal."—*Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculpture in the Dacca Museum* by N. K. Bhattasali, M.A. (p. xvi).

(*ii*) *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* by Dr. Coomaraswamy, (PL.LXII. 213).

(*iii*) *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (1921-22) p. 84 and (1922-23) p. 59.

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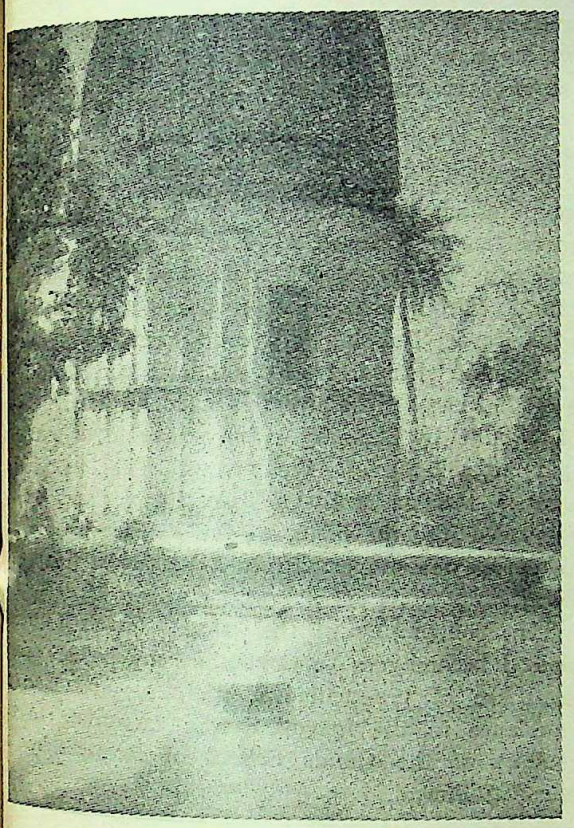
(ii) A demonished Temple of Parsvanath, P.S. Ranibandh, Bankura Subdivision.

Stray particulars though not complete history of the temples are still available from different sources, from the references of various chronological manuscripts of this area, Vaishnava Puthi, architectural evidence of the temple and from the iconography of the nature of the images.



Dharapat Temple

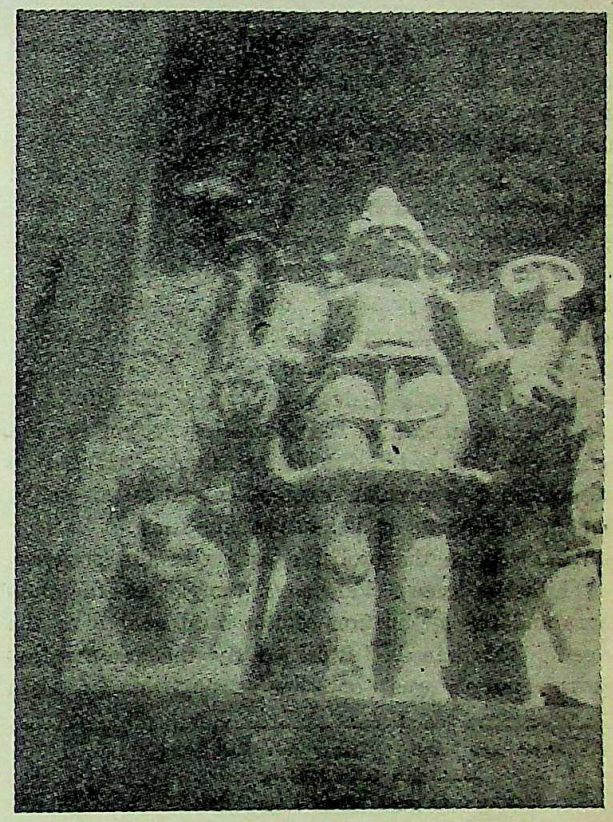
In this article, Dharapat, a Jain temple of early medieval period, is the subject of our discussion. Before proceeding any further I acknowledge my indebtedness to Sri Maniklal Singh, M.A., Editor, *Silpee*, of Vishnupore, who enlightened me about the preliminary details of the temple. Accordingly we visited the site on May 7, 1950. I am also thankful to Sri Susilranjan Sengupta, B.A., who has rendered me valuable assistance in connection with compilation of this work.

II

The temple is situated on the northern bank of the river Dwarakeswar within Vishnupore Police Station in Vishnupore Subdivision of Bankura District and is five miles off from Vishnupore Railway Station on the B.N.R. line.

The temple is built of heavy laterite-stone and is about forty feet in height. The massive fort-shaped structure of the temple, with its two doors facing south and west which is an exception to the general rule, is quite unlike those of other existing temples of Bengal. The temple is of South Indian type and bears similarity to the Jagannath Temple of Puri and the Temple of Bhubaneswar.

Three life-size images, one of Vishnu followed by Swaraswati and Lakshmi and the other two of Mahavira—nude, in standing posture, attended on both the sides by similar statuettes twenty-four in number (the



Vishnu, Dharapat Temple

tradition among the Jains is that these twenty-four figures represent the twenty-four Jain Thirthankars and the Muktipath-pradarshaka is Mahavira)—and Parsvanath, belonging to the Jain Digamvara sect, are placed on the outer body of the temple. It is apparent that those images were shifted from their original positions and were subsequently placed there.

A stone-tablet, now damaged, was placed at the top of the southern door of the temple stating that it was erected by a Samanta Raja named Adesraja of Dharapat in the 15** Shakabdya. Another reference is also available from Puthi Sahitya, *Madanmohan Bandana*, composed by one Ratan Kaviraj (or Ratan Kavi) in the 1011th to 1013th year of the Malla Era (1703-1705 A.D.), regarding the king of Dharapat, one of the feudal chiefs under the Vishnupore Raj, who was summoned by Raghunath Singha, son of Vir Hambir of Vishnupore, to render military assistance in his battle against Shah Sujah, the Nawab of Raj

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Mahal, and king Sabha Singha of Barda (near Chandrakona) in Midnapore district.[4] It is known from the old documents and *Madanmohan Bandana* that King Raghunath Singha approximately reigned about the period 1626-1656 A.D. (932 to 962 Malla Era). Though the last two figures of the stone-tablet erected by Adesraja in the temple are broken off, I infer that this tablet was inserted during the reign of Raghunath Singha and that the king of Dharapat mentioned in *Madanmohan Bandana* is none else than Adesraja.

Among the Malla kings of Vishnupore, Raghunath Singha was the first king to accept Vaishnava faith and it was he who introduced Vaishnavism in Mallabhum (Malla kingdom). That the said Samanta Raja too was of Vaishnava faith can be safely inferred from a name-plate inserted by him at the feet of an existing Radha-image. No permanent shrine is found in the temple. The image of Nangta Shyamchand, which is at present the principal deity, is placed on a wooden platform. Accordingly the temple is called the temple of Nangta Shyamchand.

The word *nangta* deserves special consideration. Nangta or Digamvara is the Bengali synonym for the English word "naked." Nangta or naked attributed to Shyamchand is a peculiar expression and is not to be found in the whole of Vaishnava literature.

What can be the probable reason of the presence, in a hitherto known Vaishnava temple, of the Jain images and the application of the word *nangta* to the image? This can be explained by the presumption that this temple was once a stronghold of Jain Digambara faith and the images of Mahavira and Parsvanath once occupied the central position of the temple. With the decay of the Jain faith in this region and the growth of Vaishnavism in the mediaeval period, these images were removed by the Vaishnava King Ades from their original position in order to make room for Shyamchand. Though the word Digambara or Nangta is inseparably connected with the Jain Digambara sect, it has, along with the conversion of the temple to its present form, come down to us as a past heritage and has thus come to be applied to Shyamchand.

III

Vishnupore is a city of temples. These temples most of which were built by Vir Hambir and Raghunath Singha of Vishnupore[5] bear, as regards structural characteristics, marked difference from the temple of Dharapat. From a close observation it is clear that the Dharapat Temple is of more primitive type. On the basis of structural evidence and considering the age of the temple I believe this is not, as stated in the tablet, built by Adesraja who was contemporary to Raghunath Singha of Vishnupore. The temple of Dharapat was originally a Jain temple and as the land passed into the hands of the Vaishnava king this Jain temple was converted into a Vaishnava temple by Adesraj.

The iconography of the three life-sized images discussed before goes to strengthen my belief. These images are of pre-mediaeval sculpture and bear no resemblance to the images carved according to the technique of the Gauda School of Iconography in Mediaeval Bengal.

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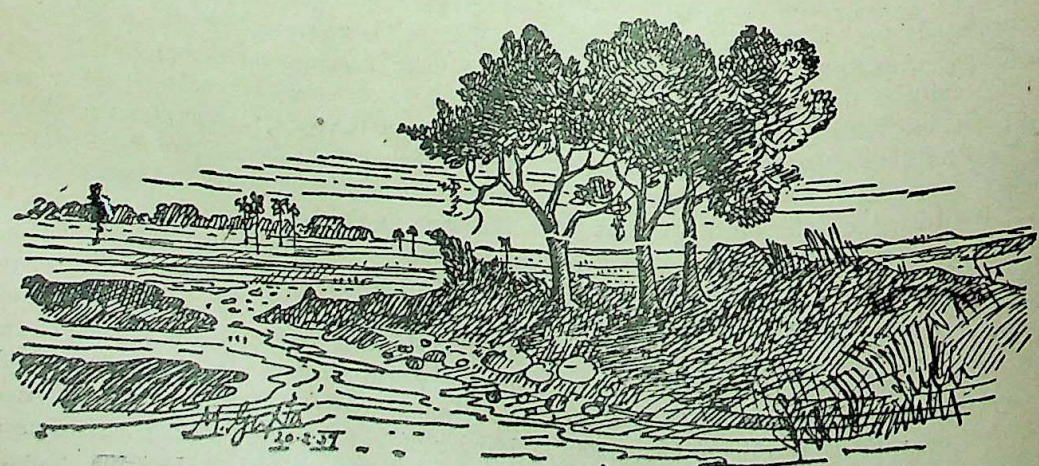
4. *Sujadi aila chadi sange fouz hazar kuri*
Aila fauz vilat lutibare
Prabhur mahima peya rajare siropa diya
Fire gela apanar ghare.
Jangi nuti kare ranga chode aila Sabha-singha

* * * *

Dharapat, Ramsagar, Paikpara, Yadavnagar,
Samanta rajarasav aise.
—*Madanmohan Bandana* by Ratan Kaviraj.

5. (*a*) The temples—Jor Bangla, Shyam Rai, Raghunath (at present known as Sri Sri Madan Gopal Deber Mandir) were built during the reign of Raghunath Singha.—Ref. *Madanmohan Bandana* by Ratan Kaviraj.

(*b*) *History of Bishnupore-Raj* (An Ancient Kingdom of West Bengal) by Abhaya Pada Mallik, B.A., B.T., pp. 41-43.



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ART OF SRI J. C. ROY

By J. P. GANGOOLY,

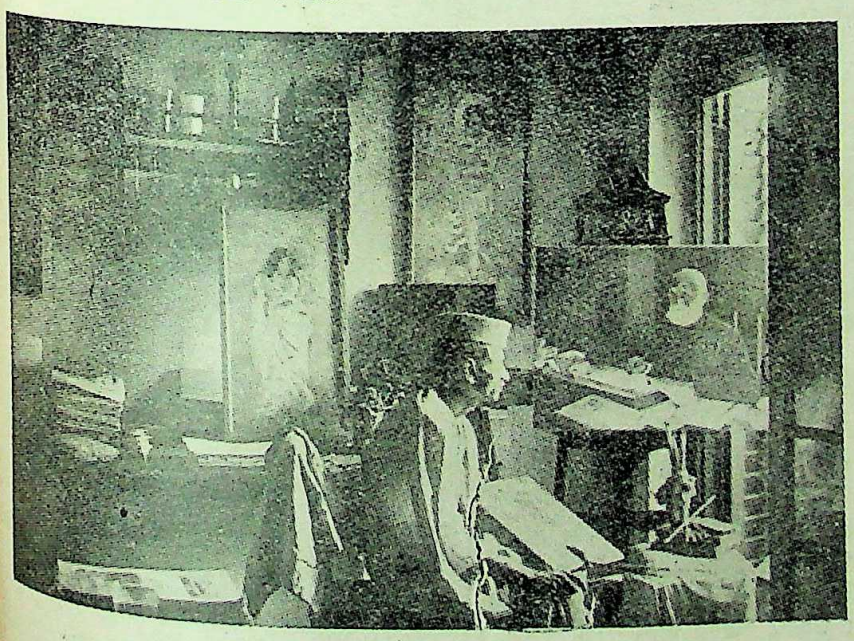
Cavalier to the Order of the Crown of Italy, and Ex-Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta

"The aims of Education in Art is to bring the highest gifts of imagination to bear upon Life and Nature."—G. F. Watts

With this view-point, Sri J. C. Roy, an artist of no mean order, has strenuously worked hard to discard the usual path of Portrait and Landscape Paintings as is followed by most artists. He took to the development of his emotional capacity and, thus to achieve altogether a different line of emotional and abstract representation of his own conception.

The World

Will-o-the-wisp



Art Chamber

To attain this, a strenuous and long-sustained effort was undoubtedly necessary, although it placed him beyond the reach of the general public to appreciate the aim and efforts of his unique productions, apart from the beaten track of others.

It must never be forgotten that there is a joy of contemplation no less than a joy of creation, a joy which pre-supposes understanding and responsiveness; and that joy varies directly according to the capacity for emotional receptiveness.

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Sri Roy, after deciding to discard the beaten track of the average artists of the day, has chosen the path of difficult and emotional subjects of sublime and abstract conception of life. The selection of subjects of his paintings, in which he delights, is not appropriately understood by the general public of average intellect unless the intention of the artist is fully explained. Nevertheless it pleases him and that is all he really cares for.

His pictures of abstract subjects "The World," "Niyati," "Soul of the Country," "Midnight," "Truth," "The Moon," "Activity," "Will-o-the Wisp," "Nathabhru," "Gold Mohor," etc., are the typical examples of his art, the emotional aspects of which his close friends are proud to applaud. His pictures need full explanations to be appreciated by lay men and even by his brother artists of average talent. It must be admitted that when explained they are found to be highly educative, poetic in character and out of the common run.

A peculiar nature of his character is that he never exhibits his pictures in any Exhibitions in India and is fond of absolute seclusion, keeping himself away from the gaze of the art-loving public. I have often argued just to induce him to exhibit his works, but "No" was his obstinate reply. He prefers his "Art Chamber" to Exhibitions.

Sri J. C. Roy is the Curator of the Calcutta Corporation and is in charge of all their valuable collections. The Corporation is justly proud of his services.

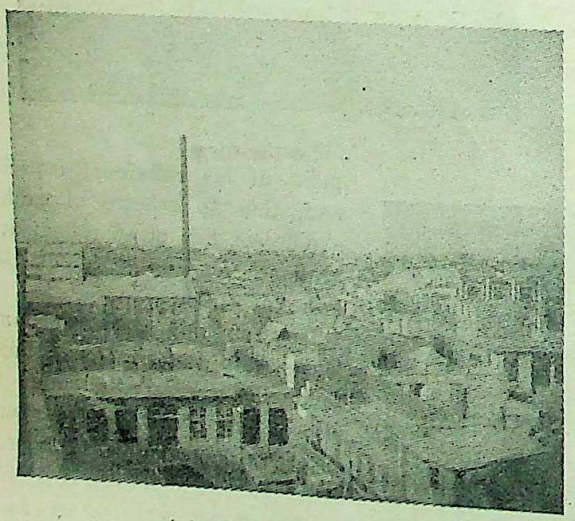
What I admire most, apart from his art, is his sympathetic and helpful nature towards others who may happen to come in contact with him. He is ever ready to extend genuine help if he can possibly do it, and takes a pride in it.

——:O:——

BAGHDAD
The City of Legend and History

By P. K. RAVINDRANATH

One is unconsciously reminded of the stories of the Arabian Nights and the glorious chapters of an immortal period in the history of man's culture and civilization, when one hears of Baghdad. And no wonder, for, Baghdad has a history that dates back to twelve centuries.



A view of modern Baghdad

The great highways of trade—the caravan routes of the world—intersected at a point, about 300 miles to the North-west of Basrah, at the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris. This point where the routes crossed each other for over 4000 years, in course of time became a hamlet, then a village, then a town and finally blossomed into the city of Baghdad. Baghdad became the focal point from which the trade routes branched off to the Mediterranean ports, the Persian Gulf ports, Turkey, Africa, Iran and India and the Far East. It was no wonder then, that the Caliphs, in search of a capital for their Abbassid Empire, pitched

The Tomb of Zubeida

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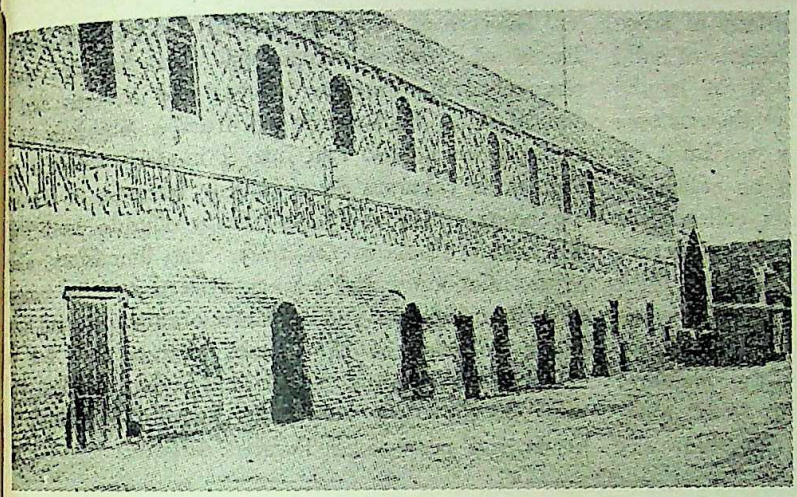
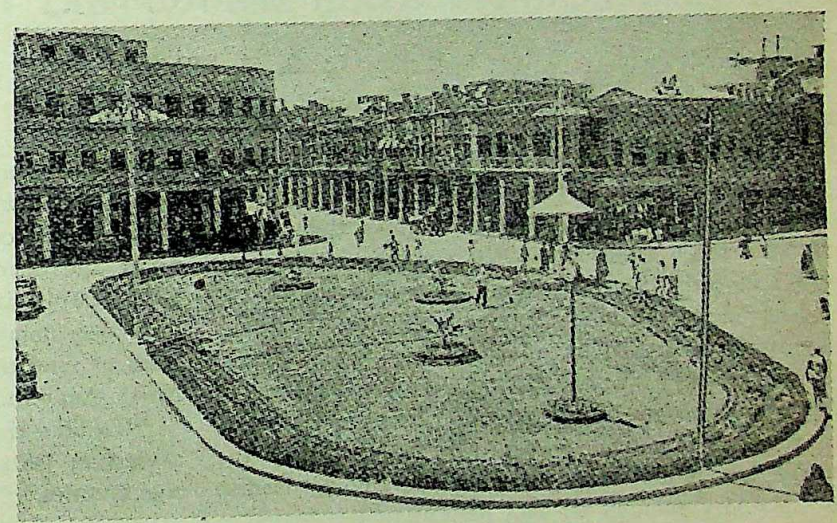
on Baghdad as the ideal city. They soon made it largest and most beautiful city in the world.

Baghdad, or the City of Peace, was built a little the north of the present site of modern Baghdad, Al Mansoor, one of the greatest Abbassid Caliphs 762 A.D. Modelled on a Roman Camp, it was a cular city, about two miles in diameter, with three separate walls around it. The walls made of sundried bricks provided the necessary protection from attacks. The battlements of the walls rose to about ninety feet from the ground. There were four gates leading out of the city to the desert highways and caravan routes.



Al Mustansiriyah
Courtesy : Royal Iraqi Consulate General, Bombay

Baghdad grew at the expense of other cities nearby, such as Basrah, Wasit and Damascus, for Mansoor demolished much of the best portions of these cities to build his capital. In the centre of the city was the Palace of the Caliphs. Outside the city gates were the bazaars and on the north were the encampments of Mansoor's army, on the banks of the river Tigris.



King Faisal II Square, Baghdad
Courtesy : Royal Iraqi Consulate General, Bombay

Mansoor's grandson, Harun, better known as Harun-al-Raschid who reigned from 786-809 A.D., made Baghdad the centre of the world's learning and arts. Harun himself was a poet and scholar of no mean merit. This also happened to be the period when paper was invented in China, and paper played a great part in people's literature and chronicles. The literary outpourings of Harun's poet and friend, Abu Nuwas, and the exploits of Harun himself are well-known. The tales of the Arabian Nights have lent glamour and charm to Harun-al-Raschid's name and to the city of Baghdad. Harun's wife, Zubeida, lies buried in the city, and to this day her tomb is a place of interest to sightseers in Baghdad.

After Harun's time, the city began to lose much of its importance. By about the middle of the 10th century, it was mostly in ruins due to a heavy flood. A new city began to grow up near the area where Mansoor's army had established their barracks. This site was the forerunner of the present-day Baghdad.

In 1258 A.D. Hulagu, a grandson of Jhengis Khan, and brother of Kublai Khan, sacked the city and put an end to the Abbassid Caliphate. The city was looted and set on fire. Tamerlane captured the city, during his exploits in 1374. In the fifteenth century, the King of Persia, Shah Ismael, occupied the area. Later on, in 1638, Sultan Murad, a Turk beseiged and sacked Baghdad. From this period onwards the history of Baghdad sinks into oblivion, till the capture of the city in 1917 by the British troops under Lt.-General Sir Stanley Mauder. Till that time Baghdad was a part of the Ottoman Empire. In 1921, the British installed King Faisal, a local chieftain as the king of Iraq, under their protection. Iraq acquired an independent status only in 1932, when she joined the League of Nations as a free member.

Baghdad is no longer the picturesque city of Harun-al-Raschid's time. A railway station today stands where Harun built his beautiful palace and

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gardens. Flat-roofed houses and venerable mosques stand on either side of a maze of narrow, winding alleys. Still retaining its oriental colour, Baghdad strives to be a modern, civilized city.

There are over a hundred mosques in Baghdad, most of them held in high esteem and reverence by Muslims the world over. Thousands of pilgrims flock to these holy shrines every year to pay their homage to the martyrs of Islam. The most important of these mosques, the Khadimain, the dome of which is of solid gold, is of special interest to Muslims. Right in the centre of the present city is what is today the customs house—a huge magnificent building. This was built by Caliph Mustansirh in 1233 and used to be called Al Mustansiriyah. This was designed to be a college, the foremost of its kind in the whole world. The structure of the building is still a matter of amazement even though it was built over seven hundred years ago.

At one end of Baghdad's busiest thoroughfare, Raschid Street is a museum of ancient Arab antiquities. The building that houses this museum was once a mosque built by Amin-ed-din Marjan, a governor of Baghdad in 1374 A.D. The exhibits and the building itself are of considerable interest.

The ancient and the modern are closely interlaced in Baghdad. Along with the mosques, the oriental bazaars and the winding alleys, Baghdad has an up-to-date aerodrome, good roads, rails and what could be termed a "Western way of life."

Everything appears unreal in modern Baghdad. Ruins of ancient buildings and bazaars contrast strangely with modern streets and squares and residential flats. Half-a-mile off from a labyrinth of evil-smelling lanes, you run into a modern well-laid drive. Dozens of cabarets do a roaring business in the evening hours, while scores of pimps offer to lead you to the best brothels in the town. The limousines, electric lights, telephones and sewage system and the museums of Arab antiquities and of Mesopotamian art and culture speak volumes of the great progress that has been achieved. The latest plastic and nylon articles can be seen in the old covered bazaars alongside with beads and pearls and Persian carpets.

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AN AMERICAN MOUNTAIN SCHOOL THAT TRAINS LEADERS

By O. K. ARMSTRONG

SITUATED in that ruggedly beautiful area of the Ozark Mountains known as the Shepherd-of-the-Hills country is probably one of the most unique educational institutions in the United States—a school that admits only students without money. It is a school that gives boys and girls from mountain homes a chance at academic and vocational training, in return for which they work in its fields, dairy barns, stone quarry, canning factory, machine shop and other facilities to help pay their way.

Since its founding 42 years ago, the School of the Ozarks has followed the ideal of developing leaders for isolated communities. The institution has given to the surrounding region, comprising about two dozen counties in the midwestern States of Missouri and Arkansas, some of the area's most outstanding farmers and stock-breeders, and farm home-makers among its girl graduates, with a good sprinkling of highly successful business and professional men and women as well. The campus is called Point Lookout, for it lies on a plateau 200 feet above the winding, picturesque White River, and from the administration building there is a breath-takingly beautiful panorama of the valley and the wooded hills beyond.

President R. M. Good, guiding spirit of the school, is as rugged, honest and informal as the hills about him. He is of medium build, slightly stooped, with a bronzed face and enormous mouth that breaks easily into a smile when he talks. Especially when he talks about his School of the Ozarks. From humble beginnings, the School of the Ozarks has grown to a $2,000,000 institution, with 20 major buildings, more than that number of homes and work facilities, 640 acres of land and one of the best Jersey herds in all North America. Only 250 students can be admitted.

"We take the ones recommended as most needy and as having least educational advantages in their home communities," Mr. Good explained. "Entrance requirements are no money, but intelligence and willingness to work."

The president holds firmly to these two theories about an education: First, that schooling is of no value unless it teaches a youth that nothing is accomplished without hard work. Second, Mr. Good believes that schools should prepare young men and young women to point the way to progress for their own communities. Proudly he tells of the high percentage of School of the Ozarks youths who now occupy positions of influence in the communities where they were reared.

The School, organized by church leaders at the suggestion of a young Presbyterian minister, held its

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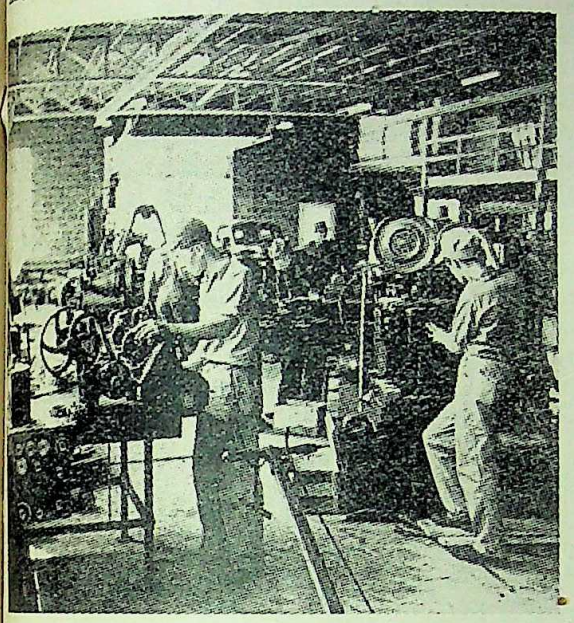
classes in 1907. During the early years, students in on horseback and afoot from mountain cabins solated communities. Few had seen electric lights now anything about modern plumbing. The very



Future machinists are trained in the School of the Ozarks, a school for mountain children in the American South

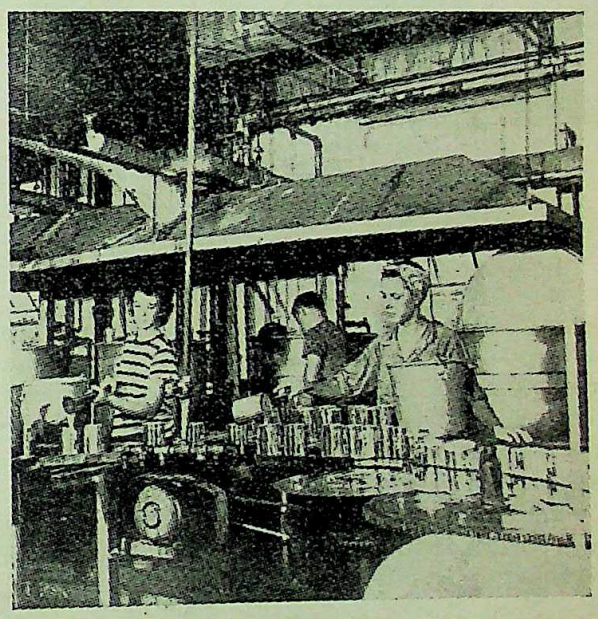
st pupil to enroll was Clint McDade, a boy in eralls who walked the 10 miles from Bradleyville, ssouri. Today, McDade is America's leading grower orchids. He owns two world-famous orchid collections, one at his Signal Mountain greenhouses at attanooga, Tennessee, and the other the growings Sandhurst, England, largest in the 100-year history orchid raising.

Only grade-school subjects were taught at first. radually high-school classes were added. In 1913, the st high-school graduate got his diploma. He was seph Gideon. Today he is a distinguished lawyer, rving at prosecuting attorney of his home county—a vic leader of his boyhood community.

Mr. Good took over as president in 1921. He arried one of the teachers, and Mrs. Good has remained his close partner in administering the school. The students call her "Mrs. Sunshine" because of her heerful disposition and helpful advice.

Since practically all the students came from farm omes, and Mr. Good hoped most of them would go ack to their farms, his biggest need was to get more and to demonstrate how to make a living from the oil. With private donations he purchased a tract of 00 acres and erected new farm buildings. One of the st students to work on the dairy farm is today one south Missouri's best dairymen. He farms and ases 1,018 acres of typical Ozarks plateau soil, handling around 4,000,000 pounds of milk from his 85 splendid Guernsey cows. His dairy farm is a standing demonstration for all the Ozarks area of the most modern methods of milk production and marketing.

Of the 250 students presently enrolled, 210 live an average of 16 miles from a railroad, 8 miles from a high school and 4 miles from a school-bus route. Forty-two are orphans or from broken homes. No student is accepted who can pay his way at some other school. Each student works 16 hours a week during the 9-month term, and in addition, stays for 60 days of work in the summer, as part payment for the year's course. The cost per student is more than the value of the work done, and numerous individuals and organizations sponsor one or more students, making up the difference with gifts. Students pay for clothing and other necessities in hours of work. The president grins knowingly as he comments: "That is to teach them what many young people are not learning today—that every product can be translated into terms of labor."



Students of the School of the Ozarks are working in the modern cannery which has a capacity of 30,000 cans a day

Two graduates of the School of the Ozarks, the farm superintendent and the head of vocational agriculture, are the key men in farm training. Both grew up on Ozarks farms and both went on to the University of Missouri. They have laid out a model farm with orchard, small gardens and poultry runs. About everything raised on a small upland farm can be seen growing here. All foodstuffs that can be canned are processed at the big canning factory belonging to the school. It is the best cannery in the Ozarks, with a capacity of about 30,000 cans a day. Principal products

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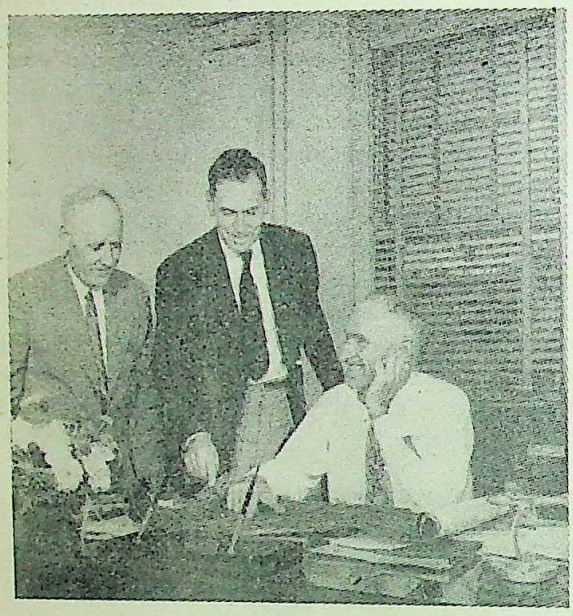
are green beans, tomatoes, carrots and blackberries, along with applesauce, corn, sauerkraut and numerous other items. Arrangements are made with neighboring growers to take their crops for canning, and students do the gathering. Only youths 16 years or older work in the cannery.



Seated at his desk R. M. Good, President of the School of the Ozarks, chats with Joseph Gideon, the first student to receive a high-school diploma from the institution and M. Graham Clark, Jr., Vice-President of the School

The famous "Hyer quality" Jersey herd got its start in 1939 with a gift from Wilkins Hyer, chairman of the trustees of the school. The herd now numbers 80, all with proved bloodlines which combine some of the most outstanding Jersey bulls and brood cows. Three of the school's senior bulls are world-famous. There are 12 cows in the herd rated excellent, and 38 rated very good, with classification average of 88.03 per cent—one of the highest-type ratings of any herd on the North American continent. Under the master dairyman and his assistant herdsman students of the school do the feeding, bedding, milking and keeping of the records. In May, 1948, the National Jersey Association held a two-day meet at the school to honor Wilkins Hyer and the school's contribution to developing the breed.

The School of the Ozarks is an accredited high school and the faculty maintains strict standards, skilfully correlating the academic, vocational agricultural and industrial arts programs. The U. S. Division of Forestry assists in a demonstration of the right use of timber. For industrial training, there are numerous projects. Important is the stone quarry, which furnishes the rock for all the buildings of the campus. In a completely equipped machine-shop boys who are mechanically inclined begin engineering careers. All the school's utilities are handled by students. There is a wood-working mill, where numerous articles are made from native cedar. A printing plant turns out the school's publications.

Home economics for the girls is the real thing. Every day is cooking and baking day, for there are three meals to serve to 250 hungry youths. The arts of homemaking are mastered in the dormitories and modern laundry. In the weaving room are 10 large looms and several smaller table models from which flow a steady stream of beautiful fabrics.

The school places strong emphasis upon family life, and is proud of the fact that up to July 1948, a total of 62 couples have married as a result of friendships begun at Point Lookout. The students are told that the work they are doing is just a sample of what they will have to do all their lives in order to grow crops, raise stock, construct buildings, practise law, build homes and rear their families.

The school is proud of its tradition of being supported entirely by gifts, without any financial drives of any kind, and of its record of never borrowing money, never going in debt, and always paying its bills when due. Mr. Good writes countless letters telling of the school's work and needs. He also adds to his bank of goodwill by sending out about a thousand fruitcakes—made by the girls in the school's kitchen—at Christmas time. "I want people to give only because they believe in our work," he says.

Because of such giving, a conservatory-of-music building nears completion. Foundations are laid for a library, another boys' dormitory, a chapel with tower and chimes, and a building to house the classes and laboratories in science and vocational agriculture—donated largely by a friend, in honor of his mother. Through the years, President Good has been able to keep an adequate faculty and staff because they serve from a sense of worth-while endeavor.

As the new vice-president of the school remarked, "I was challenged by what is being done here, and what can be done in the future, with these splendid potential leaders of this area of American life."—From *Country Gentleman.*

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RESURRECTION AND MAINTENANCE

By ADRIS BANERJI

The Archaeological Department was established in 1862, with Major General Sir Alexander Cunningham, as the first Director-General. The scope of Cunningham's work was "to make an accurate survey of such as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it is traceable and the record of the traditions that are retained regarding them." But his survey did not extend to Madras and Bombay Presidencies, whose charge was given to Dr. James Burgess in 1874. General Cunningham devoted practically all his time to the question of Indian Geography with particular reference to the itinerary of the Chinese pilgrims and to determine the identity of the Buddhist holy places. In those days modern methods of Archaeology were unknown and the diggings that were carried out at Sanchi, Bodh-Gaya (he restored the Mahabodhi Temple) and Sarnath were not productive of any good results except in acquiring a few Museum specimens. With the exceptions of a few provincial surveys, nothing was left of the Archaeological Survey within a few years of Cunningham's retirement. It was in 1902, that the interrupted work was recommenced by Mr. John Marshall at the instance of Lord Curzon. Sir John Marshall's achievements lie in training a proper personnel for conservation and excavation, men who earned international reputation in the pursuit of their profession. He rebuilt the present Archaeological Department, as it is known to us at present; made it a Central charge, cordinated all its heterogeneous activities; saved hundreds of buildings from rack and ruin, and established a dozen museums. His period is indeed a period of renaissance as far as Indological studies are concerned. In less than six years after Lord Curzon's departure attempts were made to undo his great work but without success. Again in 1919 this department did not escape the attentions of the Inchchape Committee but it survived to exhibit to the world the prehistoric civilisation of the Indus Valley. This historical *resume* had become necessary to explain the limitations under which we had to work.

Archaeology is broadly divisible into two groups, prehistoric and historic; the exact division between these are always more or less of an academic nature, and depend upon the peculiar conditions obtaining in the region. Prehistory is again divisible into four great periods: Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Aneolithic and Chalcolithic. As far as Palaeolithic and Neolithic culture of India is concerned, more spade work has yet to be done before we can come to any conclusion. Our prehistoric antiquities were collected, and not found in proper settlements. Only recently, Major Wauchope made some trial diggings in Hyderabad and Mysore States and found Palaeolithic and Neolithic artifacts and Iron Age pottery. In Central Provinces, Mr. A. Ghose found some Microliths in the course of his excavations. The Chalcolithic period of India is better known as the "Indus Valley Civilisation," because of the numerous sites found in that valley belonging to that period. With the exception of Kotla Nihang, in the Ambala district of the Punjab and Rangpur in the Limbdi State, which were explored by Mr. M. S. Vats, all the remains of the Chalcolithic period were found in the Indus Valley.

Towards the end of the Stone Age, a revolutionary discovery was made. Primitive man learnt that certain stones melted in fire and became hard when cold. Thus dawned the age of metals. It is conceivable that metal did not supplant stone suddenly. In the very beginnings metallic tools and weapons would not be available to many. The masses, therefore, would continue to use stone artifacts. This intermediate stage between pure metal and pure stone is known as aneolithic. The latest levels in the "Stupa area" at Mohenjodaro seem to have been aneolithic, inasmuch as, cherts and flakes were found there in fairly large quantity. Since the earliest levels at Mohenjodaro has yet to be reached we may suspend our final judgment, instead of attempting any dogmatic assertion. At Mohenjodaro, remains of 14 or 15 superimposed cities have been found, of which few only have so far been unearthed. The culture of Mohenjodaro springs before our eyes ready made, and its origin is probably to be sought for in Paleolithic and Neolithic settlements. This conclusion is based on two different kinds of evidences, first from the behaviour of its art which tells us that it had long experience behind it. The second is that our materials are derived from vast cities which were built not in a day. Not only the civilization is urban but the people had developed amenities, such as town-planning, drainage, public baths and attempted preventions against inundations. The city of Mohenjodaro flourished between 3100 to 2700 B.C.[1] The excavations have helped us to realise two more aspects of the life of this forgotten people. The city life here was far more ahead of what

1. This date is not accepted by many. Men of same professions agree to differ.

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was anything known in Sumer (south Mesopotamia) and Egypt; and they had commercial intercourse between them is proved to the hilt. The primary basis of life was agriculture. Domestic animals existed, and wheat was the staple food. The crafts of the potter and goldsmith were flourishing. The wheel was known. Glazed fabrics were made. Beads of larger articles and of faience were used. Vessels were made of copper, silver, shell and clay. In glyptic arts, the figures of the animals are remarkable for their vivacity and real feeling for naturalism and form. Carving in marble, like the prehistoric people of Anyang (in China) had made some progress. Cremation was practised at Mohenjodaro, and it was the custom to deposit the ashes in urns or in small brick shrines—the origin probably of the Buddhist custom of *Stupas*. In one case a skull had been ritually buried. The religion of Mohenjodaro man was polytheism. They worshipped the mother goddess, the phallus; believed in tree-worship, chief of which was the *pippala* (*ficus relegiosa*) of the Buddhists; and their trees were surrounded by railings or by raised platforms—*Chaitya Vrikshas* of the Epic period. They had a system of weights. On sealings and plaques their divinities are found seated in a posture called by Patanjali at a later date as *Yoga*.

Harappa is another great site, seals and sealings from which were already known since Cunningham's days though their values were not appreciated till the discoveries at Mohenjodaro were made. It was older than Mohenjodaro and was unearthed at an early date. It was first attempted by the late D. R. Sahni but the major portion of the diggings have been made by Mr. M. S. Vats, to whom we owe the two magnificent volumes on Harappa. It is a monument to his industry, labour and skill. The devastation of the site, the fragmentary nature of the remains must have proved baffling to the explorer. Nevertheless, the harvest has been rich. He has found a vast granary to compensate the great bath of Mohenjodaro, only of its kind in India. Huge cemeteries of two different periods with funerary of a type different from those in daily use have been found. Painted pottery was numerous at Harappa which it shares in common with the Chalcolithic stations in Zhob valley.[2]

At Nal, in Baluchistan, Mr. H. Hargreaves found a provincial variant of the Harappa culture, and his good work was continued by Sir Aurel Stein, who found scores of similar sites in ancient Makran and Turan, as well as on the borderland between Iran and Turan. It was now necessary that a thorough survey of the Indus Valley should be made to throw more light to enrich the history of Indology. This difficult task was later on entrusted to the late N. G. Majumdar, who was unfortunately shot dead in 1938 by some Baluchis. He located 200 Chalcolithic sites. He found another culture underlying the Mohenjodaro culture at Chanhu-Daro (since excavated by the late E. J. H. Mackay) and Amri. Some of the sites were also noticed by the late R. D. Banerjee in the course of his explorations.

Copper was the earliest of metals to be used and was succeeded by iron. A curious position, however, exists in Southern India. There was no Copper or Bronze age, the use of stone was directly supplanted by iron; what is more, this Iron Age culture was primarily megalithic. Megaliths are stone architectural remains associated with the dead. It means a large stone. The term was officially adopted at the 'International Congress of Pre-Historic Archaeology and Anthropology in 1867' as proper designation of monuments built of huge or small stones. The megalithic remains in South India have been found and systematically surveyed all over the Madras Presidency. They have been found at Aditanallur, in the Tamraparni valley, Perumbair in Chingleput district; Perungalam near Tellichery in Malabar district; Kaniyampundex and Sirimangai in the Coimbatore district; Ujjalkonda in the Karnool district. The excavations have revealed a highly developed culture in which iron weapons and tools were made. Rice was the staple food. Beads of carnelian were used. The gold-smith's and potter's arts were flourishing and ornaments of shell and gold were worn. They have furnished us with a variety of burial customs. At Aditanallur complete skeletons in urns as well as fractional burial were found. At Perumbair, the burial places were marked by stone circles—chromlechs, in the centre of which were clay sarcorphagus or cist. At Perungalam caves dug out of laterite rock were utilised as burial places. Kainiyampunde, Sirimangai and Ujjalkonda supplied us with further details about cromlech burials. At Sirimangai stone flakes were associated with iron objects. The policy generally was a polished red and black ware. Lugged pottery, absent in Indus Valley, was found at Perumbair. At Perungalam a red jar with four legs was found. These are but fragments which convey to us an idea about the megalithic culture of South India. Further studies are likely to be more helpful in future.

Amongst the historical sites excavated between 1902-43 may be mentioned Takht-i-Bahi, Shari-Bahlol, Shahji-ka-dehri, Kalawan, Jandial, Mohra-Moradu, Jaulian, Giri and the seven cities of Taxila [3(?) at Bhir-mound]; 3 cities of Sirkap-Greek, Parthian and Scythian cities; the Sirsukh-Kushana city destroyed by Huns in the Punjab and N.-W. F. Province. Sarnath, Kasia, Sankissa, Kasipur, Ramnagar, Maholi, Saheth Maheth Bhita and Rajghat in U.P., Nalanda,

2. It is now the custom to describe the culture found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro as "Harappa culture."

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ajina, Rajgir, Lauria-Nandangarh in Bihar, Paharpur, angamati, Mahasthangarh and Gokul in Bengal, maravati, Jagayapetta and Nagarjjunikonda in adras Presidency, Sanchi and Besnagar in the hopal State, now in Malava-desa.

Taxila, and hundreds of ruins on the hill tops rrounding the Taxila valley, engaged the attention Sir John Marshall for 20 years and the results have to be published. It has resulted in the discovery human habitation from circa 7th century B.C. to A.D. The explorations revealed a pre-Macedonian of irregular streets and a provincial culture over mains of which the Post-Alexandrian city and auryan city were built.[3] The finds show cultural inities between India and the countries beyond the ndu-Kush. In Mauryan times, the culture was pre-minantly Indian; but the school of sculpture, that mbellished Pataliputra, Sanchi, Sarnath, etc., is nspicuous by its absence. The city in Bhir-mound—e present name of the early cities of Taxila was estroyed by the Bactrian Greeks, who built their ty in orthodox Greek plan (?) at a place now called rkap. It was occupied by the Parthians and Scythians ho circumscribed the city and girt it with a stone-all with square towers instead of the mud defences the Greeks. This city was destroyed *probably* by adphises, who built the last city of Taxila, burnt d destroyed by Huns, who reduced the whole valley ashes. From this devastation Taxila never re-vered, it gradually passed into oblivion, so that its ry name was forgotten and till 1914 it was called *Sirraikala*'.

The excavations of Kasia, Sarnath and Sankissa e well known to you. They have resulted in the dis-very of the 'Banaras School of Art' which existed om Suriga times, till long after the downfall of dian independence at the hands of the Turkish nverts to Islam. The common belief that all 'Arts d Crafts' came to a sudden end after the second attle of Tarain, and the subsequent series of Muslim ctories against effete mediaeval monarchies is no nger tenable. We have found at Nurpur a temple, e ruins of a magnificent temple, built in post-uhammadan times. In the ruins of Mansingh's mple of Viswanath we do find the same school or yle even after *Taj-ul-Ma"sir"s* flamboyant claims at 2000 infidel temples were destroyed at Banaras to ild mosques. In some uncanny way, memory of the rmer art traditions survived, particularly naturalistic abesques and other designs harmless to the faithful.

In Bihar, the excavations were undertaken of the mous city Pataliputra, the capital of two Indian mpires, by the late Dr. Brainard Spooner, who found e wooden palisade of the great city and the columnar architecture of the Mauryan palace having remarkable analogies with the "Hall of Audience" of Xerexes and Darius at Persepolis. Unfortunately the rebuilding of the city in modern times has made excavations impossible much as we would like to continue it because of the imperishable grandeur of its name.

Nalanda, a famous seat of ancient learning, was first taken in hand by the late Dr. Spooner and was continued by his successors at the expense of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. Lauria-Nandangarh is another site excavated by the late Dr. Th. Bloch and N. G. Majumdar.

At Paharpur, the late R. D. Banerji found partially the terraced temple associated with the name of Dharmapala. It has remarkable analogies with the temple No. 1 at Ramnagar. This type of temples is known to *Manasara* as 'Panchala temples.' Scientific deductions, unbiassed and without haste, are required to fix the origin and development of this type of temples, whose logical development, under the influence of luxuriant vegetation of Melanesian jungles, seems to have been the Sailendra temple at Borobudur. Let us not however be hasty and generalise. The missing links and proof of transformations are still wanting and it would not be in the interest of science to be over-imaginative. The excavations at Paharpur were completed by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, who also explored Mahasthangarh, Rangamati, etc. At Mahasthangarh, a fortified city, we have found remains belonging to the 8th to 14th century of the Christian era, the ruins of a city made famous by Kalhana, Hiuen-Tsang and others. Sanchi and Besnagar were excavated by Sir John Marshall and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, respectively. Sanchi has furnished monuments from circa 250 B.C. to 1200 A.D. It happens to be one of the best conserved ancient remains in the whole of India. All these were done at the expense of the Bhopal Durbar. Besnagar in Gwalior State represents the remains of ancient Vidisa, the scene of Agnimitra's amours in Kalidasa's *Malavikagnimitram*. It has been immortalised by one interesting relic, an inscribed pillar of Heliodorus, a Greek convert to Hinduism and an ambassador of King Antalkidas.

In Madras Presidency, Nagarjjunikonda, originally excavated by A. H. Longhurst, was further explored by Mr. T. N. Ramchandran. It has led to the discovery of a *stupa* of Amaravati type, later in date; apsidal temples, monasteries with epigraphs proving that the establishments were built in the time of Ikshaku monarches who succeeded the Andhras in the Krishna valley. At this place Mr. Ramachandran made an interesting discovery. A seemingly solid image of Buddha turned out to be hollow containing

3. Further excavations at this place were carried out by Dr. R. E. Mortimer-Wheeler in 1944-45.

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It is necessary now to cross the inhospitable passes and gorges of Karakoram and the Hindu-Kush to take stock of the results following Asoka's attempt at spreading his adopted faith beyond the confines of its native land. For this forgotten epoch of our colonial history we are indebted to English scholars like Rudolf Hoernle, Sir George McCartney, Col. Bower and Sir Aurel Stein; Germans like Von Le Coqu and Grunweddel and Russian travellers like Roerich. Altogether Stein made three expeditions to Central Asia in 1902, 1906-08 and 1913-16. He excavated in Khotan, Khadaliq, Niya, Charkhaliq, Turfan, Aksu, Mazar-Tagh, etc. His researches have led to the find of Hindu and Buddhist remains. The culture which was flourishing was fed by several streams, Iranian, Hellenistic, Indian, Chinese and Tibetan. Greatest contribution was that of India. In language, religion and paintings its share was undoubted. But other neighbouring territories are not lacking in their contributions. The script was Indian Kharosthi or the Northern Gupta alphabet; later came Chinese and still later Tibetan. The rich statuary of Rewak *stupa* and the wood carvings of the ancient site beyond Niya, reproduced with astonishing fidelity the motifs of the Indo-Hellenistic School of Gandhara. The frescoes of Dandan Uiliq bore signs of undoubted Chinese influence, yet with equal distinctiveness were found the leading features that characterise the paintings of immortal Ajanta. Further, the influences of Iranian art were also traceable there. So at one and the same place we find the Khotan Art, the product of three most ancient civilisations of the East, Indian, Iranian and Chinese. The seals and sealings found in the different sites bear eloquent testimony to the heterogeneous elements in the Khotanese culture. Stein was unable to explain where the figures of Pallus Athenae, Eros, etc., were engraved. But they were used by the officialdom of Khotan. Amongst the places visited by Stein were Khadaliq, Niya, deserted dwellings of Lop desert, Miran, Tun-Huang (some of whose paintings are now in New Delhi), Turfan, Aksa and Mazar Tagh in 1906-08. Then he led a third expedition in 1913-16 to these places.

We have so long been talking about what spade has done for, what time and man had tried to cheat us, I may now take you to another aspect of our departmental activity which is of no less importance, and distinguishes the Indian archaeological policy from that of other countries in the world. In Palestine, Mesopotemia, Arabia-Felix the ground is generally filled up after the planning and photographies of the excavated structures have been completed and antiquities removed, leaving no trace of the magnificent remains so eloquently described in the reports. In India, so far, the policy had been different. We have not only excavated, but maintained them, so that you and I can always see and appreciate what the ancients had left for us. How they lived, worshipped and died, so that the man in the street, the boy with his parents, the student and the professor, will all have a better chance of appreciation. Can you, for example, imagine the "Kankali Tila" mound or the Mamaipur mound at Muttra, representing the ruins of the Huvishka monastery? Just also try to imagine the desolation of Sarnath, without the hundreds of votive *stupas*, ruins of the seven monasteries, the fragmentary remains of the Main Shrine, all covered up again with antiquities transferred to Calcutta or Delhi; and the decomposing ruins of the Dhamek Stupa standing as a silent sentinel over the deserted corpse. You may reasonably enquire, "Do the money that you spend generally benefit the public, except in satisfying the aesthetics and antiquarian tastes of a few?" I do assert that archaeological excavations always lead to development. Let us take the example of Sarnath, which is near to you and you have a far better idea of things than Taxila. In 1903-04, there was no communication from the Ghazipur Trunk Road leading to the ruins. Though the Jains had a temple there, they took the *kachcha* road leading to Sarnath Hindu temple and reached their shrine *via* Barahipur. In 1906-07, Sir John Marshall granted a sum of Rs. 7,000 to Mr. Ortel to acquire lands to make a road and to plant trees on its either side, that metalled road which you now so conveniently use and forget the maker. The population of Sarnath who lived amongst marshes and bamboo jungles, have now increased hundred per cent. For employment they had none, except occasional tips of pig-sticking parties of local Europeans. Nobody dared to come out after the dark. I remember that as late as 1928 and 1938 the local people warned me not to have my after-dinner walks. Murder had taken place in 1938, thefts are still committed, nevertheless, I do claim that there has been a marked improvement. At my suggestion the District Magistrate ordered a police patrol with the result that things have changed so far that you may try to come to Sarnath on foot at midnight without molestation.[1] You will find peasants singing boisterously (*Gandhivirahas*) even at dead of night. The heavy weight of fear has been taken away from them. They can now go anywhere, remain in the fields all night without any fear. Yet fifteen years ago Khelaon Pande was beaten in front of the Museum while guarding his crops. After our Museum was built, you all know that the Mahabodhi Society has built an international colony there and within a few years a Chinese temple has also been added. We have granted them (the Society) lands and allowed them to build their temple on a plot originally acquired for excavation purposes.

[1] This was the situation when I left Sarnath.

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the fine metalled road which leads to their temple passes through our land for which no money has been demanded from the District Board which maintains it. There has been arson and looting at Sarnath but it is with pleasure that I testify that no police *zoolum* took place in recent times. The archaeologists are the foreteners of culture in less frequented and forgotten corners of the country; places, which had seen better days, and following the eternal laws of nature had fallen to decay and passed into oblivion. This digression was necessary to explain to you the justification of the conservation policy of the Archaeological Department, which the archaeologists of other countries have failed to appreciate; and we now await the verdict of our countrymen on this point. We are not ambitious enough to consider our subject as a mass subject but we want the support of the cultured gentry and in their silent appreciation and needed support lies our reward.

Originally, conservation was a concern of the provincial governments but since the days of 'Reforms,' however, the task of preservation of monuments all over India became a Central responsibility and thus the extreme necessary work of preserving our national monuments (Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Muslim and Christian) were subjected to a uniform control, policy and treatment. To understand our difficulties, you should try to appreciate the varying conditions and agencies of destruction, these are the extremely dry heat and cold, large amount of rainfall and consequent growth of vegetation. Our main efforts in Bengal, Assam, Madras and Bombay coasts are directed towards eradicating vegetal growths which is well-nigh impossible. The magnificent remains of Gaur will disappear in a few centuries. The temple of Paharpur is crumbling to pieces.[5] In the plains of the Punjab we have to face another great enemy, the saltpetre in the soil. The erosion, the flood and ever-changing courses of rivers in soft loam, loess or alluvial soil, like the Indus, the Brahmaputra and the Gaages are other destructive agencies. Cities and villages have totally disappeared in East Bengal (now East Pakistan) so that people call this part of the Ganges the *Kirtinasa*, the destroyer of monuments. Earthquakes are another fruitful cause of destruction. For what the rivers, luxuriant vegetation and hand of men leave, earthquakes demolish. Over and above all these, there is another class of agency who have unwittingly proved themselves greatest enemies of ancient relics. These are P.W.D. and Railway contractors. You have yourselves watched at Rajghat how series of stratified remains were destroyed by the contractors. At Harappa half of the pre-historic site was carried away to make ballast for the Lahore-Multan section of the N. W. Railway. I will now talk to you of our handicaps. The staff for a large country like India is too small. Just imagine, for the divisions of Allahabad, Banares and Gorakhpur, we have one lower subordinate. From this you may gather how woefully we are short of trained personnel. Because archaeological repairs call for such specialised knowledge, that without training, the work cannot be done by ordinary engineers and overseers. Let me now give you some individual instances. The monuments in Delhi and Agra have been fully conserved. Imagine the glorious Taj, the Fatehpur Sikri and Sikandra, with all its outer buildings and magnificent gateways in ruins; and the smiling little Mughal gardens that greet you at the entrance into these monuments, all covered up with jungles and bushes, and the fountains no longer playing to create that wonderful chiroscuro. Let me add the gardens of Shalimar, the lawns of Shahdara and Delhi Fort. That is some part of our achievements and so far we have spent more than a crore of rupees on conservation. But there is need of more and every anna that we spend does not go to fatten the *banias* or the contractors but artisans and labourers. This crore of rupees is not a small distribution of wealth.

The most important feature of the department is the creation of the post of the archaeological chemist and the attached laboratory and the appointment thereto of Khan Bahadur M. Sanaullah, a pupil of Sir Flinders Petrie. He has been responsible for cleaning and treatment of unearthed antiquities and I am giving you figures to convey to you some idea of the huge work done. Copper and its alloys 15,646; Iron 3,658; Stone 1,033; Faience 641; Glass 58; Shell 29; Stucco 258; Wood 82; Paper 19; Textiles 523; Paintings 211, etc., including bones, ivory and other objects the total coming to 28,880 objects. Apart from doing this work he has analysed 718 objects. I may draw your attention to another aspect of his work. All of you, let me assume, have visited Sarnath Museum and seen fagmentary images of Gupta and mediaeval periods. When you go next you would do well to find out the repaired antiquities and try to distinguish between the original and the repaired portions. Excepting the Lion Capital no work was done under his personal supervision but was carried out by the modeller of the Central Asian Antiquities Museum under my general guidance. Another aspect of our departmental activity I have not referred to and that is the science of Museology and Epigraphy which I will take up on some later date.

5. Since this paper was written the responsibility of Paharpur monuments have gone to Pakistan government.

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THE FUTURE OF CIVILIZATION

A Psycho-Analytic Study

By Prof. YAQUB MASIH,

Head of the Department of Philosophy, G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur

The judgment as to the future of civilization can be passed from several viewpoints but, in my humble opinion, none of them are more penetrating than the one offered by Freud. No doubt in this particular instance Freud becomes far more subjective than he has been in his estimate of anything else. However, it has been well said by Reik, that the subjectivity of Freud is unique for it is super-personal. Indeed we can expect nothing else from a man who learned to remain a disinterested observer in hundreds of trying situations of human conflicts. His attitude to human life was always friendly though he was well-aware of its many pitfalls and alarming shortcomings. In spite of his positive outlook towards life his judgment as to the future civilization is pessimistic. His opinions may be thus expressed.

Human beings are essentially the creatures of instincts and their satisfaction seems to be the prime goal of all human endeavours. In other words the satisfaction of an instinct is experienced as pleasure. As such the pleasure principle dominates the whole mental apparatus and draws up the programme of life's purpose.

> "The goal towards which the pleasure-principle impels us—of becoming happy—is not attainable; yet we may not—nay, cannot—give up the effort to come nearer to realization of it by some means or other."—Freud: *Civilisation and Its Discontent*, p. 39.

The search after pleasure is a vain pursuit for the pleasure of its very nature is only episodic. The pleasure is obtained only when the privation reaches its climax and this can be only transitory. For example, the pleasure of eating comes only when a certain stage of privation is reached, otherwise not. What to speak of pleasure, we find that there are positive sources of pain.

(*a*) Our own body is bound to decay and die and therefore we cannot dispense with the bodily pains as the danger-signal.

(*b*) Then there is the menacing outer world with its inexorable fate which faces us with the most powerful and pitiless powers of destruction.

(*c*) Finally, the communal life which is our refuge from the terrors of nature is also a powerful source of suffering.

But instead of enumerating the sources of pain it would be advisable to take a stock of plans adopted to reach positive and negative ends of human strivings.

i. The satisfaction of the instincts no doubt allows us the pleasure which we want but the outer world does not permit this, for we find that the satisfaction of the instincts is followed later on very often by greater pain. Hence there is the doctrine of asceticism which tries to annihilate the very instincts themselves. However asceticism is an impossible task, for the very dynamo of life is the life of instincts and their annihilation is a counsel of self-annihilation. No doubt death itself may be a grand release from the burden of life but then it is the renunciation of life and all its problems but not its cure and remedy.

Seeing this contradiction in asceticism some wise men have counselled not the annihilation but the moderation of the life of instincts. This no doubt brings less pain but then it also brings with it much less pleasure too. Hence this measure too brings with it a certain diminution in vitality and as such cannot be considered as entirely satisfactory.

ii. Libido-displacement or sublimation: Every instinct has some source, impetus, object and aim. By aim of an instinct is meant the removal of the excitation of an instinct. However it has been seen that the aim of an instinct can also be inhibited. We will find that the so-called culture is based on this aim-inhibition which is known as sublimation.

> "It consists in the abandonment, on the part of the sexual impulse, of an aim previously found either in the gratification of a component impulse or in the gratification incidental to reproduction, and the adoption of a new aim, which new aim, though genetically related to the first, can no longer be regarded as sexual, but must be called social in character".—Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, p. 290.

However, this diversion of the sexual to the socially higher object is possible in all those persons who know how to make best use of their intellectual and other highly refined capacities. But unfortunately, the number of such persons is very limited. And those few who somehow succeed in sublimating their impulses are neither immune from sufferings nor can totally escape from the demand of the crude libidinal cravings. Further, without repression there can be no sublimation and once an impulse has been repressed nobody can predict its success in the form of sublimation. for the repressed impulse may also become a highly morbid symptom. Lastly, sublimation is not a conscious process and therefore it is not amenable to one's conscious control. Chances are then that a repressed impulse may go astray rather than that it may be smoothly canalized.

iii. Yet there is another device of obtaining pleasure and avoiding pain. This is achieved with the help of withdrawal from the outer stimuli and the concentration on the inner forces. This is best attained in arts. Art is an open indulgence in the

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ntasies which hail from our infantile period in ich the weapons of testing the reality were being ed. At that time these phantasies were exempted m the reality-test for the purpose of fulfilling hes which were very difficult to realize in any er way. (Freud : *Civilization and Its Discontent,* 35). However,. the effect of art is but temporary,—e sort of mild narcotic and is certainly not strong ugh against pain.

iv. It seems that the harassed humanity seeks ay of refuge from the many rigours of life. When refuge is not a real one then it manufactures sions. Of all the illusions which human beings have med it seems that religion is the most potent. In e are taught that there is a heavenly father who l take care of us. This world, no doubt according it, is not a real world. It is simply a 'vale of row,' but there is another world in which our tears l be wiped out and again, there will be no sorrow, disease and no deaths. But this reconstruction of illusory world is a delusion. A paranoiac finding e real world too frustrating turns his back towards and creates a more satisfying world of his own in ich his instincts are easily at least symbolically isfied. The religious construction with all its hopes d fears is nothing but a mighty delusion sustained specious arguments. Human beings accept them ecause they support the fulfilment of their wishes. owever, the whole thing is so potently infantile, ys Freud, so incongruous with reality, that to one ose attitude to humanity is friendly it is painful think that the great majority of mortals will never able to rise above this view of life. (Freud : *Civilization and Its Discontent,* p. 23). But religion does ceed in its task of alleviating human sufferings and taining them in distress. But think of the cost. It res upon its adherents mental infantilism and reads mass-delusion. At this place it would be out place to mention the great and grievous mischiefs ich religion has perpetrated on human beings. e history records them and will pass on to anyone o cares to take lessons from them. Religion then s to be given up in the same way in which the ssional neurosis has to be given up in spite of the ts that the neurotics do not want to give up their illusions for they derive a certain advantage from them both primary as well as secondary. The same thing is applicable to the religions.

v. Of course human beings have found comfort and solace in the presence of their near and dear ones in spite of storms and the raging sea outside. Certainly a successful lovelife is a powerful source of deriving much positive happiness. But then there is the lurking fear that the loved one may die. Further, here lies the dilemma. If the individuals indulge in the directly sexual activities then the love is bound to fade and if the sexual activity is limited to its minimum then the enduring partnership comes to be threatened from the internal dissatisfaction. Again, there is also the latent hate against any conscious love and then any love-life is threatened to succumb to the accumulated ambivalence. Besides, there are the neurotics and the perverts and their number is very large and for them this love-life which our society permits is not possible. Love-life, then, too is a hope which more often than not deludes us.

It seems then that nature makes a mockery of our helplessness. It plants into us the aim of the attainment of pleasure and the avoidance of pain but it has ill-equipped us for it. Yes, people no doubt can take recourse to intoxication which will make us insensible to pain at least for a short while but then it degrades us and afterwards mocks us.

After all it may be pointed out by some of you, where is the deep or penetrating analysis ? This is nothing but a loose sally of the mind and did not require a much boosted name of Freud. Quite true, we admit to have stated the conclusions of Freud without stating the reasons on which he bases them and now we will try to make amends for it.

We have already seen that the Freudian homo is a creature of instincts which have been classed into Eros and death-instincts. These instincts are not found in a static form in an individual but they admit of development. Hence there are several stages of their development. An individual is said to be normal when he passes through them successfully. A mental disorder is due to the arrest or fixations or regressions to these stages. These levels of development and their corresponding illnesses may be thus shown :

Stages of libidinal organization		*Stages in development of of object-love*	*Dominant point of fixation in*
VI. Final genital stage		Heterosexual and post-familiar object of love (Post-ambivalent)	Normality
V. Early Phallic stage			
IV. Late anal sadism	*Ambivalent*	Infantile object-love with the exclusion of genitality	Hysteria
III. Early anal stage		Partial love	Compulsive Neurosis
II. Late oral sadism (cannibalistic) stage		Partial love with incorporation	Paranoia, Paranoid Personality
I. Early oral (sucking) stage		Narcissism ; total incorporation of objects	Manic—Depressive
		Auto-erotism ; no objects (pre-ambivalent)	Various types of Schizophrenia.

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However, this course of the libido never runs smooth, we always show the scars of our upbringing and the infantile conflicts. There are three main alternatives in the instinctual devolopments, namely, (a) The normal life in which many of the instinctual forces are successfully sublimated, or (b) in which the lure of the early infantile life is so great that we, overcoming the shame and disgust, openly indulge in it. This is the life of the perverts so easily seen in the lives of the Aghories. The inverts or the homosexuals whose number both in the present as well as in the past has been considerable may also be counted amongst the perverts. Then there is the third alternative (c) of the neurotics in whom the attraction for the infantile libidinal life remains but in whom the repression is so great that they can never entertain not even the thought for it. Nonetheless they smart from within and are utterly incapable of normal love-life. Hence there is the Freudian aphorism that there can be no neurosis without some disturbance in one's sex-life. Thus a normal life is based on too much of instinctual renunciation and necessarily such an impoverished life inwardly carries hatred against a culture which demands so much of instinctual restrictions and renunciations. Again, we are in the midst of another dilemma. If we, like the primitive people, indulge in the sexual activities then there can be no sublimation and consequently no culture and if we renounce our instincts then we carry latent hostility against it. But at this stage we need, perhaps, a psychological analysis of culture.

Freud has defined culture thus :

> "Human culture—I mean by that all those respects in which human life has raised itself above animal conditions and in which it differs from the life of the beasts."—Freud : *Future of an Illusion*, p. 8.

Now we find two very important elements in our culture, namely, knowledge of and power over nature and the mutual human regulations. Now according to Freud knowledge has been derived from the interplay of the instinctual forces. It begins precisely with the sexual curiosity. The child who has intense sexual curiosity will also grow into a child who will have vigorous intellectual life. As a corollary, then, Freud points out that one who is not free in his love-life will also be uncreative in his scientific or other intellectual life too. But the intellectual activity itself though is related with sex-life is not itself sexual. It is a sublimation of the libido. But what do we mean by sublimation? Of course this is in itself a big story and we can emphasize only one of its aspects, namely, this that the instinctual energy is one and the same though it may be utilized in the achievements of various objects. Hence if we give ourselves to the task of thinking then we will be utilizing the instinctual energy and more we use it the less will be left for the direct libidinal satisfaction. Thus culture requires thinking and the thinking requires the renunciation of the libido. Similarly the conquest of nature requires the co-operative efforts of many men and this is based, as we will presently show, on the instinctual renunciation.

Therefore, it is clear that the formation of any culture is based on the coercion and the instinctual privation. It will be wrong to suppose that the instincts involved are only sexual though they do predominate. But there is also the instinct of aggression and destruction. The latent hostility to culture is not only due to the privation of the sexual life but also due to the restrictions placed on our hostility. Here again the perplexing riddle is before us. Love and culture conflict.

> "On the one hand, love opposes the interests of culture; on the other, culture menaces love with grievous restrictions"—Frend: *Civilization and Its Discontent*, p. 72.

In this state of affairs the females are much more hostile to culture than the males, for the culture is predominantly the pre-occupation of the males and then they too with their limited libido can give so little of it to the women. That the culture requires restriction and the renunciation of the instincts is clear from the following considerations (1) Even the stage of totemistic culture puts a ban on the incestuous object-love. The mother and the son have to observe very great restrictions. The son has to leave home and has to live in the club-house as soon as he comes of age. The mother too cannot call her son by name.

(2) Further, the restrictions on the instincts are placed by means of the many taboos, laws and the customs. These observances have to be practised from the very infancy and reach their culmination in the initiation rites. Even the life of aggression has to be greatly kept in check.

(3) Even our culture has its own taboos about the life of instincts. Our sexual life too has to conform to certain standards. Firstly only the heterosexual object of the genital type is allowed and all other types of sexual manifestations are banned. For many perverts and the neurotics these restrictions are too much.

(4) Not only heterosexuality but our present civilization demands that the sexual relation should be permitted only on the basis of an indissoluble relation between the man and the woman. This restriction is openly violated by most men and even the best of us feel that this is too much. Long before Freud, Marx had already pointed out that the proletariats have hardly any family life and the so-called family life is allowed only to the favoured rich in which case there is a community of wives in common.

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The renunciation of the instincts is so great that humanity is bound to explode from within. The race of the armament and the competition in the piling up of the atom-bombs are the significant features of a civilization which wants to commit suicide, because the burden of the instinctual renunciation is so great. Like Samson of the old testament humanity is waiting for the last promise of the sufficient strength to pull down the pillars of civilization so that everything along with it may perish. It looks upon its very doom as the much-coveted deliverance. This unsatisfactory state of affairs will be more clear if we follow the instinctual basis of the society. This may be explained in this manner.

Following Darwin, Freud supposes that the most primitive human society may be pictured in terms of the present-day gorillas in which case there is the one powerful male surrounded on all sides by a number of females. When the male young ones grow up they are driven away by the jealous male father. In the primitive horde the young sons were exiled who developed homosexual relationship but this relationship was desexualized. The more the brothers entertained hostile longings for the father and the incestuous love for the mother, the more were they united amongst themselves. From the customs of the totem-feasts and the sacrificial rites it is inferred that the brothers once getting united attacked the father and slew him and afterwards ate him up. But then they also loved the father too and as such the parricide came to be deeply regretted in terms of remorse. It seems that the cannibalistic feast in which the father was periodically killed was fairly common in a certain stage. But Freud supposes that the father was also a great object of love and admiration, especially he was so to the exaggerated infantile understanding and this imago endured. The brothers were impelled to the parricide for the sake of the father's females. However, after the killing of the father they remembered his good qualities too and as such they were filled with remorse. This remorse is still found in the so-called original sin of man. The important consequence of this remorse was the renunciation of the mothers and from that time the incest-taboo was initiated and was perpetuated, for the elders knowing the temptations for the parricide feared the reprisals in their own growing sons. The initiation ceremony among the primitive people is performed to terrorize the young generation against the incest tendency and the parricidal impulse. Further, the victorious brothers fearing internal revolt for taking the place of the father found this twofold device. The love had to be promoted to curb the influence of the mutual aggressiveness and as such a great part of the libido was transferred to all the brothers. However, this genital love became inhibited in its aim and was transformed into friendliness. Then again they reserved another part of the genital love in the formation of the families.

At this stage we have made very little reference to the aggressive instincts and hence an account of this has to be given to complete the story. Not only there is the libido but there is also the death-instinct. The eros takes us to other fellowmen and helps in the task of binding together but the death-instincts lead to their disintegration. Not only in everyone there is a latent desire to get back to the primitive matter from which we all have sprung but there is also a similar desire to annihilate the group life.

> "Civilized society is perpetually menaced with disintegration through the primary hostility of men towards one another."—Freud : *Civilization and Its Discontent,* p. 86.

Thus it is wrong on the part of the Communists to think that the cause of hostility lies exclusively in the possession of private property, for men will continue to fight over the love-objects. Without deflecting this latent hostility we cannot hope to have any kind of stable society. It seems, then, that for a stable society there is the need of canalization of both eros and the thanatos. The members of the society are combined together with one another in the tie of homosexual love inhibited in its aim and the hate is expressed towards all those members who do not belong to this communal life. Even the followers of the religion of Love fare no better as was clear from their zest for the crusades. Is it any wonder then to find that the primitive people fought with one another? The same story of love reserved for the members of one's own group and hate for all other groups is found in the present history. The Germans got their unity by making the Jews the object of hate; the Indians developed their nationalism through their opposition to the Britishers and history is only repeating itself when we find that both the Anglo-American bloc and the Russian bloc are getting firmly united by playing on each other's fears. The greater the cohesion, the greater is the fear of general upheaval and surer is the impending doom of the human race. Yes, the individuals as well as the human race are fated to meet their impending death-knell. Again there is the dilemma. The culture demands the co-operation of the individuals but greater the cohesion, greater and more serious is the doom of this very culture. We live in a society only by killing and we kill in order to live and one day the killing will become so great that the task of living will become impossible.

Further the peculiarity of the human beings seems to consist in his possibility of devoloping neurosis, that is, man suffers from fears that are non-

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existent. For example, in the anthropoid apes the male ape succumbs to the attack of the young sons as soon as he grows impotent sexually and otherwise; but in case of the human beings the older they grow the greater is the prestige which they command; even in primitive societies they become medicine men or sorcerers. When the old father dies he becomes a still greater menace to the peace of the mind and he has to be appeased. How can we explain this peculiarity of man? Freud has explained this with the help of the formation of the super-ego and as such let us explain this and its role in the formation of our culture.

In the Oedipus-phase the son loves the mother and hates the father. At least this is found in the majority of cases. However, as soon as the son discovers the absence of the male genitalia in the girl play-mates he takes it to be the result of castration by way of punishment for the sexual offence. But what could be the sexual offence? Quite obviously, the offence lies in the love of the mother which he feels sensually in relation to his masturbatory phantasies and then again there is the guilt for having hated the father who from the very beginning has been also the son's ideal. Now the threat of castration begins to take a very menacing form for the child. For him the dilemma is, either indulge in the prohibited love and aggression and lose the valued organ or keep the valued male genitalia with all its complicated and rich phantasies but give up the prohibited instinctual tendencies. In normal cases the child gives up the love-object and reconciles himself with the father. This giving up of the Oedipus-complex is the most momentous step for the child. The father is given up as the object of aggression and the mother is also given up as object-libido. But nothing can be given up so easily. The child gives up the parents only after introjecting them in himself. He sets up the parental imago in his mind and this internalized parental authority assumed the same role in relation to his instincts which the real parents actually wielded. In other words, the internalized parental imago forbids the incestuous love or the cannibalistic tendencies towards the father. This internalization is not a strange mechanism. As a matter of fact we ourselves in celebrating the birth or the death anniversaries of great men very often say that the best way of perpetuating the memory is not by speaking about their good deeds but by following their example in our own lives. In other words we want to be like them. The same thing the child does. He makes a part of the mind in the likeness of the father. This part which carries on the function of criticizing or approving the child's acts is known as the Super-ego. In popular language the super-ego is the conscience of each one of us, keeping only this in mind that conscience is only the conscious facet of the deeper unconscious structure called the super-ego. This super-ego is at the root of our morality, the formation of group and society and at the same time is the deeper reason of neuroses and psychoses. We will refer to a few of its activities only.

Super-ego is formed very early in life, roughly between the age of 5-7. As such it is very archaic in its function. Its insufficiency is clear at many instances but it can be illustrated in the group-formation. The celebrated French social psychologist has pointed out that a group regresses to the most primitive level. The members of the group in a state of frenzy become highly emotionalized, exaggerated in their actions and very suggestible in the execution of the act. Now how all these peculiarities of the group-mind can be explained? Freud has pointed out that the group-leader is nothing but the father-substitute or rather the ideal-imago of the father. The situation may be compared here to the situation of the primitive horde with one absolute male father whom all the young sons envied and yet because they could not themselves singly take the place of the father, therefore they were united together in aim-inhibited sexual tie. The same thing is found when a young poet or a celebrated artist addresses a large audience; then all the females have love for the young artist but as they are all rivals for the same love so they deny themselves the love and instead of that joy the party of his admirers. In the same way we admire the leaders of today and amongst ourselves we have nothing but the aim-inhibited sexual tie. But our leaders of today depend on the primitive impulses which impel us to admire them and which are these impulses? These are the same which were found in the absolute fathers in the primitive hordes, namely, harsh, cruel, tyrannical and absolutely narcissistic characteristics. That is, they do not want to give any love to others but want that everybody should depend upon them. Our culture has no room for the divine leaders who do not possess these qualities. Yes, this world is not safe for the saints to live in for they want to displace the ideal which we deeply and unconsciously cherish in our hearts. It is no wonder then that Jesus of Galili, Socrates of Athens or Mahatma Gandhi were all killed by their own men. This super-ego then which gives rise to the group-life is also our enemy against any improvement.

Super-ego again is the guardian of our morale. Nobody can entertain any incestuous wish or the parricidal tendency will for the man at once be heavily punished by the super-ego. In popular language it is known as the 'bite of one's conscience.' This critical faculty may become objective at least in some cases as in the case of Mahatma Gandhi or the celebrated Endymion of Socrates. In pathological cases of Melancholia its working can be easily detected. Here the ego in the eyes of his fellowmen does not seem

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commit any serious crimes and yet he takes self to be the most miserable offender. In his n eyes benighted he walks under the midday sun. w has he come to regard himself such an offender? ll, we have already seen that the external thority of the child gets internalized through rojection. No doubt the later object-cathexes do odify the formation of the super-ego but naturally e first parental imago remains the most dominant fluence. However, as soon as the criticizing agency s internalized a certain peculiarity follows. The per-ego punishes the forbidden wishes with the me severity as the forbidden acts for the wishes e no more hidden from the internal faculty than e acts themselves. Hence the Biblical saying goes e this:

"Ye have heard that it was said of old time, Thou shalt not kill . . . But I say unto you that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgement. . . ."

Again, a few verses after it runs like this:

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

Thus it is easy to get rid of parricidal or the incestuous *acts* but it is not so with the *impulses*. These tendencies are found in the deepest kernel of the personality called the Id and work unconsciously. Hence the melancholiac will say that he is very sorry but he will not be able to say why he is so sorry. They feel the aggressive tendency unconsciously and then instead of using it against the father or the father-surrogate use it against themselves. The melancholiac practises all kinds of penances and punishes himself but more righteous he tries to be, more sensitive becomes his super-ego and demands a further renunciation of the instinctual satisfaction.

"This means that virtue forfeits some of her promised reward; the submissive and abstemious ego does not enjoy the trust and confidence of its mentor, and, as it seems, strives in vain to earn it."—Freud: *Civilization and Its Discontent*, p. 109.

This harshness of the super-ego also follows from the fact that it is too archaic and is quite unsuitable for the regulation of the adult life. The castration threat does not hold good in reality nor is the father going to be angry with the son for his infantile love-life but the super-ego does not admit these considerations. Hence the super-ego which is guardian of our morals and our uplift is also at the same time the most potent means of our sufferings. It does not care for the happiness of the ego. Like the despot it ignores the strength of the instinctual cravings or the hardship of the external world.

Freud then comes to the conclusion that the present civilization

"is not worth the effort and that in the end it can only produce a state of things which no individual will be able to bear."—Freud: *Civilization and Its Discontent*, p. 143.

Thus the cultural development demanding too much restrictions in the sexual life and an excessive humanitarian ideal cannot but bring its own collapse.

Conclusion

Now it may be asked, should we also accept such a cheerless view of life? The thing is that in relation to the ultimate problems everybody has some taste and it does not rest on any rational ground in the restricted sense of the term. As we choose a certain brand of tea and call it good or a certain type of cigar and name it good, so is the case with the final conclusions of philosophy. In my view on the empirical basis Freudism is irrefutable. The reality is hard and is unkind. Any realistic picture cannot be anything but pessimistic. However, I for one would like to be a 'soft-headed' man and would like to transcend the limitation of the past and the present and would look forward to the future as containing the promise and potency of a better life. No doubt nobody can look at the human passions without being awed and cowed by their impetuousness and unreasonableness but one day the voice of reason will prevail. The voice of reason is very faint and weak but then in the long run it makes itself heard. However, the battle is not already fought and won. We have to fight it out for ourselves, here and now and in our own selves. Reason itself seems to be a chance product and we human beings too somehow have tumbled on this planet but let us make this a permanent feature of the universe. We have to some extent exercised the terrors of nature but with the same endeavour we can conquer the inner world no less. The gravest defect of Freudism in my opinion is the absence of value and without this we cease to be even human. According to him there is no final purpose anywhere and therefore he argues, let us so act as if there were no values and final aims. On the other hand we have to proceed in such a manner as if we are going to create a world in which the cry of human hearts will have a place, in which the deepest cravings of all that is dearest and best in us will not be merely a subjective wish but a real intimation of reality.

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HAMLET'S ROLE AS A DETECTIVE

By MAHDI ALI MIRZA

"Who wrote Hamlet?" roared the teacher glaring at little Rupert who was dozing on his seat in the stuffy class room.

"Not I sir," blurted out the little imp snatching himself out of the fairy land where tiny fairies with multi-coloured wings were playing hide and seek with butterflies round the pink and yellow rose-buds.

Yes, but who wrote Hamlet?

A wise Egg started the story that Bacon (the legitimate son of Queen Elizabeth) was responsible for the mischief. But it is no light matter to play this Bacon and Egg business with Shakespeare. The literary world was shocked. "I can't listen to you—you who would pluck the laurels from the brow of the dead Christ," was Lord Tennyson's curt reply to the Baconians.

And that famous exponent of Shakespeare—Henry Irving—has rightly said:

> "When the Baconians can show that Ben Jonson was either a fool or a knave, or that the whole world of players and playwrights at that time was in a conspiracy to palm off on the ages the most astounding cheat in history, they will be worthy of serious attention."

But Shakespeare had anticipated all this. On his tomb-stone is engraved for all to see:

> "Good frend for Jesus sake forbeare,
> To digg the dust enclosed heare.
> Bles be ye man yt spares thes stones.
> And curst be he yt moves my bones."

The Baconian business after fermenting a little mischief died the death it deserved, and all admirers of Shakespeare breathed a sigh of relief. They could again adore their idol,

> . . . . For his bounty
> There was no winter in't; an autumn 'twas
> That grew the more by reaping: his delights
> Were dolphin-like; they show'd his back above
> The element they liv'd in; in his livery
> Walk'd crowns and crownets; realms and islands were
> As plates dropp'd from his pocket . . .
> Think you there was or might be such a man
> As this I dream'd of?

Bang!

"What is that?"

"Another bomb on Shakespeare's grave!"

Earl of Derby Real 'Shakespeare.' Claim of British Scientist

London, June 4, 1950: Dr. Arthur Titherley, formerly Dean of the Science Faculty of Liverpool University, has just written 200,000 words to prove that Shakespeare was in fact William Stanley, Earl of Derby.

Summarising his case in an interview Dr. Titherley pointed out that the Earl of Derby was born four years before the actor Shakespeare, and was well educated.

Before entering Gray's Inn he travelled through France, Italy, Spain, Egypt, Russia, and Austria.

The only original Shakespeare manuscript left, says Dr. Titherley, is part of "Sir Thomas More," and Dr. Titherley produced a copy of this which he placed beside a letter written by Lord Derby. The two writings appeared identical.

Dr. Titherley pointed out that William Stanley visited the court of Henry IV of France at Nerac. He added: "The scene which took place when Henry's wife, Marguerite, from whom he was separated, descended on his studious court with her ladies is described in *Love's Labour Lost*. But Marguerite's diary was not published until long after.

Queen Elizabeth visited the Earl of Hertford's estate at Elvetham, Hampshire, in 1591 and watched a fairy play in the grounds. Stanley was one of her canopy bearers. The plot described in local records is identical with *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

"Records show that the Earl of Leicester's players, including one Will Shakespeare, a 'boasting usurious fellow' visited the Derby's house at Lathom in 1587 and almost certainly met Will Stanley."

Dr. Titherley believes that Shakespeare was merely agent to Lord Derby.—*Globe**

Oh God! Why can't they "forbeare to digg the dust enclosed heare."

RIP (Rest in Peace) is the common label for the dead, but for Shakespeare it has come to mean: "Rip him asunder."

Yes they are standing on his grave and demanding with a shovel: "Who wrote Hamlet?"

Listen carefully: Shakespeare's bones are rattling in reply, "No, not I sir. Rumpelstilzken wrote it. And as for me: Methought I was—there is no man can tell what. Methought I was—and methought I had—but man is but a patched fool, if he will offer to say what methought I had. The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report, what my dream was."

Well that is that. Let us see how far this new publicity for the Derby race will go.

Outside England, there is no country where Shakespeare is more adored than in Germany. Goethe they admire, but Shakespeare they love. The German scholars have approached Shakespeare from different perspectives and have thrown light on his greatness from different angles. Sometimes the approach appears eccentric. Can they be blamed? Matthew Arnold has magnificently apologised for all the critics—past, present and future:

* *The Statesman*, June 5, 1950.

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"We ask and ask—Thou smilest and art still,
Out-topping knowledge ! So some sovran hill
Who to the stars uncrowns his majesty,
Planting his steadfast footsteps in the sea,
Making the heaven of heavens his dwelling-place,
Spares but the border, often, of his base
To the foil'd searching of mortality."

Shakespeare's Hamlet has been dissected and analysed in every conceivable manner. A young lady once happened to find time, from the snappy books and journals, to read Hamlet. "What a book!" she exclaimed. "It is just a bundle of quotations !"

Walther Kiaulehn—a German critic—has approached this great tragedy from a unique angle*. We may like it or leave it, but it has to be admitted that he throws fresh light for revealing the unfathomable depth of Shakespeare. And this is his point of view :

The common belief that Hamlet is mad is based on his dialogue with Ophelia. Is there another example of such terrible conversation between two lovers? Although he is stabbing her with the words : "I loved you not," but we know he loves her. He forbids her to marry, asks her not to be a 'breeder of sinners' and bids her farewell with the advice: "To a nunnery, go." She hopes it is a passing phase and prays : "O heavenly powers, restore him."

But he leaves her flinging the insults :

"I have heard of your paintings too, well enough; God has given you one face and you make yourselves another : you jig, you amble, and you lisp, and nickname God's creatures, and make your wantonness your ignorance. Go to, I'll no more on't; it hath made me mad. I say, we will have no more marriages : those that are married already, all but one, shall live; the rest shall keep as they are. To a nunnery, go."

These cannot be the words of a man in his senses, and *ergo* it is concluded that Hamlet is mad. A hasty verdict, as it is overlooked that Hamlet is a piece of crime literature. This may sound rather insolent and blunt, but it is a fact that English crime literature started with Hamlet. But Edgar Allen Poe, Conan Doyle and Edgar Wallace could not reach the level of Shakespeare's Hamlet.

Hamlet is the first tragedy in which there are no black and white contrasts, no jerks. It just glides smoothly. The dark deed—the clue of which is given by the ghost—is the problem of the play. But only at the end of the Third Act is the guilt conclusively proved. In the uncanny atmosphere with the creeping cold and the fog, the figures move about enveloped in a ghostly mist. A light from an invisible source plays equally on the good and the bad. It reveals the scoundrel praying on his knees, the hero wavering in his decision and the chatterbox Polonius preaching the rules of good behaviour to his son Laertes which are today regarded as the code of the ideal gentleman.

The appearence of the ghost creates the tense criminal atmosphere and starts the problem for the hero. The ghost which roams on the castle platform reveals to Hamlet that he is the spirit of his father. He tells him of the poisoning and goads him to revenge 'the most foul and unnatural murder,' but the mother is not to be molested.

". . . . . Leave her to heaven
And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge
To prick and sting her."

The last request spurs Hamlet to play the mad man so that he may catch the criminal without making his mother suspect that he is after her second husband. This decision he reveals to Horatio at the very outset but without letting him into the secret of his plans :

"How strange or odd soe'er I bear myself,—
As I, perchance, hereafter shall think meet
To put an antic disposition on."

There is only one person to whom he will say the whole truth—Ophelia. He comes to this conclusion after roaming criss-cross through fields and thorns—

"With his doublet all unbrac'd;
No hat upon his head; his stockings foul'd,
Ungarter'd and down-gyved to his ankle."

And in this condition, "as if he had been loosed out of hell to speak of horrors," he comes before his beloved.

But in her presence, it dawns upon him: she is also a woman like his mother, who within a month married the murderer of her husband. Hamlet's thoughts wander over the nature of women. At the university of Wittenberg he has learnt to seek naked truth after clearing his mind of foggy subjective influences. He begins to ask himself: "Is Ophelia really the person which my mind's eye sees in her because of my love and devotion.—Or is she just like all other women—Can I find in her a comrade whom I can trust—Or should I be on my guard as she is weak like all other women—Has not my mother treated lightly the inner voice that warned her against the murderer?"

Welcher Sohn eines Weibes misst die Frauen nicht nach dem Mass seiner Mutter? (Which son of Eve does not gauge women after his mother?)

And in this frame of mind he approaches his beloved with a questioning look as if he is seeing her for the first time :

"Long stayed he so ;
At last,—a little shaking of mine arm,
And thrice his head thus waving up and down,—
He raised a sigh so piteous and profound
That it did seem to shatter all his bulk
And end his being."

Hamlet soon notices that he has done the right thing in not trusting her. "In her duty and obedience" she gives Hamlet's letters to her father. Hamlet realises the significance of the request of the ghost to keep

* Published in the German magazine *Die Dame*, October 1938.

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women out of the whole business. But this creates a conflict within him as he seeks a comrade from whom no secret need be kept.

During the long lonely melancholy hours of indecision, Hamlet shoves Ophelia from the lofty pedestal, where his love had placed her, to the abyss occupied by women in his thoughts. But in her presence his intense love tones down his cold thoughts, and his talk with her is a mixture of the soft words of a devoted lover intermingled with his sarcasm against women in general.

And this in brief is the tone of his dialogue with Ophelia, and its reaction is seen on the face of the girl. She is tormented to the very depths when he says that she is deceiving herself if she thinks that she is honest. She is too pretty for that. A pretty woman can never be honest as she is hypnotised by her own beauty . . . "for the power of beauty will sooner transform honesty from what it is to a bawd than the force of beauty can translate beauty into his likeness." And he adds, "I loved you once."

Ophelia replies, "Indeed my lord, you made me believe so," and one can almost see the tears dangling in her eyes.

And Hamlet sees the effect of his words. But he suddenly realises that they are not alone. The king and Polonius are eavesdropping behind the curtain. He has a feeling that matters are heading for a climax. Perhaps this is the last talk he will ever have with Ophelia. And he may not be able to protect her in the moment of danger. He must bring her to a place of safety.

He finds the solution. She must to a nunnery go—and that quickly. Perhaps she will understand. He cannot explain openly, as their talk is being overheard. But he must make her feel that there is no other chioce. If he disappears, she should not allow herself to be pressed to marry someone else—for he loves her. He must tell her at the top of his voice that he loves her not. And this for the benefit of the eavesdroppers, that they may realise the uselessness of using Ophelia to spy his movements.

The rest of his talk with Ophelia is a masterpiece in crime literature. He is addressing in four directions at the same time. He informs the king behind the curtain, how much of a scoundrel he is: "for virtue cannot so inoculate our old stock but we shall relish of it," and in the same breath he tells Ophelia, "I loved you not." And this to get her out of the mess. But time proves that he had misjudged Ophelia.

"I was the more deceived," she sobs in reply.

He attempts to console her by saying, "Get thee to a nunnery." This he repeats five times, first as a request and in the end as a command.

He then remembers Polonius, who, he knows, is listening with ears pricked up. He has to tolerate the old babbler—for is he not Ophelia's father? He knows that Polonius is heading for trouble if he does not stop messing about. He says aloud so that the old meddler may not miss a word: "Let the doors be shut upon him, that he may play the fool nowhere but in's own house."

It is indeed tragic that Ophelia does not realise that he is in earnest when he says, "Go to a nunnery," although he tries to make it clear by cursing her if she ever tries to marry. He is not sure if his mother is also not amongst the audience behind the curtain, but presuming her presence he directs his curses on her and on her paramour though in all appearance they are addressed to Ophelia. He wants the king to know that he is a monster, as a knave like him could not stand the power of beauty that radiates from his mother. He then adds that he (Hamlet) would be a fool if he did not acknowledge the destructive power of beauty. He entreats Ophelia, in the name of Heaven, not to marry even though he may be far far away from her or even if they tell her that he is dead. But to his mother, like an oracle, he warns: "Those that are married already, all but one, shall live; the rest shall keep as they are."

He abruptly finishes the speech and leaves the room. He is afraid that he may not be able to control himself from stabbing the murderer. But he must not do that yet. The accusations of the ghost have yet to be fully proved:

". . . . The spirit that I have seen
May be the devil: and the devil hath power
To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and perhaps
Out of my weakness and my melancholy,—
As he is very potent with such spirits,—
Abuses me to damn me: I'll have grounds
More relative than this: the play's the thing
Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king."

Hamlet's calculations prove correct, but not in the case of Ophelia. Hamlet leaves Denmark after killing her father, who had not heeded his advice to get out of the game. But Ophelia's mind gets deranged. Even in her madness she appears to hear the voice of her lover. While Hamlet's ship is tossing on the high seas Ophelia, who is equally sweet in her madness, is walking up and down the corridors of the palace, sadly humming childish songs, with a blank look in her eyes.

The king asks: "How long hath she been thus?" She stops her song, and replies to herself in the voice of her lover: "I hope all will be well. We must be patient."

* * * *

Well, that is the interpretation of Herr Walther Kiaulehn of the famous dialogue between the ill-fated lovers.

Did Shakespeare mean it?

Can we ever know?

"We ask and ask—Thou smilest and are still."

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TOPOGRAPHY OF ABHIJNANA- SAKUNTALA

By VIJAYENDRA KUMAR MATHUR, M.A.,
International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur

For a long time past *Abhijnana-Sakuntala*, the world-famous play of Kalidasa, has received the most careful attention of European and Indian scholars but in spite of this, there are a few points about the geographical background of the play, the part of the country in which the scenes are set and the minor details of topography which have not been properly worked out so far. An attempt is being made below for the first time to identify in a consistent manner the places mentioned by Kalidasa in the play.

The story of *Abhijnana-Sakuntala* is too well-known to be detailed here. We are concerned here only with the location of various places, that have become, through the great genius of Kalidasa, an inseparable part of this great drama. These are as follows :

Hastinapur, the capital of King Dushyanta, the hero of the play and a descendant of the Lunar line. (Act V).

The forests where he goes out for hunting (Acts I and II).

The river Malini and hermitage of the sage Kanva where his foster-daughter Sakuntala, the heroine, was brought up and lived (Acts I, III and IV). Malini is also mentioned later, in Act VI (verse 16).

Sachitirtha in Sakravatara where the ring of Dushyanta which Sakuntala wore was lost as a result of a fall into the river Ganga, when accompanied by Gautami and two disciples of Kanva she is on her way to the capital of Dushyanta to meet her husband (Act IV).

The Ashrama of Maricha on the mountain of the Kimpurushas, Hemakuta by name. It was here at this celestial hermitage that the reunion between Dushyanta and Sakuntala was effected. (Act VII).

The ruins of Hastinapura, as is well-known, lie in the district of Meerut, U.P. about 57 miles north-east of Delhi, near an old channel of the Ganga. It was the capital of the kings of the Lunar line before Indraprastha near Delhi was given that honoured place by the Pandavas. It finds a prominent place in the Mahabharata as a flourishing city of great renown. The identification of the present site of this ancient capital which still bears the old name, at once gives us a clue from which we may get a broad idea as to the part of the country where the scenes of the play are presumed to have been enacted.

The hermitage of Kanva, the home of Sakuntala, lay on the bank of the river Malini which has been beautifully described by Kalidasa. As is clear from the story, we must look for this place not far away from Hastinapura. There is a river known as Malan which rises from the hills of Garhwal and flowing through the northern part of the Bijnor district (which adjoins the district of Meerut), joins the Ganga at Raolighat about six miles north of the town of Bijnor. According to a local tradition, it is the same river as Malini of the play and the hermitage of Kanva is said to have been at the modern town of Mandawar, about ten miles from Bijnor and four miles from the railway station Chandok, on the main line of E. I. R. between Muazzampur-Narain and Balawali, beyond Najibabad.

Mandawar, which is on the right bank of Malan, is a very ancient place and according to the identification proposed by Cunningham is the Matipura mentioned by Yuanchwang. No excavations have ever been made on the spot and we do not know what precious treasures of archaeological value are lying hidden there.

I think the local tradition mentioned above, is fully confirmed by all the circumstantial evidence that we possess. This will be made further clear by what follows.

The forest where Dushyanta is described as having come for hunting may be identified with the deep forest in the Terai of the Garhwal hills which still provides excellent sport. Amasot, a place near Sahanpur, a small zamindari estate north of Najibabad, is a favourite resort of tigers, deer and other wild animals and parties of hunters are often seen camping around this place. An old tradition at Sahanpur estate says that the Moghul emperor Jahangir also once visited these forests on a tiger-hunting expedition.

Wild elephants are also found in large numbers in parts of this dense forest known as Kajalibana and Kalidasa actually refers to the depredations of such an animal towards the end of Act 1 (verse 29). These forests are about twenty miles north-east of Mandawar and about forty-five miles from Hastinapur across the Ganga. It is probable that in the time of Kalidasa these forests were more extensive and touched the fringe of the area round Mandawar. The fact of Dushyanta having had a hunting camp near this place and having intruded within the limits of the sage's hermitage while chasing a deer (Act 1) thus fits in quite well in the present topography of this place. These forests, it seems, were the only hunting ground providing great sport, situated within manageable distance from Hastinapur.

In Act VI, verse 16, Kalidasa describes the river

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Malini and the hermitage of Kanva in a most picturesque manner.

Dushyanta says to his friend Madhavya referring to a painting of the Ashrama of Sakuntala on which he was working :

"The stream Malini has to be shown with pairs of swans resting on its sandy banks, on both sides of it the holy hillocks of the father of Gauri (Himalaya) with antelopes reclining on them. Also I wish to represent a doe scratching her left eye on the horn of black buck under a tree on the boughs of which are suspended bark garments."*—(Translation by Saradaranjan Ray).

It seems to me that the word **पादाः** here has not been correctly translated. It should not mean the hillocks of **गौरीगुरु** the Himalaya but only the outlying region adjacent to the foot of the mountains, for the hills of Garhwal and those near Hardwar are clearly visible on a fine day from Mandawar where the hermitage was situated, but it cannot be said to be surrounded by the hills which may be inferred from the above translation. Mandawar as has been stated above is about twenty miles from the Garhwal hills.

Sachitirtha, (the tirtha of Sachi, wife of Indra) in Sakravatara (the tirtha of Sakra, Indra) where Sakuntala accidentally dropped the ring while going to Hastinapura and where a fisherman† who calls himself a resident of this place, got it from the belly of a fish caught by him, has left no old tradition which could help in its identification. But a chance philological resemblance in names has led me recently to identify this place correctly.

The shortest route from Mandawar to Hastinapur will lie across the river Ganga about nine miles from Mandawar, through the southern part of the modern district of Muzaffarnagar and beyond the boundaries of the district, to Hastinapur in the district of Meerut, in all a distance of about thirty miles. Now, there is a place named Shukkartal on the right bank of Ganga in Muzaffarnagar district. Across the Ganga, on the Bijnor side, about nine miles in a straight line from Shukkartal, is Mandawar on the river Malini. Shukkartala is a place of pilgrimage where a large fair is held annually on the Kartika fullmoon day. It is famed as the place where Sukadeva recited the story of the Bhagawata-purana. According to the local people, Shukkartala is named after Sukadeva but they have nothing to account for the word 'tala' in the name. I am now convinced that Shukkartala is only a corruption of Sakravatara, referred to by Kalidasa. Philologically the change from Sakravatara to Sukkartala is quite obvious and on other grounds too this identification fits into the general picture. Thus Sakuntala's route from Mandawar to Hastinapur would be as follows:

Nine miles from Mandawar to the Ganga, crossing of the Ganga, arrival at Shukkartala (Sakravatara) on the right bank in the Muzaffarnagar district, where the ring was lost and lastly from Shukkartala to Hastinapur—a journey of about twenty miles. The fisherman living at Sakravatara could easily go to Hastinapur for selling his catch every day.

It seems from the statement of Gautami** in Act V that Sachitirtha was a particular bathing place within the precincts of Sakravatara which might have been a name of a large area as it is even now. That it was situated on the Ganga is also clear from the words of Dushyanta†† in Act VI.

The Ashrama of Maricha described in Act VII is said to have been situated on the Hemakuta mountain of Kimpurushas or Kinnaras. The place which is said to have been in heaven cannot be identified with the help of geographical data for obvious reasons. But it is not improbable that certain Himalayan races living in the high regions either in Tibet or interior of Garhwal hills were known as Kinnaras and the reference here may be to such a place. It seems to be quite clear that Kalidasa had the particular topography of the places described about in his mind, when he referred to the carrying away of Sakuntala by an *apsara* to heaven. He could not naturally think of a better place which would not be very far away from her father's place and yet beyond the reach of mundane influences.

Note : References are to the edition of the play translated by Saradaranjan Ray, published at Calcutta, ninth edition.

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* कार्या सैकतलीनहंसमिथुना स्रोतोवहा मालिनी
पादास्तामभितो निषण्णहरिणा गौरीगुरोः पावनाः ।
शाखालम्बि वल्कलस्य च तरोर्निर्मातुमिच्छाम्यधः
शृंगे कृष्णमृगस्य वामनयनं कण्डूयमाना मृगी ॥

† अहं शक्रावतारवासी धीवरः

**नूनं ते शक्रावताराभ्यन्तरे शचीतीर्थसलिलं वन्दमाना प्रभ्रष्टमंगुलीयकम्

††शचीतीर्थं वन्दमानायाः सख्यास्ते हस्ताद् गंगास्रोतसि परिभ्रष्टम्

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

EVERYDAY LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA: *By Almini Sengupta. Oxford University Press. Pp. 203. Price Rs. 5.*

In the course of her Introduction to this short, but well-written monograph, the author observes (p. 8): "India is (*read* was) a treasure-house not only of great deeds but of manners and etiquette, of an ideal mode of living, and of a simple pattern of human existence which it is hard to find in these chaotic days of world-wars." This patriotic outlook does not prevent her from noticing from time to time dark spots in the picture, *e.g.*, the inequality of castes in the epics (p. 56). The result is, on the whole, a good popular account of Indian manners and customs in the ancient period. We miss however an adequate treatment of the conditions in the centuries of early Buddhist literature. The author's division of Indian history into Hindu, Muslim and British periods (p. 4) is hardly accurate, nor does it appear on what authority she assigns the 12th or 13th century B.C. to the great war of the Mahabharata (p. 5). Her judgment that the last two centuries of the 'Hindu period' were static and negative (p. 6) may well be questioned. Equally unsupported by facts are some of her other statements, *e.g.*, that the Vedic *sabha* decided issues by 'majority vote' (p. 47), that many of the place-names in 'Burma, Siam and Indo-China' (*sic*) are South Indian (p. 89), that 'the Cholas are mentioned in the *Periplus*' (p. 90), that 'Indians were buried and not cremated according to Megasthenes' (p. 110), that 'Buddha and Mahavira repudiated the Vedas and Brahmanas (*sic.*) and based their teachings on the Upanishads' (p. 136). The author's reaction towards the popular tales of Kautilya's relation to Chandragupta Maurya (p. 61) and of Vijaya's conquest of Ceylon (pp. 88-89 and 153) is uncritical. The reference to the Maurya Imperial cabinet as consisting of the Dowan (*sic*), the *purohita*, the *senapati* and the *yuvaraja* (p. 66) is startling. Confusion between the Pallavas of the Prakrit and the Sanskrit charters is shown by the statement (p. 92) that 'the language of the Pallavas was a Prakrit and they patronised Sanskrit learning.' A few proper names have been misspelled, *e.g.*, Dhananada (p. 61), Ko-kho-ki (p. 77 *n*), Bhaujya (p. 97), Gosha (pp. 145, 151 and Index s.v.). A word of credit is due to the author for her illustrations which show sound judgment.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE TRAVANCORE-COCHIN STATE FOR THE YEAR 1124 M.E. (1948-49 A.D.): *Ernakulam: 1950. Pp. 9 plus 30 illustrations.*

This is a record of a year's work of the State Archaeological Department under the usual heads of conservation, exploration, excavation, epigraphical and museum work. Though not marked by any important discovery, it contains a valuable list of ancient and historical monuments and archaeological sites and remains of the Travancore-Cochin State, illustrated with good plates. This list is enough to indicate the big gap in our knowledge of the historical antiquities of the State before the mediaeval period.

U. N. GHOSHAL

WOMAN'S ROLE IN PLANNED ECONOMY: *Report of the Sub-committee of the National Planning Committee. Published by Messrs. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2. Price Rs. 6.*

In these days of slackness of effort and damping of energy, it is something to read of the hopeful atmosphere that prevailed in those days of 1939 when the National Planning Committee held its sittings and pondered over ways and means of doing good to the country at large in its various strata. The report of the sub-committee on Woman's role in planned economy was not considered by the National Planning Committee, and that report, edited by Prof. K. T. Shah, is now placed before the public by Messrs. Vora & Co. Happy days of co-operation between Prof. Shah and Pandit Nehru: the idea of a Planning Commission was not yet censured by a critical public, and the members of the Committee, a galaxy of representative names of social and political workers, brought their business in due course to a successful conclusion.

The individual and social status of women has been at last sought to be determined, and the civic, economic, property and education rights of the individual have been discussed, along with the relation of the individual to the family in general and to the husband in particular, and the problems arising therefrom. This has been followed by a summary statement of policy and of recommendations, with the relevant resolution of the National Planning Committee.

The whole thing is interesting reading, and gives to the reader an idea of how things are shaping. The gravity of the situation will be realised when we remember that the happiness of about 50 per cent of the people in our country is involved in its consideration. Some of the inequalities between men and women are already giving way to a better state of things;

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e.g., discrepancies in the scales of pay in the higher classes, say, of the Educational service; the total lack of interest in the organization of creches, the utter want of facilities for the physical culture of girls. But the Sub-committee goes so far as to declare that women students ought not to be exempted as a rule from military training. But something also depends on local initiative, and when we are told (p. 144) that in Gujarat even girls make use of Akhadas, the question naturally occurs, why not elsewhere too?

The plans would revolutionise the conditions of life in this country, but not mere planning: only when they would be translated into action.

In the concluding portion of his introduction Prof. Shah says: "Democracy would fail to achieve its purpose if and so long as women is debarred from any economic or cultural rights, privileges or obligations of equal citizenship. Equal opportunity is now guaranteed to all citizens of India; and there is no reason to doubt the guarantee will fail to be implemented." Let us hope Prof. Shah still finds no reason to doubt the guarantee of the Constitution of India. To follow up the recommendations of the Planning Committee would indeed be the ushering in of a revolution.

P. R. SEN

LOST ILLUSION: *By Freda Utley. Published by George Allen and Unwin Limited, London. Price 10s. 6d.*

Soviet Russia is the most lauded and most maligned country in the world today. To not a few, the U.S.S.R. stands for progress, for human happiness and for human dignity. To them it is the land of Socialism, a land where the Marxist ideal has become a reality. To many again the Soviet State, a vast prison-house behind an iron curtain, represents a negation of, a challenge to, all man has fought for and striven after through ages.

Freda Utley belongs to the latter school of thinkers. Hers is a formidable list of indictment against the U.S.S.R. It is a land where slave labour, corruption, inefficiency, jealousy, favouritism, espionage, wilful manipulation of statistics to suit pet theories and industrial feudalism thrive. A new bureaucracy and a new aristocracy have taken the place of the old. Human miseries are greater than ever. Life is "bereft of nearly all freedom." The Soviet Constitution of 1936, which guarantees the fullest civil and political rights to the Soviet citizen, is a gigantic hoax and has always remained a dead letter. Some of these charges may not be altogether baseless. Even the warmest supporters of the Soviet system, the fanatics excepted, do not claim that it is free from all defects.

The achievements of the Soviet Government may best be assessed by comparing pre-1917 Russia with the Russia of today, by finding out whether the Soviet citizen is happier than the Russian citizen under the Romanoffs. According to Freda Utley, he is not. But she does not adduce any proof worth the name in support of her verdict.

Some of the defects and drawbacks noted by her are inevitable during a period of transition. Allowance must be made for some initial mistakes. The birth of a new order, in common with all other births, must be preceded by a birth-pang.

The fact that the Soviet State, born amidst a chorus of universal disapproval and condemnation, has become one of the two most powerful countries of the world in course of a little more than one generation points to the inescapable truth, *viz.*, the new order in Russia has some intrinsic merit missed or ignored by its critics. Ruthless tyranny, heartless terror, drabness, poverty, despair and death alone cannot certainly make a people as strong as contemporary Russia. There must be some other factor or factors. It is exactly on these that Freda Utley maintains a scrupulous—shall we say, deliberate?—reticence.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

THE FUTURE OF THE CONGRESS: *By Acharya J. B. Kripalani. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 33. Price ten annas.*

ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI (A Symposium): *Edited by P. D. Tandon. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 132. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The ensuing session of the Congress to be held at Nasik imparts a new importance to these two books as Acharya Kripalani has stood as a candidate for the position of President of the Congress. The result of the election will be out by the time this issue of *The Modern Review* appears before the public.

The pamphlet on the Congress was first published on December 15, 1948. Since then the drift to which the writer drew attention has reached a stale-mate in which the leadership of the Congress, identical almost with the Government, appears as helpless automata incapable of giving a dynamic lead. By analysing the causes of this failure Acharya Kripalani traced it to its lack of faith in an "all-round social revolution" towards which Gandhiji had been striving to move the country with the Congress as its "spear-head." He illustrated his charge by saying that the Central Government and the Provincial Governments were "indifferent" to the constructive programme; the "constructive workers" also did not come out of this analysis with more credit. Matters have worsened owing to "power-politics" in the quagmire of which the Congress has lost itself.

The second book contain character-sketches of Jiwatram Bhagwandas Kripalani written by men and women who have known him more or less intimately, Babu Rajendra Prasad and Sarojini Naidu amongst them. The others are fellow-workers of his. The book was published in November, 1948. Krishna Kripalani who is related to Jiwatram narrates the characteristics of the class—the Amils of Sind—from which J. B. sprang "self-assertive and self-complacent," dreading "originality," holding "learning" and "cultural pursuits" in little esteem. The 62 years of J. B.'s life have shown that he possessed all the qualities that are anathema to his class. Anil Chanda of Bisva-Bharati says that he is "a fanatic and there is a sleepless fury in him that raises perpetually a tornado around him. And in the ensuing dust the real man is lost" and misunderstood. He has a "bad temper," but as Sadik Ali of the All-India Congress Committee says, it is "good" to have it, and "spend it on friends and foes impartially."

As we read these lines we have often wondered how with this temper of his he could serve Gandhiji with such loyalty and for about 30 years. Journalist Chatapathi Rau explains: "J. B. is the best commentator on Gandhiji. His is the dialectic approach regarding Satyagraha as an organized code of military warfare." Therefore could he make fun of "fads" as he called certain of Gandhiji's constructive programmes,

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It has given an uneasy feeling to many that such virile personality should have had no say in the counsels of the ruling authority of Republican India. These character-sketches heighten this feeling.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

KASHMIR SPEAKS : *By Prithvi Nath Kaula and Kanahaya Lal Dhar. Published by Messrs. S. Chand & Co., Fountari, Delhi. Pages 203. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The book is divided into three parts giving the story, tragedy and glory of Kashmir separately. Part I gives the geography, social, economic and political conditions and other information till Kashmir joins the Indian Union. The misrule of Kak ministry is also described in this part. Tragedy of Kashmir begins with the Pakistani invasion and in next four chapters the authors give in detail the destruction of Kashmir by Pakistani hordes and United Nations' efforts to settle the dispute, 'cease fire,' etc. The last phase, *i.e.*, Dixon's mediation is not given in the book as the book was published before Dixon's appointment by the Security Council. In the last part, the authors give a detailed account of the progress made by the State under Sheikh Md. Abdullah as Prime Minister. The authors contend that although Kashmir is for the Kashmiris and the State of Kashmir is inseparably connected with and is a part of the Republic of India, and from the dawn of history, Kashmir has been the crown of Aryabarta. Hindus and Muslims of Kashmiris belong to the same race, speak the same tongue, inherit the same civilization and culture and as such the so-called two-nation theory of Mr. Jinnah has no application in Kashmir. So Kashmir is to join Bharat, not Pakistan her aggressor.

The book is well-illustrated. The last chapter gives brief life-sketches of some of the makers of modern Kashmir including Sheikh Md. Abdullah, Sher-e-Kashmir. Kashmir, an earthly paradise, land of one nation, land of the poor, is vibrating with the spirit of Nationalism under the leadership of its present Prime Minister Sheikh Md. Abdullah and in near future is destined to play a great part in the history of free India. At present its future is hanging in the balance but the final say rests with the people of Kashmir.

Those who are interested to know past history and the present situation of this great land of Kashmir will find this volume extremely fascinating and useful. The paper and binding are good and illustrations nicely printed.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

UTTARA SATYAGRAHA GITA : *By Pandita Kshama Rao, Hind Kitabs, Limited, Bombay, I. Pp. 157. Price Rs. 6-12.*

The present is a companion volume to *Purva Satyagraha Gita*, dealing with Gandhiji's life up to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, in an epic strain and style, published years ago by the author, who is a well-known Sanskrit scholar. The *Uttara Satyagraha Gita* continues the story of the great-souled one up to his 60th birthday. It is to be sincerely hoped that the Pandita will before long also bring out an "addendum," covering the remaining few years of the hero's life, thus completing her great work. In 47 cantos, each composed in the *arsha* metre of Anushtup, she has dealt with the various events between 1931 and 1944 as a recorder as well as a revealer of their significance in the light of Gandhiji's philosophy and faith. The fluency of the author's style is the secret of the "strength" as against sentiment—of the epic's appeal. The book deserves an honoured place in the library of every lover of Sanskrit and of Gandhiji.

G. M.

BENGALI

MAHA-CHIN : *By Sudhansu Bimar Mukhopadhaya. Published by Bina Library, 15 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Pages 240. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a book on Great China as the name implies. The learned author gives an exhaustive description of a vast country with its hoary civilization and chequered history in modern times. The subject-matter of the book has been discussed in twenty-one chapters and each one of these chapters deals with the subject concerned very thoroughly, Geography, Natural resources, Civilization, Peasants, Manchus, Reforms, Journalism, Dr. Sun Yet-sen and the Revolution, Republic, Chiang Kai-shek, Japan and her aggression, Aggression by European Nations,, Rise of Women, Youth Movement and Communist China—all these subjects find their places in different chapters under discussion. In the 20th chapter under "Whither China" the author guesses the future trend of events in China. In the last chapter important events for the last one hundred years have been given chronologically. As the author closes with 1948, the present success of the Communist China does not find any place in the book, but past trends definitely showed the increasing hold of the Communists over the masses.

The book is well-written, informative and illustrated and we have no doubt that it will have wide circulation among the educated public interested in China and international affairs.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

BALAK, GHAR OUR SCHOOL KE BAHAR : *By Kedarnath Shrivastava. Girija Publications, Suryapole, Udaipur. Pp. 190. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The child's overall growth is determined by several factors: the home, the school and the society or style of government under which he lives. Unfortunately more often than not, his vision is not allowed to cross the compound-wall of his school or to travel beyond his door-step. And this stultifies his self-development seriously. The author, who is an experienced teacher, therefore, suggests ways and means whereby the child could be influenced for good by his many contacts with the world outside his present narrow limits. A valuable aid indeed to every school-teacher who, being usually poor, would have consequently, desired the price of the book to be kept within the reach of his ever-shrunken pocket.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SONORI SHEKH AND FULDANNI CHHAB (Parts I and II) : *By Pirojsha Palanji Damri. Published by Isna Asani Press, Bhavnagar. 1947. Pp. 128+48. Paper-cover. Unpriced.*

This is a collection of golden pieces of advice and the compiler calls it a Basket of Flowers. For a Parsi, the work done is creditable. He has culled from the writings of poets and others, passages full of admonition and advice, couched in simple language. He has made good use of his extensive reading and study.

K. M. J.

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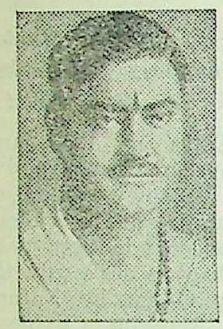

RAJ-JYOTISHI

Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, Samudrikratna, Jyotish-shiromani, Raj Jyotishi, M.R.A.S. (Lond.), has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (*e.g.*, in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

National Planning Commission

Science and Culture observes :

Dr. John Matthai's two press statements issued rly last month in which the late Finance Minister plained the circumstances leading to his resignation m the important cabinet office of Finance and the ime Minister's simultaneous reference to this at his ivandrum speech have been widely discussed and bated in the press. This resignation followed differces of a fundamental nature between the Prime inister and the Finance Minister over a number of ues, of which the most important was the recently ablished National Planning Commission. Some tions of public opinion have criticized Dr. Matthai what they have preferred to call a betrayal of st by giving out some inner happenings calculated ly to embarrass the government at a time when coeration and understanding from all sections of the blic with the government are not only desirable t urgently necessary from considerations of national terest. Others—and quite a large section, fully lieving that democracy works by trial and error and at the electorate have an inalienable right to know, d the government and government officials in high sitions of trust and responsibility owe it to the ectorate to inform them, all public issues of importance, have equally welcomed Dr. Matthai's frank and inted statement.

The differences were not political, but conerned policy regarding vital economic, financial d administrative matters arising out of the onstitution and composition of the National Planning Commission.

Strangely enough, hardly 3 months before his signation, Dr. Matthai, while presenting the budget efore the Parliament on February 28, 1950, himself nounced the government's decision to set up a National Planning Commission, told its composition, d explained its objects and functions. It is no onder, therefore, that his categorical statement that e NPC was "totally unnecessary and in fact, hardly ustified for its work" and "not merely ill-timed but its working and general set-up ill-conceived" should ve created general confusion and grave misgivings public mind about the whole business of the NPC. The late Finance Minister's apprehensions that composition of the Commission with the Prime inister as its Chairman and its tendency to develop a parallel cabinet which would ultimately encroach the present influence and power of Finance Ministry d of the Standing Finance Committee and reduce em to a mere sanctioning authority, are understand- le and merit careful thought. His disclosures that re are at present a large number of government ans costing nearly Rs. 3000 crores, a great number which are unworkable because they lack technical details, are undoubtedly matters for serious considerations. These also include quite a number of very important plans for which full technical details have been worked out, but which still have to be kept in cold storage because funds are not available. The public would also remain grateful to Dr. Matthai for being told of the government extravagance and indiscriminate spending when the last farthing in a stringent economy should have gone to promote the country's precarious food position and general economic condition and towards the rehabilitation of unfortunate refugees from East Pakistan. But the entirely negative attitude towards the whole question of planning, as expressed in his statement, particularly on the part of one who has been known for many years to be a well-known advocate of planned economic development of the country, would indeed appear puzzling to many and disappointing to most.

We do not want to get involved in the much discussed discussion on the desirability and necessity of national planning. *Science and Culture* has rendered pioneering service to the country by advocating national planning during British days, and when independence came, it lost no time to advocate the setting up of a National Planning Commission on proper lines. This was nearly three years ago, when the soil was virgin, and a properly conceived National Planning Commission could have done immense good to the country. But to our utter disappointment, planning became anathema to the ruling circle, and the muddled methods of the British days were allowed to continue. This policy of drift has been leading to chaos, till some people in the Congress thought of planning as a remedy ; and a resolution was staged by the Congress Committee in January 1950. As a result the National Planing Commission came into existence towards the end of February, and a subsequent government press note elaborated the terms of reference of the Commission.

We are inclined to think that the gravest mistake has been committed by placing the NPC under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister.

We do not question the competence of the Prime Minister to become Chairman of the NPC. But he is an extremely busy man, engaged in hundreds of things vitally concerning the country's fate, such as foreign policy, co-ordination of the work of his colleagues, etc. He can hardly be expected to find time to give any serious attention to the grave question of national planning and unless serious attention be paid to the matter, proper schemes of planning cannot be evolved. He will have hardly time to listen to counsels of the members of the NPC, and being engaged in hundreds of other works he cannot spare necessary time to judge correctly between the different issues.

At the same time, having arrogated to himself the power, he will, we are afraid, try to impose on the members his own views and prejudices. A national planning commission, charged with the task of making

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assessment of the country's material and human resources, drawing up plans for the best and most effective utilization of such resources, determining priorities, and of keeping a strict watch on how these plans are being put into operation, should be able to function in an atmosphere of freedom with the smallest possible interference from the cabinet. Closest co-operation with the various ministries, would be essential, but the Commission would also be required at times to criticize the steps and actions taken by the ministries and if necessary disapprove of proposals emanating from ministries from overall considerations. To be really effective, it should have an independent and dispassionate approach to all problems of national development. We do not believe this will be possible as long as the same person presides over both the cabinet and the NPC. With the Prime Minister as Chairman, the Commission would either tend to be a mere appendage of the cabinet or to be a parallel cabinet as Dr. Matthai apprehends.

Live Stock in India

The problem of the preservation and improvement of live stock in India requires a thorough study in view of its important bearing on the rural economy of India. R. V. Rao observes in *The New Review* :

"The cow and the bullock bear on their patient backs the whole structure of Indian Agriculture," so says the Royal Commission Report on Agriculture, but it is unfortunate that nothing has been done to improve the situation. The place of livestock in rural economy in tropical and sub-tropical countries is more important than elsewhere and speedy solution of live stock problems is for us a matter of vital necessity. Closely related to crop production is the improvement of animal husbandry. Because of lack of livestock industries, we are deprived of opportunities for improving our economc position. What is wanted is a nationol approach. Let us hope that the F.A.O. Conference on livestock which recently met in Delhi will give the lead in the matter.

In India where the only motive force as well as the means of transport is the bullock, the prosperity of agriculture depends among other things on livestock.

Indian cattle yield an annual income of about 1200 crores of rupees. This is more than the value of India's crops. This however does not include the value of poultry. Specialised and organised poultry farming is conspicuous by its absence. We have too many cattle (India's livestock population is 264 million, about a quarter of the total bovine population of the world); whereas there are 100 for every 100 acres of sown area, there are only 38 in Holland. Of these only 25 per cent are working cattle. It is no wonder that a foreign visitor remarked that India is being eaten by her animals. Because they are inefficient, there is high mortality. We want better cattle and the objective can be achieved by discriminate breeding, more scientific feeding and better control of disease. Our per-capita consumption of milk is the lowest in the world.

The Agrarian Reforms' Committee constituted by the Government of Hyderabad, of which the present writer is a Member, studied the problem and came to the conclusion that there is a deficiency of cattle for the agricultural requirements of the State. An economis survey of a Hyderabad village has revealed that 60 per cent of the cattle were unfit for work.

The problem of grazing has to be considered. It is of value only for five months in the year. Year by year, the percentage of area left for grazing purposes has been going down. The percentage of grazing area excluding forest area open for grazing works out only to 3 per cent for the State a whole.

Our cattle mortality is very high and Veterinary facilities are few. Even in regard to cattle breeding for service purposes, we have one bull for every 80 cows.

The paucity of breeding bulls is supplemented by the uncastrated working bullocks of doubtful quality. The total number of buffaloes in Hyderabad during the quinquennium 1940-45 decreased by 90 per cent and those in milk by 11 per cent. It is not milk problem only that is involved but agricultural economy suffers unless steps are taken to remedy the shortage of breeding bulls. Poultry is still regarded as the Cinderella of agriculture. Till recently commercial poultry farming as a specialised occupation was practically non existent.

It is better to undertake practical measures as the preservation and development of cattle resources should be part and parcel of the 'Grow more food Campaign' although no quick results can be expected from it. The decrease in the number of efficient cattle and milking buffaloes should cause alarm.

Cattle breeding as a regular business is pursued only by a few people. The efforts made by the Government to improve cattle breeding are not significant. If the depletion of cattle noticeable in recent years is to be made good, as Mr. Ralph Philips, the Secretary-General of the U.N.O. Sub-committee said, improvement in breeding activities must be carried out on Government owned or sponsored farms. At the same time private cattle breeders should be encouraged. There should be free distribution of stud bulls and the award of premia to 300 selected private bulls under appropriate conditions. We may have to import breeding bulls from outside wherein we have to consider the question of adaptability. The possibility of artificial insemination centres may also be investigated.

The facilities for cattle grazing are inadequate. The growing of grass and fodder crops

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the cultivator's field seems to be the only emedy.

The following obesrvations contained in the eport of the Cattle Preservation and Development ommittee 1947-48 deserve to be borne in mind :

"The use of edible oilcakes for any other than ttle feeding purposes should be prevented and ttle dung utilised for manure. Oil extraction and tton seed ginning centres should be established in ral areas so that their by-products may be utilised cattle feed purposes. An Experimental Fodder rm should be established in each zone of cattle eeding activity. Use of cotton seed for the manuture of vegetable oils and use of chemicals in oil traction should be banned. Production of fodder d cattle feeds should receive as high priority as oduction of foodgrains."

The Royal Commission on Agriculture suggested at there must be one dispensary for every 25,000 ad of cattle; at this rate there should be some 500 pensaries in the State. It is suggested that dairyrming be developed both as a cottage and large le industry, so as to provide subsidiary employent in the villages and at the same time to supply e milk requirements of the cities which are inferently served in this respect. The question of ablishing large-scale dairy farms besides a number rural units should be seriously considered. The fer of grants-in-aid in cash together with the assignent of sufficient land for grazing may possibly tract intelligent persons to take to this industry. e Government would do well to import every year certain number of buffaloes of good breed from reign countries and make them available for service ee of charge in selected places.

In view of the fact that the woollen industry is veloped in the Country, it is necessary that sheepming should receive more than the token attenn which has been hitherto paid to it.

A country-wide development of poultry farming ay be undertaken in view of the great possibilities this industry and its suitability as a subsidiary cupation to the agriculturist. It is also suggested at the Government should investigate the possibies of developing bee-keeping as a rural industry.

Also recommended is the establishment of *Charlayas* for the collection and economic disposal of e skins of dead animals in the rural parts. India the largest supplier of hides and skins to the world arket, the annual value of her exports amounting Rs. 8 to 11 crores in prewar years.

Social Progress

The New Review observes :

The changeless East is changing, and changing . A striking proof can be found in the facility ith which our legislators adopt social reforms and der upon most progressive legislation. The latest stance is the Fair Wage Bill which was introduced the last session of Central Parliament and which mpletes the Minimum Wage Act of 1948. The inimum wage which is fixed for some specified instries is defined as the wage 'which ensures an ployee the means to provide a standard family with d, shelter and clothing, and also medical expenses well as the education of children appropriate to ir station in life.'

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The Fair Wage will consist of a basic rate and a cost-of-living allowance, so long as the cost-of-living index-number exceeds by a slab of 185 to 200 the 1939 index, which is taken as 100. The fair wage will never be lower than the minimum wage and will be first introduced in factories and mines. If the fair wage is above the capacity of a given enterprise, the case may be referred to a Regional Board of Wages. The fair wage is related to a fair load of work and its calculation will make room for fair return on capital, fair remuneration to management, and fair allotment to reserves. The right of strike and lock-out is recognised but restricted.

Parliament gave the Bill a sympathetic reception and will consider it in detail during its next session. It is bound to pass into Law; our legislators are wont to display progressive ideals which the nearness of crucial elections will not tone down. It was with a twang of impatience that they heard the Provinces had not all taken suitable steps to implement the Minimum Wage Act of 1948 and legalised a period of respite. Too often do Centre and Provinces, Legislative and Executive, fail to keep in step. Laws, rules and regulations are voted at commendable speed, but provinces and executive suffer from what looks to be an incurable limp.

Portuguese Courtesy

The Indian Christian community above all others feel grateful to Portugal for having relinquished her rights of ecclesiastical patronage over some Indian bishoprics. They were goaded to irritatoin at those ancient privileges which past services justified but modern developments rendered annoyingly obsolete. They acknowledge past devotedness and are gratified at the present courtesy, even if it be a little tardy.

They look forward to the day when they will be able to welcome their Goan brethren as fellow-citizens. The Goans who have migrated to all the corners of India keep as loyal to their ancestral place as any other community; this loyalty to the native village is eminently respectable though it adds to the cultural complexity of India. In the case of Goans and Pakistanis this ancestral loyalty needs adjustment to political conditions. Gone are the days when all and sundry cou'd roam all over this sub-continent, settle anywhere and join any service. Today Pakistan and Goa are foreign countries; their nationals have to be legally treated as foreigners, with consequences damaging to their economic advancement.

On a longer view, the resorption of Goan territories as a part of Bharat is unavoidable. Indian consciousness in Goan youth is growing rapidly, though it is overawed by the presence of African troops and retarded by some ugly features in a few neighbouring districts of Bharat.

The Government of India is becoming impateint at 'the foreign pimples' on India's face; its restraint in applying economic pressure is commendable but cannot last out, once longanimity will have vanished with the old Congress High Command. It is puzzling that the Portuguese leaders who usually combine imagination and realism do not provide for developments that are inevitable. The legalistic view that Goa is an integral part of Portugal is badly contradicted by the *Acto Colonial*, and besides no amount of legalism will thwart the course of history. Would it not be a piece of the highest statesmanship to offer Goa plebiscite and autonomy? The measure might involve the loss of a diminutive 'possession,' but it would save all the cultural influence that can be saved and confer on Portuguese cultural prestige an uncommon glamour. It would also secure the goodwill of the Indian government and people, and in modern international life goodwill is priceless.

The Negro and World Progress

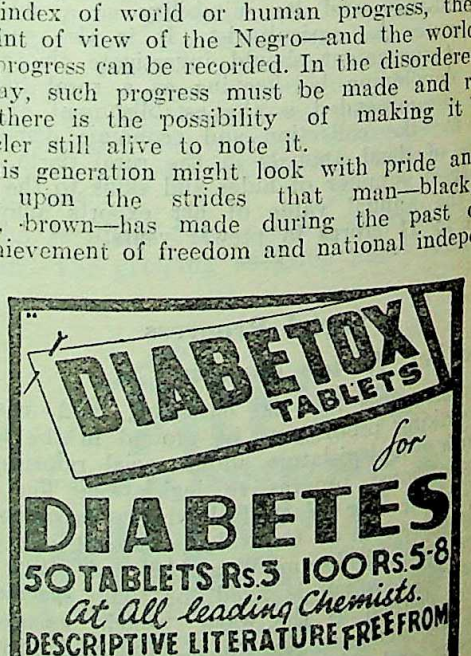
William A. Rutherford writes in *The Aryan Path*:

It is often said, and agreed to by most, that the foundations of peace rest in the minds of men. It seems to me to be as undeniably true that the progress of the world can be measured by the physical and moral condition of man. The title of this article might be, as I suspect my editor thought it was, The Negro *in* World Progress. As we shall see, however, the slight difference in terms covers the rather large realms of two quite different subjects.

On the one hand, it is a question of world progress in a number of spheres such as science, economics, literature, philosophy, religion, etc., from one state to another. The record of the different problems which have faced and face mankind, and the solutions with which it has answered them. In this respect the subject of The Negro *in* World Progress would naturally embrace members of this group, such as the famous scientist, George Washington Carver, and perhaps the more obscure 18th-century Negro slave and almanac maker, Benjamin Banneker, and a host of others, including contemporary American Negroes such as Ralph Bunche and W. E. B. Du Bois, and their contributions to humanity in all the many spheres of human endeavour.

On the other hand, however, that of The Negro *and* World Progress, no such record of glorious achievement and contribution exists. If the postulate can be accepted that the condition and plight of men is an index of world or human progress, then from the point of view of the Negro—and the world—little or no progress can be recorded. In the disordered world of today, such progress must be made and recorded while there is the possibility of making it and a chronicler still alive to note it.

This generation might look with pride and satisfaction upon the strides that man—black, white, yellow, brown—has made during the past decade: the achievement of freedom and national independence



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millions of people; the mechanical and techno-
cal developments and innovations which theoreti-
y enrich all mankind; the organized campaigns
nst illiteracy and ignorance; the discoveries in
dicine and chemistry which can overcome hereto-
invincible maladies; the tiny steps that have been
en in some countries towards a more social—equal
istribution of common goods; the increasing inter-
ional movement of national cultures, evinced by
interest, in almost all countries: in the literature
art of other countries. These things, and many
re, might be looked upon with pride and satisfac-
n.

If the scrutiny of man's progress was
rough enough—or made by a Negro—the look
pride and satisfaction would become one of
me and disgust—and perhaps of anger.

Of the millions of people in the world today who
l live under the brutality and assorted horrors of
cial or national subjugation, the majority are
gro. In a world where there is supposedly a growing
eracy rate, stands Africa—99 per cent illiterate.
der the eyes of the 20th-century gods, Freedom and
stice, black men are lynched and murdered legally
-without trial,—starved and forced to work without
y, and are hated for being weak. Technological
vancement can mean little to them when their first
ought is bread. Medical discoveries are of no
terest, even in the most diseased parts of the world,
hen they have no doctors and schools refuse to train
em because their faces are black.

It is not good to think of these things when con-
emplating world progress, yet they are a part of it.
or how long have these things been true?—How
uch progress has been made towards changing them?
-Then how fast are we progressing? It is difficult for
Negro to think of "world progress" and not be
tter. For if there has been progress in the world in
e complete sense, *ergo*, he is not a part of that
orld, for he has known little or none.

It goes beyond the limits of our credulity to argue
ere the basic equality of men. And it would seem to
e as obvious that, men being equal, it is impossible
o have world progress without it being progress for
e *whole* world. Consider the impossibility of a unit
with one part of it going forward and another part
anding still or going backward. Recalling our topic:
The Negro and World Progress (as opposed to The
Negro in World Progress), some might think that our
treatment had slighted the subject. After all we are
only a few thousand years old, and we—including the
Negro—have made *some* progress. But we would do
ell to remember that progress can only be real when
is universal and equal. And that, until it becomes
o, we are faced, sooner or later, with an explosion
which will leave our "progress" in ashes. *There are
hundreds of millions of people whose situation has
been getting worse instead of better for the last four
hundred years. They have known no progress.*

The key to the desires and needs of our times,
peace, security, freedom from fear and want, lie in
that often used but seldom understood expression:
Equality. And until we achieve this, progress, in terms
of the world, will be a highly academic and nebulous
question, and one likely to blow up in our faces at
any moment.

Gandhi Memorial Number

Visva-Bharati Quarterly

Contributors

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
S. RADHAKRISHNAN
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
ALDOUS HUXLEY
J. B. KRIPALANI
SATIS C. DASGUPTA
NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE
HUMAYUN KABIR
K. G. MASHRUWALA
HORACE ALEXANDER
ARTHUR MOORE
H. S. L. POLAK
ETHEL MANNIN
PYARELAL
MIRA BEHN
AMRIT KAUR
J. C. KUMARAPPA
REGINALD REYNOLDS
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NANDALAL BOSE
JU PEON
MUKUL DEY
R. N. CHAKRAVARTY
and many photographs.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Farewell to Harold Laski

Herbert Howarth writes in the *Jewish ntier*, July 1950 :

The death of Professor Harold Laski was a edy in many ways. He was only 56 and his powers e full and robust and as trenchant as ever. On night of Thursday, March 23rd, he was suddenly n ill, was carried to the hospital and died there Friday.

What a keen thin body he had ! I see him in the l's eye as he looked when talking to the Fabian ety one evening at the London School of nomics a year or two ago. With his slight dark , his glasses, his wiry frame, he was a rapier or a itar of a man—certainly some sort of sword, swift cut through bad thinking. His speechmaking was same. For an intimate, intelligent audience his ing tongue and insistent criticism could provide finest of all entertainment. He searched out shams exposed them devastatingly.

But the destructive criticism that was Laski's k-in-trade was based on warm, shy ideals. Behind glasses the twinkling, awake eyes were utterly mane. He could be so destructive and unsparing of political opponents only because he was so loving. e Fabian Society, with which he was very closely nected, worked in terms of economics, and, as the e with its invocation of the Roman strategist plies, set out to be a battle-machine, but its pulses were rooted deep in Victorian faith in pro- s and man's capacity for goodness. In this sense ki was a born Fabian, and never ceased to be one.

That will be clear to all who read his writings or rd him speak, whether in Britain or America or stern Europe. What may not be so clear in America, ere Laski's most obvious importance was as a orist of the British Labor Party, is that he was , even while far out of touch with orthodox ervance, unremittingly Jewish, bringing to bear on he touched those complimentary capacities for tailed criticism and broad understanding which are t of the development of Jewish genius.

There was a legalist accuracy of definition about ki's thinking that was almost Talmudic;—and he e it a political application. There was also that tive power of love that made him a Fabian and a manist, and that was almost Hassidic:—but that, he gave a political application, making it selective, making it also purposeful and inspiring, so that fact, it inspired students at the London School of nomics for twenty-nine magnificent years.

One can be yet more specific about the Jewish ities of Harold Laski. He was a Manchester Jew. was a product of the great, if now fading, Man- ster era of British Jewry. Within the few weeks e Laski's death Princess Margaret has been laying foundation-stone of a new Free Trade Hall at Man- ster, replacing the historic Free Trade Hall swept y in Hitler's blitz. This new hall will in fact be a otaph, a mere tribute and inscription to the Manchester of the nineteenth century, for which the original hall had a living meaning and pointed to a dynamic, thrusting economic instinct, out of whose workings the prosperity of the city and all adjacent Lancashire was begotten. Such prosperity attracted able men to it and produced able men among their descendants. The Jewish community developed commensurately with the whole of the cotton folk.

It was a vigorous community at the forefront of British Jewish affairs. Everyone will remember, for example, that when Weizmann came as a young man to a British university, he came to Manchester. Zionism won quick comprehension there, where ideas were as fluid and lively as in the capital. The vitality of the community may be said to have gone *pari passu* with the greatness of the *Manchester Guardian*; and when Laski was growing up the editorship of C. P. Scott was in full advance. The Rylands Library had been founded, the Halle Orchestra had made its splendid reputation. You could not be Nathan Laski's son in the Manchester of that era without carrying a flame with you into life.

From school in Manchester Harold Laski went to a distinguished university career at New College, Oxford, where he won the Beit Historical Essay Prize and took a first class degree in his finals. Then for further study to America, to begin a lifelong association with the States which was eventually to be of almost national value, because it enabled him to interpret American opinion to Britain and British opinion to America. The effect that America had on his inner growth has never been evaluated, but one thing can be hazarded, that it helped in promoting both the incisiveness of his style and the breadth of his idealism. It did not modify his direction; it rather took him more rapidly in the direction he was going.

His name is especially associated with the London School of Economics, which he joined on return from America. Teaching political history there, he handed down his gifts to one generation of pupils after another. And that brings me back to the memory with which this short tribute opened, the speech I heard him make in a Common Room of the School that dusty summer evening. It was a speech which, as it now seems to me, contained the essence of the man, the key to his role in current British politics. The subject of his talk that evening was the way institutions change and lose their character. What about this very institution we are in now, he asked his audience. He reminded them how the London School of Economics began:—Sidney Webb and Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell working together, teachers and pupil, in a room half-adapted to serve as a school. It began, unaided and isolated, as a practicl instance of Fabianism appealing to the mind and seeking through the operations of the mind to turn the world from "a darkling plain where ignorant armies clash by night" into a better place to live in. Now today, more than fifty years later, the institution is world-famous, well-endowed, thriving in every way, but—its purposes are forgotten, and instead of Fabians

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those who teach in it and adorn it are brilliant brains dedicated to the duty of proving that we live in the best of all possible worlds. Institutions die within as they become strong and admirable externally. Forms swell but their functions atrophy. That was his text.

Of course, the text was meant, like everything else in Laski's life, to have an immediate political application. No doubt was left in the minds of us, his audience, that in criticising with such pungency and humor the school he zealously loved, he was uttering a parable. His barbs were bent, really against the British Labor Party, of which he was at that time, I think, still Chairman. He meant that the Parliamentary triumphs of 1945 had brought perils to the Labor movement as well as power. Instead of loyalty to the spirit that had formed the Party at the beginning of the century, there might come a slow senescence, a complacency, and an inner death. British Labor's first full bite of political mastery also brought the Party's first big crisis. This is in fact—and I try to say this objectively, without expressing any private opinion on the rights and wrongs of the matter—a crisis with which the Parliamentary Labor Party is still battling. If it forgets its original character, and becomes a thing of pomp and circumstance, there may eventually be a fatal split, when those who don't want complacency will have to part company with the other half of the membership, and problematical consequences will follow for the electorate and for our neighbors and friends.

From this point of view Professor Laski's death was a tragedy in more than a conventional sense. One of the most dangerous aspects of Labor's crisis is that it is largely unconscious, a dizzy struggle by drugged men. Laski was a force against that. Completely conscious of what was happening, he expressed himself with absolute clarity about it. Hateful and hated he must have made himself to certain powerful Party colleagues who were most liable to the complacency he attacked. But he was unsparing of himself and them. He insisted on consciousness. And his voice was authoritative enough, and his secret personality lovable enough, to make them listen.

Laski was unchanging, while the movements and institutions of which he was part changed with the unfortunate, habitual transcience of human affairs, that always tend to lose their lustre. To this extent there was, by an obvious paradox, an extraordinary conservatism about him.

That conservatism, if it can be called so, that uncompromising diamond center of the man, is the only thing in him to justify the assertion that he had of late years failed to keep step with the movement of circumstances. It was the writer of Laski's obituary in the London *Times* who appeared to imply this. The obituaries in the *Times* are an important feature of the British scene. They should, and often do, represent the warm verdict of his contemporaries on the man who has just gone. But, personally, I seemed to find a grudging tone in an otherwise long and informed account of Professor Laski on the day following his death. Of course, as Christopher Sykes very properly

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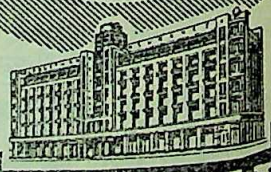

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ys in *Four Studies in Loyalty*, there is no reason hy platitudes shou'd be lavished on the dead, and onest criticism can have a place in the funeral tribute o less than praise; but I felt that in that half-column the *Times* the narrow ideological resentments, that ark our days so grievously, had spoiled the true ssessment of a man who after all had a beauty of ul as well as a beauty of intellect.

As a matter of fact, within the last six years rofessor Laski had demonstrated in a specific case hat, just as he retained all his energy, so he retained liability of mind and the capacity to reverse his iews at the behest of outward conditions. This was ver the issue of Zionism. Although brought up amid he Zionist vigor of Edwardian Manchester, his belief n Fabian progress and in the possibility that a charter f human rights, written or unwritten, could be bserved in our time, carried him apart from the hort-term aspirations of Zionism. He stayed apart a ong while. It would not have been surprising if he had remained always where he was. But half-way through the war years he sent a contribution to the *New Statesman and Nation* that openly and firmly announced a change of position. He had been receiving correspondence from the "Middle East," and, in the light of the developments in Europe, had decided that the demand for a Jewish State in Israel was necessary. From then onwards he gave his assent to it, and from within the Labor Party combatted Bevin on the issue as long as Bevin continued to resist the facts of the situation. The recent realistic adaptation of Foreign Office policy towards a measure of co-operation with Israel must have been some satisfaction to him. Even more satisfying must have been British policy on India some time ago. But too many unsatisfactory things remained, and not in Britain alone, and one can only speculate how far an absolute despair suddenly pushed him out of the battle into the grip of death.

It is not a bad way to judge a Professor to ask what his students thought of him. The men and women at the London School of Economics were devoted to Laski. After the war the predominant complexion of the British universities changed from pink to Tory blue, but the feelings of the student public for the grim, devastating, sharp-tongued lecturer underwent no alteration. When his important libel action failed after the 1945 election, involving him in heavy costs, his students, most of them dependent on scholarships and perennially hard up, contributed without stint to the fund set up to help him.

His mouth used to set very bitterly as he made his malicious lecturing points, proceeding in logical sequence from attack to attack. But the students in the benches before him never hated or caricatured that bitterness, as students, full of appetite for life, often might. They knew that the malicious pugnacity was not aimed at them and implied no criticism of their aspiring brashness; they thought it was rather aimed at the forces that destroy or cramp youthful ardour; and they were right.

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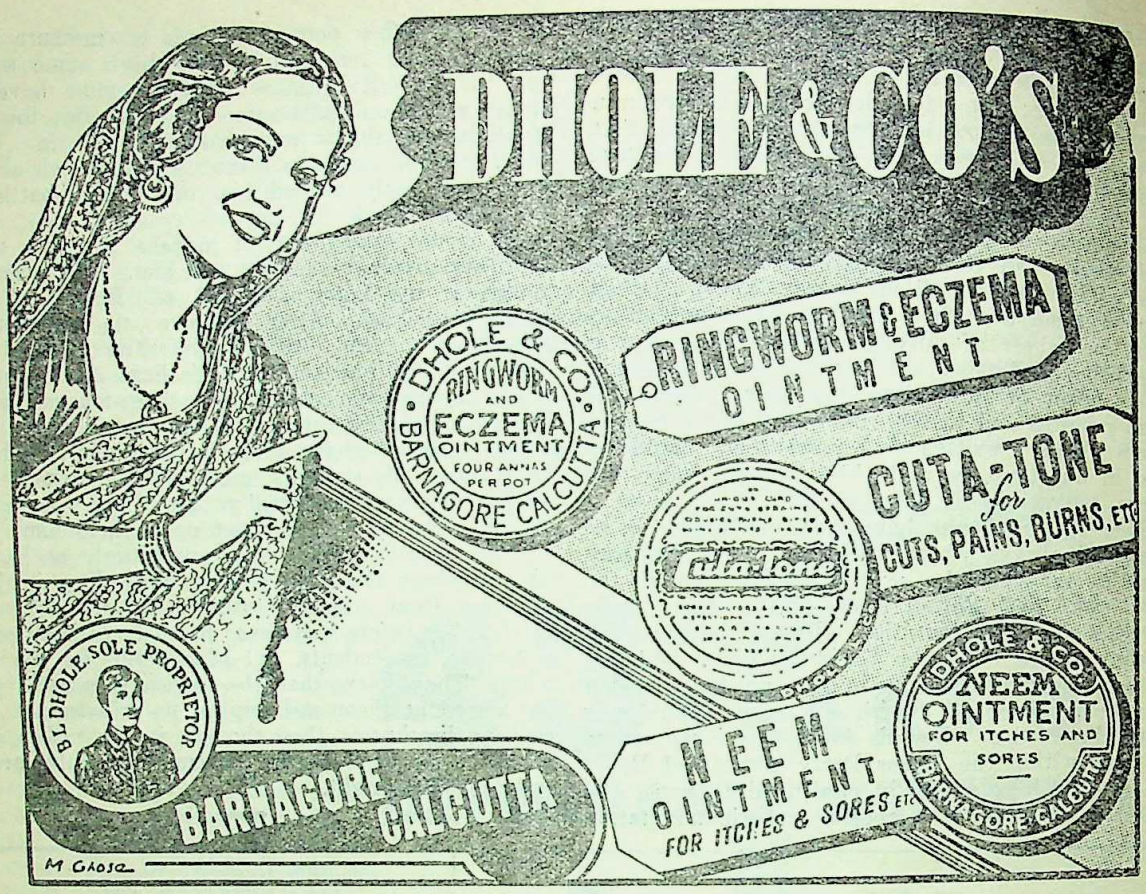

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Old Hindu Balinese Art

Merdeka of the Indonesian Information Service, reproduces the following extract from *Island of Bali* by Coverrubias :

Already in the records of Chinese travellers of the fifth century it is mentioned that in the country of "Poli," perhaps Bali, there were Hindu princes, and that the travellers were received by priests who danced around them blowing conch-shells. Bali was already a colony of the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram, the earliest recorded ruler of which was, according to Stutterheim, King Sandjaya or Sanjaya (A.D. 732) of the Sailendra dynasty, who ruled also over southern Sumatra. The Sailendras were Mahayanic Buddhists, and their highly developed art was like that of the great Gupta period of India. Sivaism was introduced towards the middle of the ninth century and, by degrees, the power of the Sailendras waned, but it was within this period, from the seventh to the ninth centuries, the golden age of Javanese art, that the finest monuments of Java were built, the Buddhist Borobudur and the Sivaist Lora Djongrang in Prambanan. Soon this great civilization disappeared mysteriously and Bali came under the rule of independent kings in Pedjeng and Bedulu. From their time we have remains of the classic style in the neighbourhood of the present villages of the same names, some in ruined temples, in caves, or among the ricefields, in the strip of land between the rivers Pakrisan and Petanu, where so many of the antiquities of Bali are found. Towards the beginning of the eleventh century there was a renaissance in East Java, in Kediri, brought about by the Balinese-born king Erlangga. Under him Bali became again an integral part of Java and classicism received a new impetus. It was Erlangga who instituted Javanese as the official language of Bali and Erlangga's brother ruled Bali in his name. This brother was buried (according to Stutterheim) in the spectacular "Kings tomb" in Gunung Kawi near Tampaksiring. Tantric black magic seems to have played an important part in Erlangga's time and while he was having trouble with his greatest political enemy, his own mother, had sworn to destroy his kingdom by the black arts.

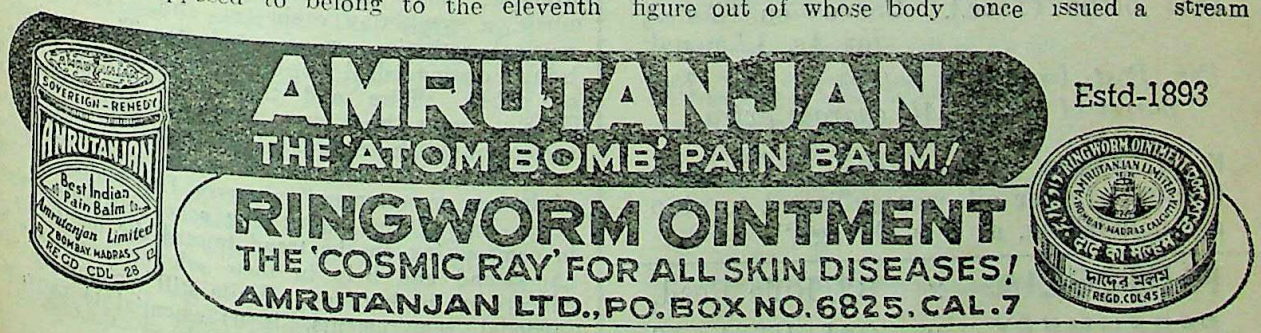
Among the important relics of the ancient period are the following :

Gunung Kawi : On the banks of the river Pakrisan, descending a steep ravine, is a group of sober, undecorated monuments shaped like the ancient burial towers (tjandi), hewn out of the solid rock, each inside a niche, four on one side and five on the other. To the right of the main group is a sort of monastery with coves also carved out of the rock, arranged around a central cell with a platform in the centre. The monuments are supposed to belong to the eleventh century, when cremation had not yet been introduced into Bali, and Lekkerkerker thinks the cells were probably designed to expose the corpses to be destroyed by decay and wild animals, such as was the custom among Indonesians. The monuments were only discovered in 1920, but the Balinese knew them, and kept them with reverence because they attributed them to the giant, of mythical times, Kbo Iwa, who is supposed to have carved all the ancient monuments with his own fingernails. The natives formerly called the tombs Djalu, but the present place-name, Gunung Kawi, means "mountain of poetry" or "mountain of antiquity."

Bukit Darma : In Kutri near Bedulu there is another antiquity of the classic period, also related to Erlangga. It is the beautiful statue of Mahendradatta, Erlangga's mother, as the goddess of death, Durga. It is preserved in the sanctuary of Bukit Darma, which archaeologists believe to be the burial site of Erlangga's mother. The statue is badly worn, but it can still be seen that it was of the purest classic lines.

Gua Gadja : Together with Gunning Kawi, the best known relic of the ancient art is the famous "Elephant Cave" near Bedulu. Gua Gadja is a great hollowed rock, perhaps the former residence of a hermit, elaborately carved on the outside, covered with representations of stylized rocks, forests, waves, animals, and people running in panic because directly over the entrance is the head of a great monster with bulging eyes who splits the rock with his enormous fat hands. Nieuwenkamp says that it may represent Pasupati, who divided the mountain Mahameru into two parts and, taking them in his hands, placed each half in Bali as the Gunung Agung and the Batur. There are a number of ancient stone water-spouts outside the cave, and on the inside is a statue of Ganesa in a central niche, with a linga on either side. The Gua Gadja dates also from the eleventh century and perhaps receives the popular name of "Elephant Cave" because of the statue, inside, of the god Ganesa, shaped like an elephant. But Goris attributes the name to the fact that the river Petanu, which runs near the cave, was called in old times Lwa Gadja, the "elephant river." Elephants have never existed in Bali and the elephant motifs that appear so frequently in Balinese art were importations from India or Java. As of Gunung Kawi, Kbo Iwa is also, according to popular belief, the author of the cave. Other hermitages with rock reliefs are the one near by called Toya Pulu; the Gua Racksasa near Ubud; Djakut Paku, both on the river Oos (Uwos); and the caves near Kapal in Bandung.

Pedjeng : In the ricefields approaching Pedjeng there is a beautiul stone water-spout in the shape of a youthful hermit holding in his hand a small human figure out of whose body once issued a stream of



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water. Further on, in what appears to be the former site of a temple, are scattered fragments of classic statues; an altar of human skulls; the vague silhouette of a slim woman, covered with damp moss, fallen and half-buried. The most complete statue is that of a wild raksasa crowned with skulls and about to drink from a larger, stylized human skull. In Pura Panataran Sasih, the temple where the bronze drum is kept, there are a number of ancient statues, the majority being commemorative statues of former kings.

Panulisan : In the ruins of pura Panulisan on the mountain of the same name; are some fine statues of kings from the eleventh century. The temple was destroyed by an earthquake and despite this fact it is regarded as a sacred place. An extravagant stairway of cement has been built to reach it, but the temple has not been repaired.

Other statues worthy of mention are the figures of Durga in the temple Pondjok Batu on the road to Tedjakula in North Bali and the great statue of Dewa Ratu Pantjering Djagat, over twelve feet high, the largest statue in Bali, kept jealously out of sight in the tower (meru) of the temple Trunyan, a Bali Aga village on the eastern shore of Lake Batur. The statue is considered very old and is held to have magic power.

U.S. Schools Experiment with Television as Classroom Aid

Boston, Massachusetts, September 12.—United States public school authorities are exploring the possibilities of using television as an aid to teaching current history and other subjects to American school children.

Under study are the educational benefits derived by students in viewing such events as sessions of the United Nations, national political conventions, and the opening of the U.S. Congress. Some educational institutions are now using television in the classroom to supplement art lectures, scientific experiments, and nature studies.

Television already is being used regularly as a teaching aid in the public schools of three major U.S. cities—Baltimore, Chicago, and Philadelphia. In these cities, television enables students to see and hear concerts presented by internationally-famous conductors, forum discussions and interviews with prominent people, dramatizations of plays being studied in the classroom, and other educational programs.

The public schools of Boston are participating in a television experiment sponsored by the Department of Education of the State of Massachusetts and Boston University School of Education. In one school, the Radio Corporation of America has installed a television set free of charge. Films prepared by the Encyclopedia Brittanica corporation are used for the programs.

Although television as a teaching tool has not been tried in Minneapolis, Minnesota students of one school take part each week in a television program. The school's radio department chooses material for presentation, according to Madeline S. Long, consultant in radio education. "During 1949," she reports, "more than 106 teachers and approximately 125 pupils participated in productions."

The Department of Radio Education of Detroit, Michigan, maintains a television set for receiving and evaluating programs, but there are no sets in the schools. —USIS.

American Scientific Schools Increase Emphasis on Humanities

Washington, June 5.—The faculties and students of engineering and technical colleges of the United States are placing increasing emphasis on the humanities—literature, languages, fine arts, and social sciences. This fact is reported by the *New York Times*, which recently made a survey of leading American scientific schools.

Many technical and engineering schools now require students to perform at least 20 per cent of their academic work in liberal arts, and a substantial number have revised their programs to provide more non-professional courses. Among the cultural subjects offered are music, poetry, art, philosophy, psychology, government, literature, and foreign languages.

Courses in the humanities are popular with students in the scientific colleges, the survey shows. In addition, the *Times* notes, the students are engaging to a greater extent than ever before in cultural activities outside the classrooms. They sing in choirs, join debating clubs and college forums, and participate in many other projects that tend to broaden their educational experiences.

At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for example, there are two glee clubs devoted to serious music, a symphony orchestra, and a variety of other musical activities among students. The institute also brings distinguished guest speakers, largely in the field of public affairs and the humanities, to the campus. Usually, notes the *Times*, the largest halls are unable to accommodate the crowds of students who wish to attend.

"The problems of modern society stem from the whole of human experiences," observes Dr. Walter J. Wohlenberg, dean of the engineering school at Yale University, in commenting on the trend toward the humanities. "To understand and help in their solution requires a broad educational background. While still maintaining the professional requirements, it is essential to carry on the liberal arts."—USIS.

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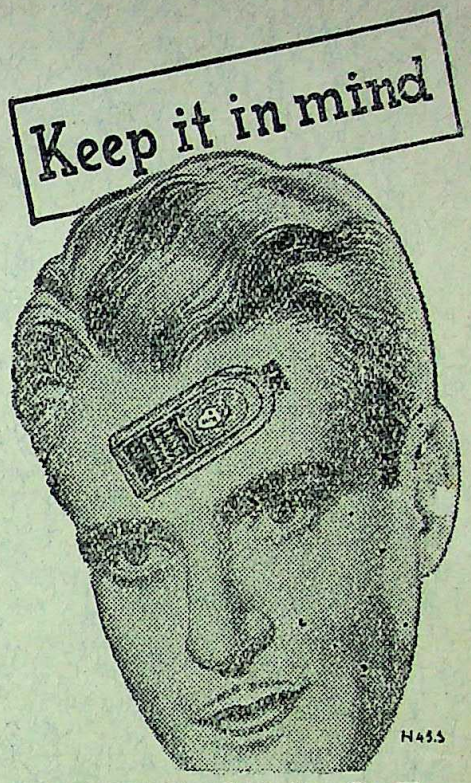

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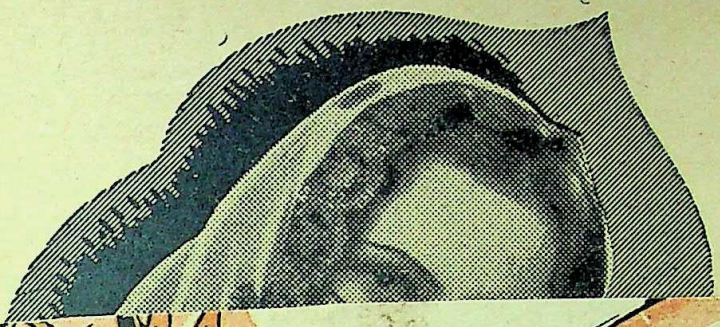

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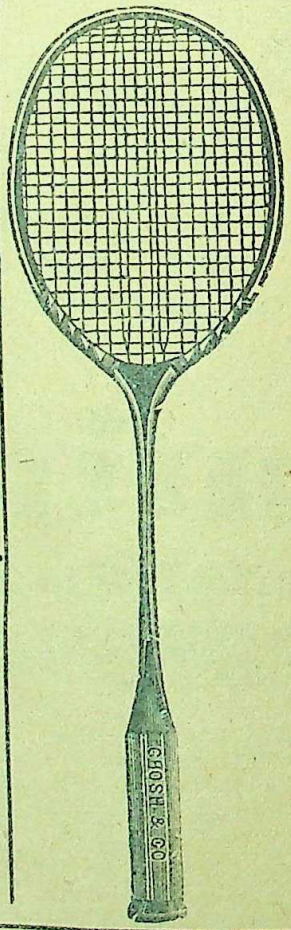

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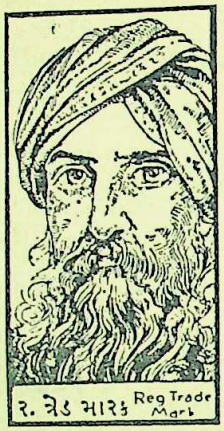

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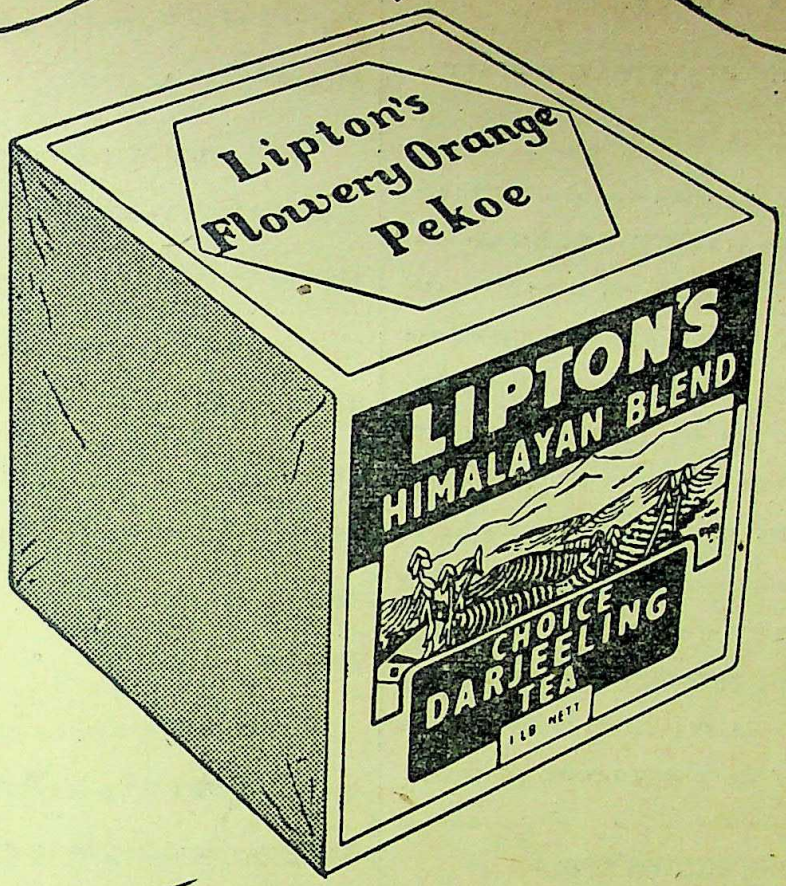

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William Faulkner, U. S. novelist, has been awarded the 1950 Nobel Prize for Literature

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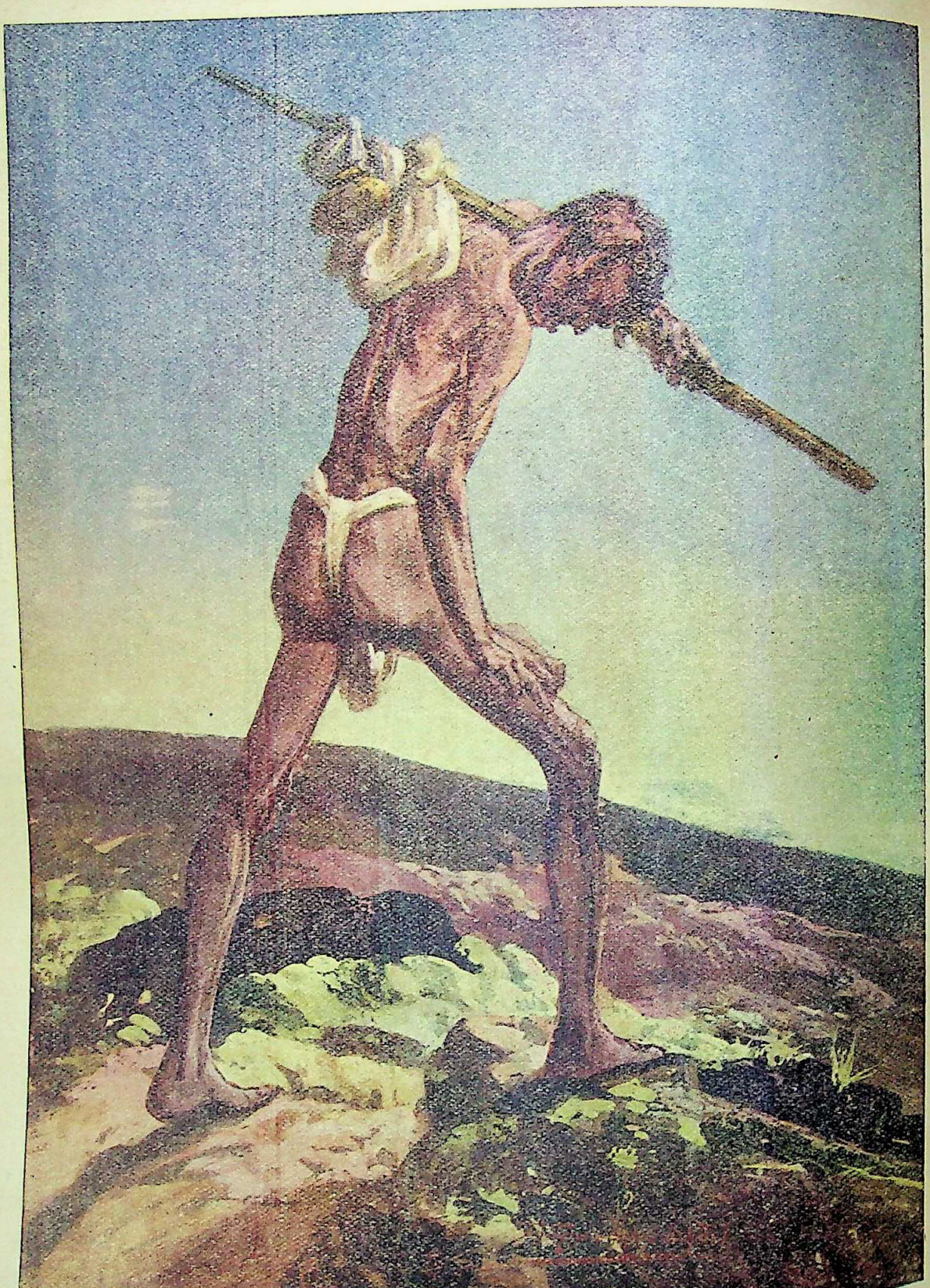

HE HAS A LONG WAY TO GO
By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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DECEMBER 1950

VOL. LXXXVIII, No. 6 WHOLE No. 528

NOTES

World Crisis

Last year, in the editorials of the December issue, we expressed deep concern at the portents of a major crisis, at home and abroad.

Another year has passed. At home, we are even more deeply enmeshed in the toils of black-marketeers and disruptionists while our nationals are being bled white due to soaring prices and shortage of vital necessities. Abroad, in the Far East, we see the World facing the possibility of a conflagration of the magnitude of the last world-war, while nearer home, our northern frontiers are menaced by warlike disturbances that tend to jeopardise the integrity of our nation.

The time has come for the setting aside of all petty considerations and to look to the safety of our country. Our leaders must be called upon to stamp out all anti-social and disruptionist elements inside the land with a firm hand. The nation must be called upon to help the Government to put our house in order.

Realism must enter our Foreign policy. Prime Minister Nehru must declare openly that we have no designs on the independence of Nepal, and that our only desire is to see a stable and popular government enthroned there through the will of Nepal's own nationals. Further abroad our policy must become more coherent and more in keeping with hard realities. The Chinese gambit must be studied dispassionately and without any abstract inhibitions. We must make it clear to China that most reluctant as we are to disturb the millennium-old friendly relations between us, we must insist that this friendship be reciprocal.

Our President drew a very sombre picture in his opening address. It deserves deep and sober consideration by all true patriots. But he should have warned the administration that as yet they are falling short in their service to the common man.

The President's Address

A summary is given below of the opening address of President Rajendra Prasad at the third session of the Parliament :

"Members of the Parliament,—We met here three and a half months ago at a special session of Parliament to consider a crisis that had arisen in international affairs. That crisis led the United Nations to face aggression in Korea and, after many trials and difficulties, the forces of aggression were checked and thrust back. But recent developments have deepened that crisis and the world, hungering for peace, appears to stand perilously on the verge of war. In our own country we have had to face unparalleled calamities. A great earthquake and subsequent floods brought disaster to our north-eastern State of Assam. In many other states there were also mighty floods bringing destruction in their train; lack of rain in certain other areas ruined not only the present harvest but gravely affected the season to come. Thus we meet today at a moment of grave trial, both external and internal, and it will require all our wisdom, courage and restraint to face these perils and dangers and work for the good of our people and the peace of humanity.

"During these difficult months that have passed my Government have laboured consistently in the international sphere for the preservation of world peace and to prevent the extension of the Korean war. Peace is recognised by all to be the paramount need of humanity and yet fear drives nations in a direction which endangers peace. World peace can only be assured if the great nations of the world seek it and work for it; war may come even if one of them considers it unfavourable.

"My Government have been consistently following a policy of friendship with our great neighbour country, China. It was a matter of deep regret to us therefore, that the Chinese Government should have undertaken military operations in Tibet, when the way of peaceful negotiations was open to them. Tibet is not only a neighbour of India, but has had close cultural and other ties with her for ages past. India must, therefore, necessarily concern herself with what happens in Tibet and hope that autonomy of this peaceful country will be preserved.

"Recently, His Majesty the King of Nepal sought shelter with his family in our Embassy in Kathmandu, as certain differences had arisen between him and his Government and expressed a desire to come to India. His Majesty has now come to Delhi and we have wel-

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comed him as our honoured guest. Nepal is a country with the closest relations with India and a treaty of friendship was signed between India and Nepal only a few months ago. *It has been and remains my Government's desire to respect the independence of, and to maintain friendly relations with Nepal and see her people achieve political and economic progress.*

"The recent natural calamities and disasters in our country have seriously affected the food situation. Ripening harvests have been destroyed by floods and in some cases even stores of foodgrains have been washed away. What is more disturbing is that even the coming harvest has been seriously affected by drought over wide areas. Notably in Bihar, where a calamity of such magnitude has not occurred in living memory. This has necessitated large imports of foodgrains from foreign countries. But, even so, we are likely to experience grave difficulties during the concluding weeks of this year. Private hoarding, in such circumstances, is a crime of the first magnitude. States which have some surplus foodstuffs must share them with other less fortunate areas. *All of us must avoid every kind of waste and try to help those in need.* The situation is grave. It does not help to minimise it; it helps still less to exaggerate it or to use the language of panic about it.

"To meet the situation arising out of the rise in prices, my Government have taken steps to control the supply and prices of eleven articles to liberalise imports, and to check anti-social practices. These steps can only succeed with the full co-operation of the people themselves.

"I regret to say that trade between India and Pakistan has largely been at a standstill because no decision has yet been reached about the par value of the Pakistan rupee. It was hoped that this question would be settled immediately after the recent meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Paris but its consideration was postponed. My Government have made a proposal to the Pakistan Government for the final decision of two of the major issues between India and Pakistan. They have suggested a tribunal of the highest standing to decide the issues of evacuee property and canal waters. I trust that this proposal will be accepted and thus two serious causes of conflict between the two countries will be removed.

"I am glad that as a result of the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of April 8, 1950, there has been a gradual improvement of conditions and a flow-back of migrants to their original homes.

"It has become even more necessary than before that we should apply our limited resources to the best advantage and that we should explore all avenues, which will help in developing the country. The problems that face us cannot be solved unless there is such development. The Planning Commission has been strenuously labouring, in co-operation with Ministries of the Central Government and the State Governments, to lay down a preliminary plan as well as to prepare a plan for a longer term. It is hoped that the short-term plan will be placed before the country before long. Meanwhile, the three great river valley projects the Bhakra, Damodar and Hirakud are making substantial progress. Scientific research has also made considerable progress; and a number of new national laboratories have been opened.

"Progress has been made in the rehabilitation of displaced persons and some of the new townships, such as Faridabad, Nilokheri, Rajpura, Kandla and Fulia, have now taken shape and most of them are functioning.

"In regard to displaced persons from Eastern Pakistan, the position has been fluid because of movements of migrants in both directions. One million and one hundred thousand of such displaced persons have been settled under various schemes on land or in shops. There is still a camp population of 250,000, chiefly in West Bengal and also in Bihar, Orissa, Tripura and Assam. Steps are being taken to rehabilitate this camp population. Much remains to be done for the displaced persons from Eastern Pakistan.

"More accurate figures are available for the displaced persons from West Pakistan. These totalled about 5 millions. Of these 6,00,000 families, comprising about 3 million persons, were offered allotment of land with some help for equipment. Of these, 500,000 persons, who had secured allotment of land, preferred to live in towns. The displaced persons in towns thus came to about 2,500,000. Some of these showed enterprise and made their own arrangements. Government had to provide housing and gainful employment for others. In regard to housing, 2,070,000 have been given accommodation in evacuee houses, reconditioned barracks and in newly built houses. In addition, plots have been developed for private construction and houses are being built all over the country.

"In regard to providing gainful occupation, shops and business premises have been allotted to 54,000 persons and about 1,00,000 have been given assistance through loans or employment or vocational and technical training.

"My Government have been anxious to hold the General Elections for Parliament and the State Legislatures as early as possible in accordance with the new Constitution. These elections will be on a scale which has had no parallel in any country at any time and it is estimated that the electors will number over 170 millions. The preparation of electoral rolls and the delimitation of constituencies involve great labour both for the Central and State Government. Every effort has been made to complete all preparations so as to be able to hold the elections on April-May, 1951. It is important that a firm date should be fixed and adhered to, as changes at a later stage would be exceedingly embarrassing to all concerned. The present position is that Parliament has not yet finalised many matters connected with elections and progress has thus far been made on various assumptions which may or

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ay not be justified. This introduces an element of uncertainty. Some States have also informed us that it is not possible for them to be ready for elections by April-May, 1951. In Bihar the unprecedented deterioration of the food position has created formidable difficulties. My Government have carefully reviewed the situation in all its aspects and taken into consideration both official and non-official viewpoints. They have come to the conclusion that any date in April-May next will give rise to serious difficulties and cannot, in the circumstances, be considered a firm date. They have, therefore, decided to fix definitely the date for the General Elections in the second-half of November or early December, 1951.

Nepal

On November 7, India was startled with the news that the King of Nepal, Tribhuban Bir Bikram Shah Dev accompanied by some members of his family had taken refuge in the Indian Embassy at Kathmandu. An official announcement from the External Affairs Ministry, after disclosing this news, said : "It is understood that His Majesty the King of Nepal is anxious to come to India for treatment and as the Government objected to this he sought the assistance of the Indian Ambassador." News also came that the second son of the Crown Prince, a three year old boy, was proclaimed King. The King had not abdicated. Mr. B. P. Koirala, the Nepali Congress leader, in a statement , said, "By this great act the King had placed himself on the side of the forces of freedom and denounced the present Government of Nepal as usurpers." Mr. Koirala indicated that the King was sympathetic towards the popular movement for democratisation of the Nepali Government.

Next day it was announced that the Government of India had decided to give asylum to the King and provide all facilities to him to come out to India as desired by him. This, it was explained by spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry, was in accordance with international convention. No objection to this had been raised by the Nepal Government. Suspension of the Calcutta-Kathmandu air service was announced on November 8.

On November 9, Sardar Patel, referring to Nepal, said, "In this country, our near neighbour, the Raja has sought sanctuary in the Indian Embassy. How could we refuse to give him refuge ? We had to give it. Those who are weilding real power today in Nepal do not accept the Raja as the head of the State. They have installed the Raja's three-year-old grandson on the *gadi*. They want us to accept this position. How can we do so ?" Sardar Patel did not elaborate on this point but emphasised that this "internal feud" in Nepal had laid India's northern frontier wide open to outside attack.

On November 10, news came that hundreds of thousands of leaflets in Nepali and Hindi were distributed throughout Nepal, including Kathmandu, on behalf of the Nepali Congress calling upon the people to rise in revolt against the present regime. The leaflets declared that the struggle of the Nepali Congress had started for the liberation of Nepal from the shackles of the Ranas and for the establishment of a people's democratic government with King Tribhuban Bir Bikram Shah Dev as the constitutional head.

On November 11, armed forces of the Nepali Congress entered Birganj, second biggest town in Nepal and set up a parallel government. A number of casualties were reported on both sides. Nepal Congress forces were striking at nine different points into Nepal territory.

The King of Nepal arrived at New Delhi on November 11. He flew in an Indian Air Force Dakota. The Prime Minister of India received him at the airfield.

On November 12, suitable police measures were taken at Raxaul, Indo-Nepalese border town in Bihar, to prevent the Indian territory being used for armed operations against Nepal. Thirbhubon Malla, leader of Nepali Congress forces, who led the assault on Birganj, died on this day.

On November 13, the King of Nepal called on the President of India and met the Prime Minister. Denying the suggestion that India was "hand in glove with the insurrectionists in Nepal," authoritative quarters in New Delhi said that India had no desire to interfere in the internal troubles in Nepal. Nepali Congress forces were driving towards Kathmandu had captured the strategic railway terminus of Amlekhganj. Next day, Congress forces pushed beyond Amlekhganj.

On November 15, Government of India issued strict instructions to the Government of West Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh not to permit any movement of armed men or of arms and ammunition in either directions across the Indo-Nepalese border.

On November 17, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister, said that the only way of resolving the "internal feud" in Nepal was the immediate introduction of both political and economic reforms there.

"Although we cannot interfere in the internal affairs of Nepal," he said, "we have to take cognisance of any discontent that arises there. Nepal is India's neighbour and any crisis there may give rise to forces that may endanger India's freedom. It is imperative, therefore, that the present Nepalese crisis should be resolved peacefully and without resort to arms."

"It is amazing," said the Education Minister, "that in the middle of the twentieth century naked autocracy should reign supreme in any part of the world. It is unthinkable and intolerable. There is not one Indian who today does not sympathise with the cause of the Nepalese people. Theirs is a just fight and we in India were fighting the same battle not long ago. Our sympathy is naturally, therefore, with the Nepalese people, many of whom made sacrifices in the cause of Indian freedom."

By November 18, there was a good deal of fighting in the Parwanipur area and the position of the Nepali Congress became uncertain.

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After the Birganj Set-back

While Birganj remained in Nepali Congress hands, the town was administered by a Provisional Government of the Nepali Congress. The emergency government was reported to be tightening its security measures. Scores of hastily equipped fighters were being rushed to Parwanipur bridge where decisive fighting was expected any moment. Nepali Congress volunteers, aided by hundreds of Kisan men and women, tried to consolidate their position before the proposed attack on besieged Bhairawa. The Congress forces tried to capture the state armours at Gaur, 30 miles East of Birganj but were repulsed by government troops with heavy casualties.

After a week of occupation by the Congress forces, Birganj passed back into the hands of the Government troops. While the defence at Birganj crumbled, there was spectacular success for Congress forces at Biratnagar. A key town, Haraicha, 10 miles north of Biratnagar was captured by the Congress. In the Central sector of Birganj Congress forces adopted guerilla tactics. Rajbiraj, headquarters of Saptari district in Eastern Nepal and Sarlahi, subdivisional headquarters of Mahatori, North of Jainagar in Darbhanga district, were captured. On November 21, Nepal Government posted sentries at Raxaul bridge linking Indian and Nepal territory to check unauthorised entry of persons. Vigilance of Indian Government authorities in this area also increased. Every person proceeding to and from Nepal were subjected to strict search. The Nepal-Jaynagar-Janakpur Railway service was discontinued under orders of the Nepal Government authorities. The last trains on this section were run on November 16. Jaynagar is an important centre of Indo-Nepalese trade and the closing of the railway entailed a great loss.

On November 23, it was reported that the stage was being set for the second phase of the struggle of the Congress after their set-back at Birganj. On this day, the Nepalese Ambassador at New Delhi met the Prime Minister of India and handed over to him a sealed letter from the Prime Minister of Nepal. It was understood that the Nepalese Prime Minister had expressed a desire to discuss with the Government of India the Nepalese situation. It was also understood that the Nepalese Prime Minister was willing to discuss the question of political reforms in Nepal for which the nationalist elements in that state had been fighting. The Government of India's sympathy with the people's desire to be associated with the administration of the State were pronounced and they had made friendly suggestions in the past to the Nepalese Government that the State should proceed along democratic lines.

On November 24, it was reported that the Prime Minister of India told the Congress Working Committee that the King of Nepal enjoyed a wide measure of popularity with the masses of Nepal. Establishment of a popular democratic administration in Nepal with the King as its constitutional head was, according to him, the only solution of the present problem in that State. Analysing the situation in Nepal following the flight of the king, Sri Nehru is understood to have emphasised that the installation of the three-year-old boy King could hardly provide any solution as it had no real support of the people. Sri Nehru mentioned the efforts made by the Nepalese Government to have the boy King recognised by India and other countries.

On November 26, it was reported that the Nepali Congress volunteers in Birganj sector had captured Tribeni on the Gandak in Butwal district, 30 miles North-East of Birganj.

On November 27, Senior Commanding General Kaiser Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, who holds the post equivalent to that of a Defence Minister in Nepal and the Director General of Foreign Affairs in Nepal, General Bijay Shamshere Jung arrived in Delhi for talks with the Government of India.

J. P. Narain on Nepal

Sri J. P. Narain, the Socialist leader, speaking at New Delhi on Nepal said that before assuming office Sri Nehru was always very keen to help the democratic forces in their fight for freedom in every nook and corner of the world. He sent a medical mission to China and championed the cause of Republicans in Spain. How was it that now when he was the Prime Minister of India, he did not even extend a fair treatment to the democratic forces in Nepal ?

It was a very puzzling state of affairs, said the Socialist leader, that the King of Nepal, instead of being a prisoner in Kathmandu, was now a virtual prisoner in New Delhi. While the Government of India did not recognise the three-year old king installed on the throne by the Rana, it also did not allow the King Vikram Shah to go and lead the democratic forces in Birganj after it had been liberated.

Sri Narain asserted that if at that moment, the King of Nepal had been allowed to go to Birganj, there would have been a lightning revolt inside the camp of Rana and democratic forces would have carried the day long ago. It was not too late even now, he said. The King of Nepal should be given a free hand to form a new Government and liquidate the reactionary Rana regime.

Newspaper reports, Sri Narain went on, said that the British Government was anxious to maintain the *status quo* in Nepal, because it was afraid that a democratic government in Nepal would not allow Gurkha soldiers to be used for spreading British imperialism. If India allowed her decision on this vital issue to be influenced by the opinion of the British Government it would, indeed, be extremely unfortunate, added the Socialist leader.

Tibet

News from Tibet is as scarce as it is conflicting. On November 3 it was reported that the Dalai Lama accompanied by Regent Takta Rimpoche and the cabinet left Lhasa for an unknown destination. A PTI message

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stated that the Regent had asked the Government of India to grant political asylum to the young Dalai Lama who wanted to come to India. Next day it was announced that the Tibetan administration had been taken over by the opposition group led by Sawong Lama, one of the seniormost monk officials in Lhasa. On November 5, Indian Mission in Tibet informed Indian Government that the Dalai Lama had not left Lhasa. Little reliance can thus be placed on news emanating from that land of mystery. Reports of the advances of Chinese Armed forces were also equally conflicting. The advance of the Red Chinese Army seem to have been halted due to winter conditions.

On November 10, a New Delhi message stated that the Tibetan Government had sent an appeal to the United Nations for intervention and aid in the situation created by the invasion of Tibet by the Chinese forces. The appeal was sent direct by Dalai Lama's Government on November 8. It had been known for some time that Tibet had approached India to sponsor the complaint against China in the Security Council but she was advised that she could lodge the appeal herself.

On November 12, Mr. Loy Henderson, U.S. Ambassador in India, made an important announcement at a Press Conference in Calcutta. He said that his government were still studying Tibetan developments and he considered that any "hasty" conclusion at this stage would be "unwise." He amplified his statement by saying that both with regard to Tibet and Nepal, a very wide responsibility rested with India. He stated, "My Government do not desire to do anything which may complicate matters for India." He also stated that Nepal had not approached the U.S.A. Government for any kind of help in this present crisis, nor had there been any request for arms and ammunition as had been aired in a section of the press. The Nepal Government had however informed the U.S. Government regarding enthronement of the new King. Regarding Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, Mr. Henderson said, "our historic past had been that we did recognise the suzerainty of China over Tibet."

On November 13, a Kalimpong message stated that the Chinese troops had entered Lhasa peacefully and hostilities had ceased and that the Tibetan National Assembly which had been in continuous session discussing the Chinese draft proposals about the future political status of Tibet, had finally accepted them. These proposals were believed to have stipulated that China would be responsible for Tibet's defence, communications and foreign affairs. They carried Peking's assurance that Tibet's internal administration would not be interfered with by China. According to *PTI* reports, official circles at New Delhi declined to give any credence to this news which was characterised as highly exaggerated. They quoted reports from the Indian Mission in Lhasa to say that conditions there had improved.

On November 20, Prime Minister of India stated in Parliament that map or no map, the MacMahon line was the boundary between India and Tibet. He added that the Indian Government still stood by that line fixed by the Simla Convention of 1914. India would not allow any one to violate the boundary.

India-China Notes on Tibet

The following is the full text of the diplomatic Notes exchanged between India and China over Tibet during the month of October :

"Government of India's note dated October 26, 1950, to the Foreign Minister of China.

"We have seen with great regret report in newspapers of an official statement made in Peking to the effect that "people's Army units have been ordered to advance into Tibet." We have received no intimation of this from your Ambassador here or from our Ambassador in Peking. We have been repeatedly assured of the desire of the Chinese Government to settle Tibetan problems by peaceful means and negotiations. In an interview which India's Ambassador had recently with the vice-Foreign Minister, the latter, while reiterating resolve of Chinese Government to "liberate" Tibet, had expressed continued desire to do so by peaceful means. We informed Chinese Government through our Ambassador of the decision of the Tibetan delegation to proceed to Peking immediately to start negotiations. This delegation actually left Delhi yesterday. In view of these facts the decision to order advance of China's troops into Tibet appears to us most surprising and regrettable.

"We realise that there has been delay in Tibetan delegation proceeding to Peking. This delay was caused, in the first instance, by inability to obtain visas for Hong Kong, for which the Delegation was in no way responsible. Subsequently, the Delegation came back to Delhi because of wish of the Chinese Government that preliminary negotiations should first be conducted in Delhi with the Chinese Ambassador. Owing to lack of knowledge on part of the Tibetan delegation of dealing with other countries, and the necessity of obtaining instructions from their Government, who in turn had to consult their assemblies, certain further delays took place. The Government of India do not believe that any foreign influences hostile to China have been responsible for the delay in the delegation's departure.

"Now that the invasion of Tibet has been ordered by Chinese Government, peaceful negotiations can hardly be synchronised with it, and there will naturally be fear on the part of Tibetans that negotiations will be under duress. In the present context of world events, the invasion by Chinese troops of Tibet cannot but be regarded as deplorable and, in the considered judgment of the Government of India, not in the interest of China or of peace. The Government of India can only express their deep regret that in spite of the friendly and disinterested advice repeatedly tendered by them, the Chinese Government should have decided to seek a solution of the pro-

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blems of their relations with Tibet by force instead of by the slower and more enduring method of peaceful approach."

Reply from the Foreign Minister of China dated October 30, 1950 :

"The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China would like to make it clear that Tibet is an integral part of Chinese territory, and the problem of Tibet is entirely a domestic problem of China. The Chinese People's Liberation Army must enter Tibet, liberate the Tibetan people, and defend the frontiers of China. This is the resolved policy of the Central People's Government. The Central People's Government have repeatedly expressed the hope that the problem of Tibet may be solved by peaceful negotiations, and it welcomes, therefore, the delegation of the local authorities of Tibet to come to Peking at an early date to proceed with peaceful negotiations. Yet the Tibetan delegation under outside instigation, has intentionally delayed the date of its departure for Peking.

"The Central People's Government, however, has not abandoned its desire to proceed with peace negotiations.

"But regardless of whether the local authorities of Tibet wish to proceed with peace negotiations and whatever results may be achieved by negotiations, the problem of Tibet is a domestic problem of the People's Republic of China and no foreign interference shall be tolerated. In particular, the problem of Tibet and the problem of the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are two entirely unrelated problems. If those countries hostile to China attempt to utilize as an excuse the fact that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is exercising its sovereign rights in its territories of Tibet, and threaten to obstruct the participation of the People's Republic of China in the U.N.O., it is then but another demonstration of the unfriendly and hostile attitude of such countries towards China.

"Therefore, with regard to the viewpoint of the Government of India on what it regards as deplorable, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China cannot but consider it as having been affected by foreign influences hostile to China in Tibet and hence expresses its deep regret."

Government of India's note dated October 31, 1950, to the Foreign Minister of China :

"India's Ambassador in Peking has transmitted to the Government of India the note handed to him by the Vice-Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China on 30th October. The Government of India have read with amazement the statement in the last paragraph of the Chinese Government's reply that the Government of India's representation to them was affected by foreign influence hostile to China, and categorically repudiate it. At no time has any foreign influence been brought to bear upon India in regard to Tibet. In this, as in other matters, the Government of India's policy has been entirely independent and directed solely towards a peaceful settlement of international disputes and avoidance of anything calculated to increase the present deplorable tensions in the world.

"The Government of China are equally mistaken in thinking that the Tibetan delegation's departure to Peking was delayed by outside instigation. In their previous communications the Government of India have explained at some length the reasons why the Tibetan delegation could not proceed to Peking earlier. They are convinced that there has been no possibility of foreign instigation.

"It is with no desire to interfere or to gain any advantage that the Government of India have sought earnestly that a settlement of the Tibetan problem should be affected by peaceful negotiations, adjusting legitimate Tibetan claim to autonomy within the framework of Chinese suzerainty. Tibetan autonomy is a fact which, judging from reports that they have received from the Indian Ambassador in China and also from other sources, the Chinese Government were themselves willing to recognise and foster. The Government of India's repeated suggestions that Chinese suzertainty over Tibet and Tibetan autonomy should be reconciled by peaceful negotiation was not, as the Chinese Government seem to suggest, unwarranted interference in China's internal affairs but well-meant advice by a friendly Government which has a natural interest in the solution of problems concerning its neighbours by peaceful methods.

"Wedded as they are to ways of peace the Government of India had been gratified to learn that the Chinese Government were also desirous to effect a settlement in Tibet through peaceful negotiations. Because of this, the Government of India advised the Tibetan Government to send their delegation to Peking, and were glad that this advice was accepted. In the interchange of the communications which had been taking place between the Government of India and the Government of China, the former had received repeated assurances that a peaceful settlement was aimed at. In the circumstances, the surprise of the Government of India was all the greater when they learnt that military operations had been undertaken by the Chinese Government against a peaceful people. There has been no allegation that there has been any provocation on any resort to non-peaceful methods on the part of the Tibetans. Hence there is no justification whatever for such military operations against them. Such a step, involving an attempt to impose a decision by force could not possibly be reconciled with a peaceful settlement.

"In view of these developments the Government of India are no longer in a position to advise the Tibetan delegation to proceed to Peking, unless the Chinese Government think it fit to order their troops to halt their advance into Tibet and thus give a chance for peaceful negotiations.

"Every step that the Government of India have taken in recent months has been to check the drift to war all over the world. In doing so they have often been

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misunderstood and criticised but they have adhered to their policy regardless of the displeasure of great nations. They cannot help thinking that the military operations by the Chinese Government against Tibet have greatly added to the tensions of the world and to the drift towards general war which they are sure the Government of China also wish to avoid.

"The Government of India have repeatedly made it clear that they have no political or territorial ambitions in Tibet and they do not seek any novel privileged position for themselves or for their nationals in Tibet. At the same time they have pointed out that certain rights have grown out of usage and agreements which are natural between neighbours with close cultural and commercial relations. These relations have found expression in the presence of an agent of the Government of India in Lhasa, the existence of trade agencies at Gyantse and Yatung and the maintenance of post and telegraph offices at the trade route up to Gyantse. For the protection of this trade route a small military escort has been stationed at Gyantse for over 40 years. The Government of India are anxious that these establishments, which are to the mutual interest of India and Tibet, and do not detract in any way from Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, should continue. The personnel at the Lhasa Mission and the Agencies at Gyantse and Yatung have accordingly been instructed to stay at their posts.

"It has been the basic policy of the Government of India to work for friendly relations between India and China, both countries recognising each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and mutual interests. Recent developments in Tibet have affected these friendly relations and the interest of peace all over the world; this the Government in India deeply regret. In conclusion, the Government of India can only express their earnest hope that the Chinese Government will still prefer the method of peaceful negotiations and settlement to a solution under duress and by force."

Text of Peking's Final Note on Tibet

The New China News Agency has released the full text of the correspondence exchanged between India and China over Tibet. The final Note as declared by the Agency is as follows :

"On November 1, 1950, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China received from His Excellency Ambassador Panikkar a communication from the Government of the Republic of India on the problem of Tibet.

"The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, in its past communications with the Government of the Republic of India on the problem of Tibet, has repeatedly made it clear that Tibet is an integral part of Chinese territory and the problem of Tibet is entirely a domestic problem of China.

"The Chinese People's Liberation Army must enter Tibet, liberate the Tibetan people and defend the frontiers of China. This is the first policy of the Chinese Government. According to the provisions of the common programme adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the regional autonomy granted by the Chinese Government to national minorities inside the country is an autonomy within the confines of Chinese sovereignty.

"This point was recognised by the Indian Government in its Aide Memoire to the Chinese Government dated August 26 this year. However, when the Chinese Government actually exercised its sovereign rights, and began to liberate the Tibetan people and drive out foreign forces and influences to ensure that the Tibetan people will be free from aggression and will realise regional autonomy and religious freedom, the Indian Government attempted to influence and obstruct the exercise of its sovereign rights in Tibet by the Chinese Government. This cannot but make the Chinese Government greatly surprised.

"The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China sincerely hopes that the Chinese People's Liberation Army may enter Tibet peacefully to perform the sacred task of liberating the Tibetan people and defending the frontiers of China. It has, therefore, long since welcomed the delegation of the local authorities of Tibet, which has remained in India, to come to Peking at an early date to proceed with peace negotiations. Yet the said delegation, obviously as a result of continued outside obstruction, has delayed its departure for Peking. Further, taking advantage of the delay of negotiations, the local authorities of Tibet have deployed strong armed forces at Changtu, in Sikang province, in the interior of China, in an attempt to prevent the Chinese People's Liberation Army from liberating Tibet.

"On August 31, 1950, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the Indian Government through Ambassador Panikkar that the Chinese People's Liberation Army was going to take action soon in West Sikang according to set plans, and expressed the hope that the Indian Government would assist the delegation of the local authorities of Tibet so that it might arrive in Peking in mid-September to begin peace negotiations.

"In early and middle September, the Chinese Charge d'Affairs, Shen Chien, and later Ambassador Yuan Chung-hsien, both in person, told the said delegation that it was imperative that it should hasten to Peking before the end of September, otherwise the said delegation should bear the responsibilities and be held responsible for all the consequences resulting from the delay. In mid-September, Chinese Ambassador, Yuan, again informed the Indian Government of this. Yet still owing to outside instigation, the delegation of the local authorities of Tibet fabricated various pretexts and remained in India.

"Although the Chinese Government has not given up its desire of settling the problems of Tibet peacefully, it can no longer continue to put off the set plan of the Chinese People's 'Liberation' Army to proceed to Tibet. And the liberation of Changtu further proved that through

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the instrument of Tibetan troops, foreign forces and influences were obstructing the peaceful settlement of the problem of Tibet. But regardless of whether the local authorities of Tibet wish to proceed with peace negotiations, and regardless of whatever results may be achieved by negotiations, no foreign intervention will be permitted. The entry into Tibet of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the liberation of the Tibetan people are also decided.

"In showing its friendship with the Government of the Republic of India, and in an understanding of the desire of the Indian Government to see the problem of Tibet settled peacefully, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has kept the Indian Government informed of its efforts in this direction. What the Chinese Government cannot but deeply regret is that the Indian Government, in disregard of the facts, has regarded a domestic problem of the Chinese Government —the exercise of its sovereign rights in Tibet—as an international dispute calculated to increase the present deplorable tensions in the world."

The Chinese Note added: "The Government of the Republic of India had repeatedly expressed its desire of developing Sino-Indian friendship on the basis of mutual respect for territory, sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit, and of preventing the world from going to war. The entry into Tibet of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is exactly aimed at the protection of the integrity of the territory and the sovereignty of China. And it is on this question that all those countries who desire to respect the territory and the sovereignty of China should first of all indicate their real attitude towards China.

"In the meantime, we consider that what is now threatening the independence of nations and world peace is precisely the forces of those imperialist aggressors. For the sake of the maintenance of national independence and the defence of world peace, it is necessary to resist the forces of these imperialist aggressors. The entry into Tibet of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is thus an important measure to maintain Chinese independence, to prevent the imperialist aggressors from dragging the world toward war, and to defend world peace.

"The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China welcomes the renewed declaration of the Indian Government that it has no political or territorial ambitions in China's Tibet and that it does not seek any new privileged position. So long as our two sides adhere strictly to the principle of mutual respect for territory, sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit, we are convinced that the friendship between China and India should be developed in a normal way, and that problems relating to Sino-Indian diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with respect to Tibet, may be solved properly and to our mutual benefit through normal diplomatic channels."

The New China News Agency also circulated an editorial on Tibet by the *People's Daily* of Peking, dated November 17, which said: "The Chinese cannot but feel amazement and regret that the Indian Government should try to hinder so just a step (the People's Liberation Army's march into Tibet). Tibet is as much an integral part of China as Wales is of England or Bombay of India."

The paper said that not only would the peaceful settlement of the Tibetan question not be damaged by the march of the People's Army into Tibet, but on the contrary "any peaceful settlement should involve the peaceful acceptance of the People's Liberation Army's entry into Tibet."

The paper alleged that "foreign aggressive forces have tried to undermine a peaceful settlement by every means in their power," and that the British Government deliberately procrastinated in giving the Tibetan delegation in India visas to travel via Hong Kong to Peking.

Commenting on the delay to which the Tibetan delegation was subjected, the *People's Daily* said: "We hear steps on the staircase but nobody ever appears. It is clear that the delay in the delegations coming to Peking for peace talks is due to foreign instigation and obstruction. It is this that should be held responsible for preventing and undermining peace talks."

The paper went on to comment that "the imperialists are afraid of the friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples. They are deliberately undermining the efforts of the Indian and Chinese peoples to unite and work together.

Hence they are using the Tibetan question to excite opinion in India and are attempting to make a break in the great friendship between the Indian and Chinese peoples."

Britain on Chinese Action in Tibet

The British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ernest Davies, making a statement about the situation in Tibet in the House of Commons on November 20, declared that the Chinese action was "inexcusable and unforgivable."

"We regret," added Mr. Davies, "that the present international tension, which is unfortunately so great, should be increased by this unprovoked aggression of China against Tibet."

Replying to Sir John Mellor, Mr. Ernest Davies said: "His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have no representative in Tibet and therefore no direct means of the infrmation about the situation there.

"We have, however, been informed by the Government of India that they have received reports from their Agent in Lhasa which show that the Chinese invasion has not made as much progress as was at first believed. There have been rumours that the Chinese had entered Lhasa, that resistance had ceased and that peace negotiations were in progress. These rumours are quite without foundation."

Mr. Davies declined to give an undertaking that, "while this unprovoked and naked aggression is continuing against Tibet," Britain would not enter into

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negotiations with the Chinese Government "which is responsible for that invasion."

Mr. Anthony Eden asked whether the Government contemplated seeking any further information or any joint action or representation with the Government of India, or anything of the kind. Mr Davies replies: "We are in consultation with the Government of India on this matter, and a member of the United Nations is endeavouring to put it on the agenda of the General Assembly. Discussions on the matter are taking place in New York at the present time."

Mr. A. R. Blackburn said that, in view of the grave and urgent issue involved, he would raise the matter on the adjournment at the earliest opportunity.

Later Mr. Blackburn was called on to raise the subject. He said: "Even the Communists themselves have, for once, not dared to proclaim that the country the Communists are attacking is really the aggressor. This lie was too great even for Stalin; even Stalin could not say that Tibet had attacked China and the Soviet Union."

After dealing with the legal aspect of the situation, Mr. Blackburn continued: "Let us come to the basic principles. The sure way of avoiding war, as we have now learned, is to resist aggression at the moment it first occurs. There is greater moral justification for giving aid to Tibet than there was for giving aid to South Korea. Let the Communists take over Tibet, and they are on the borders of India.

"Tibet has in its centre a plateau between 12,000 and 15,000 feet above sea level. It is an ideal area for the establishment of airports of all kinds. It is an ideal area from which to conduct a radio war to dominate India and Pakistan. *On moral, strategic and political grounds, we cannot afford to let Tibet fall.*

"I further suggest that the Government should immediately get in touch with the Governments of India and Pakistan, although Pakistan does not adjoin Tibet, and ask the Governments of India and Pakistan, with support from us, to send a brigade by air to Tibet."

Mr. E. B. Wakefield, who has lived for many months in Tibet, said: "The Tibetans really are the most peace-loving nation on earth and are incapable of fighting. They have no wish to fight. They have no means wherewith to fight. I have attended a military display in Gartok, the capital of Western Tibet, and the arms used were bows and arrows! Whether we British can help them I do not know, but I do know that many people in India and Pakistan would volunteer, if called upon. I do suggest that if we could associate ourselves with India in any physical protest that we could make against this violation of Tibetan independence, then we should be very wise."

The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Ernest Davies) replied: "I think that our position in regard to Tibet has been made quite clear in the replies which I have given to parliamentary questions which have been put to me in the last two or three weeks.

"As I stated this afternoon, this matter is now before the United Nations. Tibet has appealed to the United Nations, and the United Nations is considering whether it should put the matter on its agenda and take any action. I think that it would be very rash of us tonight to discuss the military possibility of going to the aid of Tibet, or whether that would be advisable and whether that would be successful. It is entirely a matter now before the United Nations, and I do not propose to discuss that aspect of it.

"As I have stated, we deplore the action China has taken. Tibet was prepared to negotiate with China and it was while the Tibetan representatives were actually on their way to Peking that the Chinese took the aggressive action they did against this autonomous country. This action was taken without provocation and while peaceful negotiations were in progress. I think that the action taken by the Chinese is inexcusable and unforgivable.

"*We have recognised that China does have suzerainty over Tibet.* We have taken that attitude for a considerable time, but only on the understanding that Tibet is regarded as autonomous. This suzerainty has been quite nominal for a considerable time and there has been no active interfertnce from China as far as we are aware. It dates back to 1911, since when Tibet has enjoyed *de facto* independence within this framework of Chinese suzerainty. The independence of Tibet has not yet been lost. That fact must be kept in mind. It is tragic that she is being attacked, but she still remains autonomous and *de facto* independent."

Mr. Davies added: "At this stage we are not in a position to say whether or not our legal attitude towards the country is affected by this. We are not prepared to have it changed and this is a matter which we have to take into account. Further than that I am afraid that I cannot go at the present time.

"Tibet is an inaccessible country. It is a romantic country. It is cut off from India, Pakistan and Nepal by the great Himalayas and that makes it impossible, in our view, that she should be used as a base for aggression. Chinese alleged fears in this respect are, of course, quite absurd.

"The Tibetans are a most peaceful and pacific people. Tibet is one of the great centres of the Buddhist faith. They are remote from the world spiritually as well as geographically. I think we could refer to Tibet as Asia's ivory tower. Here are these people who prefer to contemplate as it were the eternal truths rather than the hurly-burly of 20th century ideologies.

"There is a great deal to be said for that attitude in this world torn with international tension. We all think that it is tragic that these people cannot be left alone to pursue their devotions and their ancient way of life. We think that the Chinese should go home and leave the Tibetans to carry on their own unique and contemplative way of life. How can one possibly credit

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that this religious community, living in its ivory tower on the crest of the world, could possibly resort to provocation or to non-peaceful methods? It is sad to contemplate that the Chinese, with the culture and wisdom of centuries, should now disturb this peaceful haven of yesterday."

Concluding, Mr. Davies said: "I suggest that the House should rest assured that this matter is under the urgent consideration of His Majesty's Government in full consultation with those members of the Commonwealth who are concerned, and that we regret that the present international tension, which is unfortunately so great, should be increased by this unprovoked aggression of China against Tibet.

"We regret that the more so because, at the present time, we are endeavouring to bring China as an equal partner into the deliberations of the United Nations for the purpose of removing that tension and of restoring international peace. We still hope that the fact that a delegation is on its way to Lake Success may result in better counsels prevailing and some of this international tension being removed."

Food

The Food Department of the Government of India has failed to keep its promise to make the country self-sufficient in food by March 1951. This date line has been extended by another year. Failure to keep official promises in a vital matter like food is bound to react unfavourably on the public mind, Mr. Munshi has laid the blame for food shortage on the vagaries of nature. If nature were to decide whether India should be self-sufficient in food or not, one wonders what utility the food Ministry serves. Sardar Patel has disclosed that the total food shortage amounts to 6 or 7 per cent. Little credit reflects on a government that cannot meet a deficit of 7 per cent by internal production. Britain doubled her production in the early years of war.

The official figures for food have been challenged during the food shortage. One calculation has not received the attention it deserves. India has a population of 320 millions; her per capita adult consumption of food is about half a seer per day. In order to calculate the total quantity of food required to feed 320 millions, the total population must be converted into adult population by multiplying with .8 according to the Famine Commission Report. This gives an adult population of 260 millions. Total food required at the rate of 3½ seers per week works out at about 43 million tons. Official figures for food production for the last three years, *viz.*, 1948, 1949, 1950 respectively are 44.39, 44.26 and 45.84 million tons. Therefore the shortage means seed grain and waste.

Acharya Kripalani asked whether Government had fixed the target of March 1952 for attaining self-sufficiency in food out of intuition or inspiration or consulting "the science of astrology which is being rediscovered in modern days in high quarters."

Acharya J. B. Kripalani said that the President had talked of unparalleled natural calamities of flood, earthquake and drought in connection with the food situation. "These natural calamities," said Acharya Kripalani, "are with us always. We know that our agriculture depends on weather and rain. He will be a poor marksman who, while he is shooting, makes no provision for wind and the natural movements of birds and beasts. All these must be taken into consideration when responsible Ministers make statements about the food situation.

The 'Grow-More-Food Campaign' would fail, said Acharya Kripalani, unless Indian agriculture was placed on a co-operative basis. It could not be improved on the basis of private property in land. "In the days when we were fighting the British Government, we went into the villages and saw their condition. But after that we seem to have forgotten that our land is miserably subdivided, the holdings are not consolidated, some of the best land is used for crops that are worthless and some of the worthless land is used for crops that can be grown with benefit elsewhere. Unless we are willing to take revolutionary action in this direction, we will never be able to solve this food problem."

The Food Minister Shri K. M. Munshi told the nation that the food position was "difficult" and there should be grim determination to face "all privations and not to go on complaining."

Government, he added, were doing their best, but the "cure" was not with the Government but with the public. Leaders of public opinion must support the Government policy, he said.

The target to achieve self-sufficiency in food by March 1952 would be realised, Shri Munshi said, if people had faith in them and the whole nation put its best efforts. "After the Quit India movement, the biggest thing that the country has undertaken is to become self-sufficient by March 31, 1952, and if you go back upon it, I tell you that as a nation you will have no confidence in yourself and no foreign nation will have confidence in you." He added, "You have no alternative; either you do it or go down."

The 'hathai' rain, he said, failed in Bihar and there was a drought in that province not experienced for many years. Had Bihar got two inches of rain more, there would have been a bumper crop. The result was that 75 per cent of the crop was destroyed in ten districts and 65 per cent in four other districts. Drought had brought difficulties to U.P., Orissa, West Bengal, Vindhya Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. These calamities were of very much unusual character and "we are to consider the food situation against the background of these unfortunate circumstances."

Excepting three States, PEPSU, Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan there was no single State which had not been afflicted by one or the other of the natural calamities. On rough calculation six million tons of foodgrains had been either destroyed or wiped out or lost to the country

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during this short period of 10th to 25th October. That was the position with which they were faced.

Proceeding Shri Munshi said the import target was 15 lakh tons. From July onwards it was raised and raised fast enough so that it would reach the neighbourhood of 31 lakh tons. Criticism that the Central Government was sticking fast to a pledge and refusing to be realistic was inaccurate. New contracts were made; new foodgrains were rushed. But when calamity came within the short space of three months no human effort could save the situation. If they had 200,000 tons of foodgrains more, there would have not been one single complaint. Nobody could have anticipated such calamity. In July, there was no starvation death in Bihar. Then came floods in the Kosi. At that time allotment was 40,000 tons. On account of the difficulties, 70,000 tons more were rushed to Bihar.

The "Grow More Food" campaign, Shri Munshi said, was not a failure. In 1949, India consumed about three million tons of foreign food. This year, eliminating the strain due to natural calamities, they required only 15 to 17 lakh tons of foodgrains. Therefore, there was an increase of 13 to 15 lakh tons against the schedule of 17 lakh tons.

Shri Munshi said the country's requirements in cotton were 40 lakh bales and in jute 72 lakh bales. By 1952, he added, Government hoped to produce cent per cent requirements in cotton and 61 lakh bales of jute. Thus the Government would save Rs. 107 crores per year.

On November 25, Mr. Munshi told the Congress Working Committee that India was faced with a total deficit of 8 million tons of foodgrain of which 6 million tons accounted for the loss estimated to have resulted from natural calamities.

Drought and Flood and Earthquake

The following news was sent from Patna on November 3 last.

"Drought is still continuing in Bihar with devastating effects on the paddy and other crops.

"Nine out of 53 Subdivisions of the State reported what is officially described as a little rainfall during the week ending October 25. No rainfall returns were received from 20 Subdivisions, and there was no rainfall at all in the 24 other Subdivisions.

"The official weather and crop report for the period said: 'Shortage of rain caused damage to the *kharif* crops throughout the State. Sowing of *rabi* crops was held up for want of rain'."

The story of Orissa is no better. The *New Orissa*, the Cuttack daily, said in its issue of November 3:

"Drought has affected the production of some of the former State areas. This is natural. There is scarcely any irrigation system in these parts of Orissa. The rulers' administration never moved in that line. Possibly the former administration had no funds which could be used on any major projects. Even after two years of merger things are scarcely any better. In some areas some minor irrigation projects have been undertaken by the Government, but they can scarcely touch the fringe of the problem. Only a planned programme can produce some results. But that, we believe, shall have to wait till the completion of the first stage of the Hirakud Project. The tragedy in Orissa is that its highland part is subjected to recurring drought, and its coastal area to floods, and both join to keep it as the poorest Province in India. And both the parts have this year been equally affected by drought and flood. The remedy is a long-term one, but something must be done to tide over a critical situation which Orissa will have to face during the next four months. The surplus in foodstuff has been wiped out and the rest shall have to be conserved with the utmost care."

In Madras certain Andhra areas are perennially drought-stricken; famine is endemic there. In Travancore and Cochin, bad weather destroyed crops. And to fill the cup of misery to the full, the cyclone and rains of 17 to 18 November that spread over from Andhra to Bengal have caused loss to crops the estimate of which will come out by the end of the month.

Irrigation Projects in Rajasthan

We wish success to the projects indicated below. Apart from their value as instruments in the 'Grow More Food' campaign, these projects will help push back the desert that has been creeping towards the Uttar Pradesh, a danger to which Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee has drawn attention.

The Rajasthan Government propose to spend Rs. 4 crores on irrigation works in the State during the current year and the next. That will step up food production by one lakh tons.

Among the works to be completed are the Awai irrigation project in Jodhpur division, Todi and Chandsarowar projects in Udaipur division, and Morel project in Jaipur division. The Awai project, estimated to cost Rs. 280 lakhs apart from hydro-electric installations and on which a sum of Rs. 80 lakhs has already been spent, is expected to yield 27,000 tons of foodgrains in years of good rainfall. The remaining projects are estimated to cost Rs. 70 lakhs and will yield 12,000 tons of food crops annually.

The Rajasthan Government are also a participant in the Bhakra dam to the extent of 18 per cent. The dam when completed will supply water enough to irrigate 10,00,000 acres and yield 300,000 tons of foodgrains in Rajasthan.

Milk and Ghee

Shree Thakurdas Bhargava's Bill in the Central Legislature created a certain excitement in the country.

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They held a conference at Nasik during the Congress session in support of this Bill. Since then everything appears to be quiet. But the problem raised by it is ever important, and the *Indian Social Reformer* (weekly) of Bombay in discussing the problem quoted certain facts which are of permanent interest. "In this connection, it will be interesting to note the following facts on *ghee* and milk: The latest official estimate of the production of milk and *ghee* in the Indian Union is made in a *Brochure on the Marketing of Milk in the Indian Union* (January, 1949). The estimates given in this brochure are as follows :

Total production of Milk in the Indian Union—1,71,98,211 tons.

Quantity of Milk converted into *ghee*—74,47,000 tons.

Percentage of Milk converted into *ghee*—43.

Rate of conversion specified in the brochure—17 seers of milk per seer of *ghee*.

Quantity of *ghee* produced.—4,50,000 tons.

The above estimate of *ghee* production is also borne out by Sir Datar Singh (Additional Secretary to Government of India, Ministry of Agriculture) in his article "A General Survey of the Milk Problem in India" in *Indian Farming* of November 1949. According to him, of the total milk produced, 36.2 per cent is used for fluid consumption, 19.5 per cent as curd, *khoa*, and table butter, while nearly 43.3 per cent is used for making *ghee*. Out of 4,50,000 tons of *ghee* produced, about half may be estimated to reach the towns, while the other half will be consumed by the villages. The *ghee* that is needed is some twenty times the amount that is available."

Our contemporary feels, however, that there is "little hope of more *ghee* being available to us." We do not share this feeling. The old social economy that made our country "flow with milk and honey" was not all a myth. Many of us can bear testimony from their boyhood's experience to the truth of this history. The revival of *Panchayat* Government in India's rural areas as indicated in Shree Satish Chandra Das Gupta's *The Cow in India* (1845-46) has become a possibility. It should be able to resuscitate that economy.

"Go-Sadan" in Uttar Pradesh

The Uttar Pradesh Press has been publicizing the vast schemes of Animal Husbandry that its various departments have been co-operating to launch both. One of these is a mammoth 'Go-Sadan' to be built in the State. One of the long-felt needs of the U. P. has been a sufficiently large area, suitable in other respects, where young bulls could be bred up to maturity under the best possible conditions. The Forest Department in co-operation with the Animal Husbandry Department has provided an 8-10 mile belt, along the northern boundary of the Terai Colonisation Scheme, which extends to a depth of 800 yards northwards and is for the most part only lightly forested, being mainly grassland. Here the 'Go-Sadan' is to be built. All good timber trees will be marked and felling is to be confined to brush-wood and fuel trees, the others providing the shade for the grazing animals and timber for the State.

To this 'Go-Sadan' will be transferred the young stocks from various farms under the Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Departments and the progress of these animals will be carefully watched. Strict standards will be enforced and defective animals will be castrated and culled as bullocks. The fit ones will be kept to the age of about three years when they will be distributed for service as bulls. Emphasis will be laid on breed. It is hoped to build up statistics as the animals will be registered with the Animal Husbandry Department.

The animals will also be insured against various diseases like gad-flys, dinderpest, cow-pox, etc. Regular feeding will be based on scales laid down by the Animal Nutrition (Research) Officer, Bharari (Jhansi). Special grass, such as 'Sudan Grass' and 'Giant Star Grass' will be grown at this sanctuary.

Apart from these government activities, Mira Behn, Gandhiji's British disciple, proposes to devote the rest of her life to building up a "Pashu-Loka" where cows only will be cared for and the people shown how cow-protection and the supply of the best milk can be organized under ancient traditions. The Pashu-Loka was opened by Babu Rajendra Prasad during his visit to the Gurukul Golden Jubilee. We wish more of its activities were published in the Press.

Cost of the Bombay Strike

The lesson of the abortive 60-days strike on the part of the textile-mill workers of Bombay has not taught Shree Jai Prakash Narain any lesson in sobriety and appreciation of social difficulties. Otherwise, he would not have held the threat of a railway strike for the satisfaction of certain unspecified grievances. But society in India apart from capitalists and organised labour has, we think, now reached a stage of exasperation where the ordering of its economic life should no longer be left to the whims and caprices of these two groups of people who constitute less than 4 per cent of the population. It is time that the population of India in general should assert themselves. Otherwise, their well-being will be wrecked by the shouters of foreign slogans and the imitators of alien ways of solving social problems. The time has come when strikes and lock-outs should be put under ban. These are expensive methods as the following letter published in a recent issue of the Delhi *Organizer* from its Bombay correspondent throws light on this strike that reveal human nature, both labourite and capitalist, in its meanness and blindness and utter selfishness.

"1. The Industrial Court awarded the Textile Labour of Bombay 2 months' wages as bonus.

2. Labour appealed to the Appellate Tribunal for 3 months' wages plus allowances as bonus.

3. Before their appeal was decided or even heard, the politicians-controlled labour struck work.

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The Bombay Government declared the strike "illegal," and thought it has done all it need do.

4. While more than one-tenth of the total labour population of Bombay (2,00,000) throughout defied the strike-call, less than one-tenth the total number of textile labourers met the other day at Bandra (Bombay) and decided for *all textile labour*—that the strike shall continue."

WHAT STRIKE HAS COST

"1. On October 12, the strike entered its 60th day.

2. The country has lost over 22 crore yards of cotton cloth in non-production so far.

3. Labour has lost over Rs. 3.5 crores by way of non-receipt of wages.

4. The citizens of Bombay have had to suffer the tension of frequent lathi-charges, tear-gas, bombing, and firing."

VESTED INTERESTS IN STRIKE

"Addressing a press conference the other day Bombay's Home Minister Morarjibhai Desai hinted that a certain Marwari multi-millionnaire was financing the strike to embarrass the Government.

1. Some people have suggested since that the said merchant prince was no other than Seth Dalmia.

2. *It has also been openly alleged that Ahmedabad Mill-owners are financing the Bombay strike to create an artificial shortage of cloth in the country and thereby sell their cloth at extortionate rates.*

3. The socialist leaders are charged with precipitating the strike just to time it with the harvest season so that labour may find easy employment in rural areas, escape the financial consequences of a prolonged strike, and thus kill two birds with one stroke.

4. *Bombay Mill-owners are said to be not unhappy over the strike. They are finding part production more profitable than full production."*

Labour Shortage in India

Ministers, Central and Provincial, are often found bemoaning labour shortage in the country. This is hard to explain when the world sees millions of men and women, about 60 millions, jobless in the country eking out a miserable existence. The explanation of this maladjustment will take us into the region of psychology. There appears to be an inclination in India's human nature to spare oneself the strain and labour that are demanded of modern men and women in order to lead a better life.

Calcutta Port's Trade and Facilities

Calcutta Port handled 8,774,821 tons of sea-borne traffic in 1949-50 as against 8,163,067 tons in the previous year. About 1,280 vessels with an aggregate gross tonnage of 7,821,766 entered the port as against 1,214 ships with a tonnage of 7,385,320 in the year before.

The total tonnage of imports cleared was 3,844,991 as against 3,264,321 in the preceding year. The principal increases were in cement (97,806 tons), flour (40,108 tons), foodgrains (226,638 tons), iron and steel (107,935 tons) and salt (106,819 tons).

Exports during the year totalled 4,929,830 tons as against 4,898,746 tons in the preceding year. The principal increases were bone and bonemeal (9,965 tons), coal (144,539 tons), jute (10,053 tons), and ores (16,965 tons). Exports of gunny and jute amounted to 969,841 tons and 215,717 tons, respectively. Iron ore exports were much below the estimated figure, as the anticipated shipments to Japan of 350,000 tons did not materialise.

Calcutta Port's total income for 1949-50 was Rs. 7,68,83,960 as against the original estimate of Rs. 6,84,04,374. About 40 per cent of this excess is accounted for by the increase in traffic in the port. The income from goods exceeded the estimated amount by Rs. 33 lakhs. Other notable increases were Rs. 17.31 lakhs under income from vessels; Rs. 13.36 lakhs in rent from lands and buildings; and Rs. 8.99 lakhs from railways.

During the year, total expenditure was Rs. 7,24,78,143 as against the estimated amount of Rs. 6,73,34,212. Expenditure under the head "Establishment" was Rs. 15 lakhs more than the estimated amount.

The result of the year's working was a surplus of Rs. 47,40,811 and, after meeting the cost of minor works chargeable to revenue and the loss on sale and depreciation of securities, a sum of Rs. 44 lakhs was appropriated to the revenue reserves and fire insurance fund.

According to the administration report for the year, construction of the pilot model of the Hooghly River has been completed at Poona. The construction of another model, known as the Port model, embracing the reach of the Hooghly from Konnagar to Budge Budge, has been taken on hand at the Poona Research Station.

Gray Report

Mr. Gordon Gray's report, recently submitted to President Truman, has been released for publication although not in its entirety. This report is a comprehensive analysis of the world economic situation from the standpoint of the U.S. Foreign economic policy. Mr. Gray was appointed by President Truman to draw a non-partisan programme for the alleviation of dollar shortage of the foreign democracies with the object of establishing a sound and prosperous trade relationship with them before Marshall Aid ends on June 30, 1952. The Report has been hailed as being eminently realistic in approach. It has focussed attention on the four outstanding problems facing the world to-day, namely (1) development of economically backward regions, (2) bridging of the dollar gap, (3) formulation of plans aimed at free and multilateral trade, and (4) international control over distribution of scarce materials.

Mr. Gray's Report thus lends support to the pressing need for the development of the undeveloped and the under-developed areas of the world. It acknowledges the need for the encouragement among the free nations of the world, for the attempts at the betterment of economic conditions and relaxations, essential for the development of stable democratic societies willing and able to defend themselves, and to raise the standard of living of their people. The Report has, accordingly, envisaged a provi-

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sion of as much as 1600-2000 million dollars per annum in order to finance the development of these areas. The Report points out that private investment *alone* cannot solve the problem of financing all these development programmes, adequate funds for public capital assistance must be a part of any effective foreign policy. With a view to meeting this development fund, the Report proposes an expansion of the lending operations of the World Bank and the U.S. Export-Import Bank to provide, in the next few years, an annual net flow of investment funds of 600-800 million dollars. For this purpose, it has recommended an increase in the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank from 3500 to 5000 million dollars. The adoption of a general policy of permitting U.S. loans to be spent outside, as well as within the U.S., and of financing, in some selected areas, of some of the local costs of development projects has been suggested. The other recommendations of the Gray Report, which are of interest to India, are: (1) private investment should be considered as the most desirable means of providing capital, and its scope should be widened as far as possible, (2) negotiation of investment treaties to encourage private investment should be expedited, and the Bill to authorise government guarantees of private investments against risks of inconvertibility and expropriation should be enacted as a worldwide experiment, and (3) grants may be used for development and technical assistance in some cases, when development programmes, urgently needed from U.S. objectives, cannot be soundly financed by loans.

Laying emphasis on the last one, the Report estimates the dollar needs for such aids at about 500 million dollars per annum, apart from the emergency requirements arising from military action. The first two recommendations, the *Commerce* comments, have special relevance from the point of view of this country's policy in regard to foreign capital. The Government of India are alive to this problem and have outlined their policy in categorical terms, more or less on the lines indicated in the Gray Report. India will be keenly interested in this Report. This country wants foreign capital for the financing of her development projects, both short term and long term.

The Report favours the formulation of plans aimed at free and multilateral international trade. It urges continued efforts to establish an adequate system of international payments and to eliminate trade restrictions. It says, "Only in this way can the nations of the world achieve rising standards of living through sound and self-supporting economies." Thus it raises the biggest controversy on international economies once again.

Mr. Gray recommends the direct international control and distribution of scarce materials. Apparently the U.S. will be the biggest beneficiary of this recommendation, but if it is carried to its logical conclusion, *i.e.*, if international control and distribution of defence and strategic materials can be successfully done, chances of war will diminish.

The comments of the *Observer*, London, deserve attention.

The *Observer* says: "The report is addressed to the American Government, but this does not mean that its guiding ideas have no application outside America. Its vision could never be realised if America refused to play the leading role which her wealth and power impose on her, but the full co-operation of other industrial powers is no less essential for the realisation of what is a world design. Britain's role is still clearly the second most important."

In a general assessment of the document the *Observer* says: "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of this report."

Comparing it with the Marshall Plan, the *Observer* points out that the Marshall Plan, being a single short-term measure, had to succeed or fail at one go and would have ended had Congress rejected it. "The Gray Report is not so, this can at once and *in toto* be accepted or rejected.

"It makes no fewer than 22 concrete recommendations and each would require a major act of policy. Even the most willing Congress could hardly put them all into force during one session. On the other hand, the report offers a coherent and profoundly reasoned doctrine of international economic long-term policy which not even a total rejection by one Congress could kill."

"This doctrine," the *Observer* goes on, "proclaims the subordination of economic policy to foreign policy. *Prosperity is no longer viewed as an isolated end within a national framework but as a means of establishing peace and security in an international framework. The resources of the free world are to be considered and treated as a whole.* They are to be kept consistently fully employed, and applied to achieve the maximum effect in providing defensive strength, rising living standards and social contentment. This is almost incidentally seen also as the key to the winning of the cold war."

Thus "the report sets out to make possible the full absorption of the product of a fully employed America by the whole free world. This implies the extension in a modified form of aid to Western Europe and Japan and a liberalised American tariff and subsidy policy as a step to free trade. But the main stress is laid on attacking poverty in the under-developed areas by every means—private investment, technical aid, Government loans and grants—in permanent co-operation between America and the other Western industrial powers."

In Defence of Civil Liberty

The *Hitavada*, English language daily of Nagpur, has quoted the following words of Judge Robert Jackson of the U.S.A. Supreme Court to drive home the point against the frequent use of ordinances and Public Safety Acts against men and organizations persistently critical of the Nehru Government and the States Government. Our Supreme Court has risen to the occasion and very often pulled up our Executive Government anxious for quick changes in human psychology. Our Nagpur con-

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emporary asks them to "paste this extract on the back of eir Public Safety Acts."

"If I assume that defendants are disposed to commit every opportune disloyal act, helpful to Communist countries it is still difficult to reconcile with tradition of American law, the jailing of persons by the Courts because of anticipated but as yet uncommitted crimes. Imprisonment to protect society from predicted but unconsummated offences is so unprecedented in this country and so fraught with danger of excesses and injustices that I am loth to resort to it even as a discretionary judicial technique to supplement conviction of such offences as those of which defendants stand convicted. But the very essence of constitutional freedom of press and speech is to allow more liberty than the good citizen will take. The test of vitality is whether we will suffer and protect much that we think false, mischievous and bad, both in taste and intent."

Hindi as State Language

The decision of the Constitution Assembly making Hindi the State Language of India has not solved the roblem yet. The following news from Madras, and the ommentary on it in the *Bihar Herald* of November 4 how that there is exasperation silently gathering trength :

"S. R. Sastri, Chairman, Board of Studies in Hindi in the Madras University, has made a strange proposal: He suggests that 'if Hindi be introduced in schools in Madras, one of the South Indian languages, preferably Tamil, *must be made a compulsory subject for study* for the Hindi-speaking boys in northern India.'

One may note here that Hindi is merely an optional subject in Madras schools. As a reciprocal gesture, Sastri wants Tamil to be made a *compulsory subject* in North Indian schools.

What is the sense in making Hindi the *Rastrabhasa* of India, if we have to learn Tamil ?"

On top of this comes the news that a section of amilians have started to preach boycott of North India ops in Madras. It has dangerous possibilities to which e Nehru Government should direct its utmost vigilance. Propagandists on behalf of Hindi must understand at since Hindi speakers are in a minority in the Indian ion taken as a whole, their clamour for the adoption Hindi forthwith is causing resentment and reaction ich will end in negation of the *Rastrabhasa* resolution. In all non-Hindi-speaking areas this campaign of ndi protagonists is regarded with some considerable tification, as an attempt to establish a hegemony for se whose mother tongue is Hindi.

uberculosis Association of India

The 11th report of this association has a record of gressive fight against a menace that has been growing ace in India. The report says in p. 2 that "although is difficult to establish by figures a definite rise in the idence of tuberculosis, there is reason to believe that disease is spreading under the abnormal conditions ated during the past decade by such events as the ond world war, the Bengal famine and the recent mass migration of people between Pakistan and India." This recognition is the surest way to awaken public opinion to the danger and warn it betimes. And from this awakening will come the vigilance that will instruct us in preventive measures and readiness to adopt these. Dr. K. C. K. E. Raja, presenting the report on April 20 last has included all these in the "comprehensive national anti-tuberculosis programme." And in course of his speech on the occasion he indicated the value of one of these measures when he said : "It has, indeed, been demonstrated that, in communities living under conditions not far removed from those of our people, a 75 per cent reduction in the incidence of tuberculosis has been possible by intensive immunisation with BCG vaccine."

A perusal of the report and the proceedings of the annual report leaves the impression in the mind that its authorities will not lag behind in this good fight as Dr. Raja's words emphasized that they were determined to carry on the "BCG campaign for immunising the people, the establishment of certain Tuberculosis Centres for training medical and other personnel for anti-tuberculosis work and, above all, the prospect of increasingly active collaboration between India and the Specialised Agencies under the United Nations and more particularly among such agencies, the World Health Organisation and the International Children's Emergency Fund."

Centenary of the Hindu High School

We publish the following with the greatest pleasure :

The Hindu High School, Triplicane, Madras, will be celebrating in February 1952, the completion of 100 years of service to the cause of Secondary Education in the State of Madras. This institution has produced distinguished young men who, in later life, have achieved success in different spheres of public activity. It has been serving the educational needs of the children of all classes in the locality. Under aided management, the school has expanded from small beginnings to its present stature.

The school has had a succession of distinguished Headmasters and teachers. The late Mr. K. B. Ramanatha Ayyar, the late Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Mr. P. A. Subramania Iyer were some of the former Headmasters.

Bettering Tribal Life

The Nehru Government appear to be anxious to have quick results from their plans for bettering the life of 25 million tribals of India. On this anxiety Dr. D. N. Majumdar, Head of the Department of Anthropology in the Lucknow University had the following words of caution in course of his article entitled "Experiment in Tribal Life," published in the Bombay Quarterly—*The Indian Journal of Social Work*. It is the organ of the Bureau of Research and Publications of the Tata Institute of Social Science, a unique institute in India. Dr. Majumdar discussed the life and labour of the "Dudhis" of Mirzapur District in Uttar Pradesh, and speaking of the

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recommendations of the Dudhi Enquiry Committee, he characterized these as "unreal in the context of the present condition of this tribal area." But he did not leave us with destructive criticism only.

"The establishment of factories and large-scale industries, in backward areas, without ascertaining the capacity of the people to accept and adopt such rapid change may recoil in the long run, on Indian industrialisation. A change from agriculture and co-operative farming into handicraft and cottage industries, may have a smooth transition, for the personal relationship that the tribals everywhere regard as indispensable to personality adjustments must not be superseded by a sudden change to factory production or large-scale undertakings. Irrigation by tanks and storage water must precede canal irrigation and a time lag must be allowed for the backward people to adjust to new methods of distribution. As long as tribal solidarity exists, it should be explored to aid adaptibility and the first steps towards technological advance, which must come sooner than later, must be co-operative and collective farming, multi-purpose co-operative societies, and tenancy legislation, declaring the tribal land inalienable from the tribes, and eliminating middlemen and usurpers who have merrily intercepted profits and reduced them to bond slaves and an essential 'must' or 'compulsive,' of wiping off debts, lock, stock and barrel. This is the experiment that must be given top priority, before any development schemes are planned and given effect to in tribal parts of the country. Mere knowledge of three R's is not the panacea as some devoutly think."

Soviet Union's Version

We have got used to Soviet propaganda on and against men and measures and are not generally left impressed by it. The virulence of its vituperation is responsible for this reaction. Its propaganda sheets entitled *News and Views from the Soviet Union*, "issued by the Representative Tass News Agency of the U. S. S. R." find us interested readers when these describe the measures of uplift and enlightenment in their unit-States. Apart from obvious attempts to depict things in heightened colour, the story these tell constitutes records of some real achievement, of which the real test is that during crisis in the Soviet Union's life, the German attack, the Union Republics held fast to the anchor of their post-1917 life with its sacrifices.

This recognition does not, however, blind us to the fact that under the stress of an inner urge the Soviet ruling class finds itself impelled to do and say things that have become associated in our thought with "imperialism." The Soviet Foreign Minister, M. Andre Vyshinisky, may be authorized by his boss to say that capitalism or "free enterprise" may exist side by side with communism or "totalitarianism" during the present phase of human development, as he is reported to have done on November 18 at the General Assembly of the U.N.O. But human nature has never been able to tolerate a rival near the throne. Karl Marx's new theology even has not been able to work out such a miracle in human conduct. "Dictatorship of the proletariat" is not the way towards synthesis of philosophies or reconciliation in conduct.

This experience makes us a little sceptical with regard to Soviet or U.S.A. asseverations on peace and amity between peoples and States. Therefore, the Soviet version of the "cold war"—the "peace" that the Soviet propagandists have been giving shape to in their Peace Congresses and Conferences leaves us cold. But what is recorded in the *Soviet News*' New Delhi publication of November 2 last throws a certain light on the history of Soviet reaction to the anxiety for peace by the men and women of goodwill in all parts of the world.

On September 6, 1928, the Soviet Union joined the Briand-Kellogg Pact and made it effective before the specified date. The U.S.S.R. Government proceeded in this case from the fact that while the Briand-Kellogg Pact did not provide for effective measures of struggle against aggression, it nevertheless called for the rejection of war as a weapon of national policy.

On the initiative of the Soviet Union, Conventions on the definition of aggression were concluded in London in 1933 between the U.S.S.R. and eleven States. These Conventions, which have historical significance, served as a new link in the chain of measures undertaken by the Soviet Government in the interest of strengthening peace and universal security.

The definition of aggression presented by the Soviet delegation in 1933 to the League of Nations Security Committee at the conference for reducing and restricting armaments served as the basis for the definition of aggression. This Committee, which consisted of representatives of 17 States, including the USA, Britain and France approved in the main the definition of aggression proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union. According to this definition, the invading party (the aggressor) shall be considered that State which is the first to take any of the following actions: declaration of war against another State; the invasion by its armed forces of the territory of another State even without declaration of war; bombarding the territory of another State by its land, naval or air forces, or knowingly attacking the naval or air forces of another State; the landing in, or introduction within the frontiers of, another State of land, naval or air forces without the permission of the Government of such a State, or the infringement of the conditions of such permission, particularly as regards the duration of sojourn or extension of area; the establishment of a naval blockade of the coast or ports of another State.

No considerations whatsoever of a political, strategical, or economic nature, including the desire to exploit natural riches or to obtain any sort of advantages or privileges on the territory of another State, no references to considerable capital investments or other special interests in a given State, or to *the alleged absence of certain attributes of State organization in the case of a given country, shall be accepted as justification of aggression.*

In particular, justification for attack cannot be based upon the internal situation in a given State, as for instance: revolutionary or counter-revolutionary movement, civil war, or any other events.

Such is the accepted idea of aggression incorporated in a number of international acts: the Geneva protocol on the peaceful settlement of international disputes of October 2, 1924; the Protocol on non-intervention in the internal and foreign affairs of other States, concluded in Buenos Aires in 1936; the Saadabad Pact of July 8, 1937, concluded by Turkey, Iraq,

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Iran, Afghanistan; the American treaty on mutual assistance concluded in Rio de Janeiro in 1947, which specifies that the unprovoked armed attack by one State of the territory, nation or land, naval or air forces of another State is considered aggression and a number of others."

We are prepared to accept the truth of this story of the Soviet Union's long-drawn-out efforts for peace, though we remember to have seen other versions challenging it on material points. But one thing that strikes us as being curious, and that is, how in the light of this definition of "aggression," the Soviet propagandist can justify North Korea's incursion into the South as the "liberation movement of the Korean people"; how China's invasion of Tibet by its armed forces for "alleged absence of certain attributes of State organization." How it can justify what Mao Tse-tung has said in reply to India's remonstrance couched in the gentlest of words and with the best of spirit ? We would wait for a reply to these questions before we venture again into the subtleties of Soviet controversy.

"News From Dacca"

The latest issue of *United Empire* (September-October, 1950), Journal of the Royal Empire Society of London, has reached our hands a few days ago. It contains reports of two meetings wherein one Sir Frederick Bourne, first Governor of East Bengal under Pakistani dispensation, addressed members on "News from Dacca." The other was addressed by A. J. Elkins, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India; the title of his address was "New India."

These addresses reflect the sentiments and opinions of Indo-British bureaucrats and their patrons of "Clive Street." Sir Frederick has been able to present a detached story of events in Pakistan, of East Bengal specially, where the last days of his regime had been darkened by Pakistani fanaticism and brutality. In our last issue we have quoted Dr. Jeelany, wherein he said that Sir Frederick had incurred Pakistani disapproval for his "sympathy" with the Hindus during the February experiences at Dacca. And we have heard it suggested that his resignation had been hastened by the feeling of helplessness in face of those aberrations. His address at London runs true to this story. And we feel that we cannot do better than tell his story in his own words. Naturally enough Sir Frederick had most to say on "communal disturbances," and his version of the beginings of the last holocaust of the Hindus of East Bengal is worth knowing.

"In December of last year, an incident took place in the Bagerhat Division of the Khulna district of East Bengal, wherein a police man was killed and three others injured, while endeavouring to arrest the culprit. The area in which this incident took place has been for many years difficult to deal with from a police point of view, and as was inevitable when police officers have been killed and injured, the local population expected some form of reprisal. A number of villages were deserted, and a considerable number of Hindus crossed the border into India. A great deal of capital was made out of this incident on the Indian side, and the Calcutta Press and the so-called Association for the Protection of the Rights of Minorities put out most inflammatory reports indicating a complete reign of terror in the Khulna district—a large proportion of whose population are Hindus.

"The Secretariat at Dacca were for sometime quite unaware that India was taking such an exaggerated view of this incident, and in fact, it was not for some weeks that very much notice was taken of it on either side. But by the end of January, feelings in West Bengal had been inflamed, and reports began to arrive in Dacca—these also no doubt highly exaggerated—of oppression of Muslims in neighbouring districts of West Bengal, and in Calcutta itself.

"Early in February there were reports of actual murders, and of a good deal of arson and eviction in certain parts of Calcutta, and on the 10th February there was a most ill-advised procession in Dacca, *organised mainly by Muslim clerks and others who had relations in West Bengal*, and detonated the charge. Disturbances broke out that day at Dacca, and very shortly after in several other districts, and there was regrettable loss of life.

"The authorities on both sides did their best to restore order as soon as possible. At this stage, the number of murders in Calcutta was not very great; troops were immediately employed to restore order in Calcutta, as they were in Dacca; and on the East Bengal side, actual incidents had ceased by about the 14th February . . . But meanwhile the flow of refugees in both directions had started on a very large scale and later disorder flared up again on the West Bengal side."

Sir Frederick has tendered evidence with regard to the "peace-loving" nature of East Bengal Muslims, and he held responsible for the disturbances "well-known bad characters who had taken part in old periodical riots in Dacca," or, "refugees from Bihar and elsewhere, who had been eking a precarious living in East Bengal for the last year or two"; or, "in the rural areas, Muslim cultivators who thought the opportunity of loot too good to miss." But he appeared to have held officialdom as the prime culprit. And in describing their contribution to increasing the tension between the two States, he uttered quite frank words.

"Dr. Johnson once observed that patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel. Rather a hard saying: but so far as East Bengal is concerned no one ever said a truer word. It is the petty tyranny of the small official in the rural areas particularly, which keeps antagonism alive. Sometimes he is acting, as he thinks, from the best motives: he believes it to be his duty to assert the power of State in and out of season. Sometimes he is just working off old scores with the idea of patriotism as a justification. At all times, like the Muslim public at large, he is liable to be influenced by highly exaggerated reports in the local press, and by deliberate preaching of hatred of other communities. . . ."

Sir Frederick made four suggestions with a view to easing tension. The last is most important, because it's approach is psychological. ". . . the Hindu communities as a whole in India must be brought to accept the sovereignty of Pakistan."

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"All men of goodwill look forward to a time when Pakistan and India will be on good terms with each other; when trade flows again; and the rule of law is fully established; but reunion with India is a measure which all Pakistanis will resist to the death. Until it is recognized in India and publicly accepted as a fact by genuine leaders in that country that Pakistan has come to stay, there will be no real security on either side."

An interesting discussion followed the address; old "Anglo-Indians" aired their views and anxieties in ways that made the report interesting reading. It showed that a "ruling class" mind finds it difficult to forget the past. One of them, Sir Olaf Caroe, was kittenish in his curiosity; he appeared anxious to know of the "Mohammedan invasion of the lower districts of Assam which the Assamese did not like," of the "strongly Mohammedan" Arakanese. Sir Frederick Bourne replied that the "invasion" has created a problem that awaits to be solved, and there was not "much" trouble on the Burma side. But the real reply to these two questions came from the chairman of the meeting, Sir Robert Reid, sometime Governor of Assam. His words in this connection throw light on the subject, *and the Indian public and the Nehru Government should not miss their significance.*

"With regard to the remarks about the immigration of Mohammedans into Assam, he knew that when Sir Mahommed Saadullah was his Prime Minister he looked upon that immigration with a great deal of satisfaction. Though as a good Assamese he ought to have resisted this invasion from Bengal, yet he was decidedly lukewarm in his efforts to prevent those virile Muslims from pushing the easy-going Assamese from their ancient homes. For, as a Moslem, he rejoiced to see more and more Mohammedans going into Assam, so as to strengthen the case for including Assam in Pakistan."

Is that danger absent today? We ask this question of the Bengali-Hindu-baiting Assamese.

Afghanistan and Pakistan

The so-called common bond of Islam has not been able to make these two immediate neighbours in Asia's map friendly to each other. Pakistan's Prime Minister, in course of his speech made in the Pakistan Assembly on the 7th of October last related the story of the ungratefulness of Afghans and the good deeds done by his State to these inimical fellow-believers.

"In many cases we are allowing the export of commodities to Afghanistan which Pakistan can ill-afford and for which we have spent our valuable foreign exchange. In the case of Afghan fresh and dry fruit India has imposed a 36 per cent import duty, but Pakistan has imposed no import duty. Pakistan Railways give priority to the movement of goods to and from Afghanistan; for instance, without the use of N.-W. R. refrigerated van facilities, the valuable fresh fruit trade of Afghanistan would be ruined.

"Whereas Pakistan has applied its *visa* rules quite liberally in favour of Afghan nationals, the attitude of the Afghan Government has been just the reverse. Thousands of Afghan nationals are carrying on flourishing business in Pakistan and are even opening new businesses. Nearly a lakh and a half Afghan tribesmen—Powindahs—come down every year with their flocks to winter in Pakistan pastures and these are permitted to enter without passports and *visa*. On return they are allowed to export cloth, sugar, tea, foodgrains and many other necessaries, which they claim are not readily available in Afghanistan at prices which they can afford. In contrast to this, Afghan Government are refusing *visas* to almost all Pakistani nationals including some employees of the Pakistan Embassy.

"The process of squeezing out Pakistani traders in Afghanistan has been going on for quite some time. On account of harassment by Government officials and blackmail by the police, the flourishing Pakistani merchants of long standing, who at one time numbered several hundreds, have been reduced to a mere handful. Protests and representations made to the Government of Afghanistan have proved of no avail. Government institutions and private employers have been asked to terminate the services of Pakistanis in their employment. Many have had to come back losing large arrears of salaries, provident funds and pensions."

The last paragraph has a familiar ring to us in Bengal with "refugees" from East Bengal being victims of Pakistani methods of rule—of discrimination. The method has been adopted by Afghans. Pakistan's Prime Minister, the sufferer in this case, should now understand how the shoe pinches.

Indonesia and South Moluccas

The *Press Trust of India's* correspondent at Amsterdam has done a distinct public service by cabling on November 2 summary of a judgment delivered on that date by the Amsterdam Court. We quote it below:

The President of the Amsterdam Court today ordered the Royal Dutch Steampacket Company, K.P.M. to cease forthwith the transport of Indonesian Government's troops and equipment to the self-proclaimed republic of South Moluccas.

The Court on a suit brought by the South Moluccas Republic through its bureau in the Hague, said that the company would be fined 250 thousand guilders for each trip made by K.P.M. ship in violation of the order. The Republic had alleged that five K.P.M. ships transported men and equipment of the Indonesian army for their action against the South Moluccas, and that this was a breach of the Round Table Conference agreements concluded in the Hague in 1949. The Court prohibited K.P.M. from putting her ships, either with or without a crew, at the disposal of the Indonesian Government for this purpose unless requested by the South Moluccas Government to do so. The K.P.M. was also ordered to pay the costs of the case.

The K.P.M's defence was that the South Moluccas suit was invalid because the Republic had no legal claim to be a State. But the Court declared that the right of "self-determination" had been recognised by both the Netherlands and Indonesia in the Round Table Conference agreements. Since

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Indonesia had "prevented the South Moluccas from exercising this right," the South Moluccas Republic was "entitled by international law to exercise that right."

The Court held that the proclamation of the Republic of the South Moluccas was "no rebellion against the established legal authority."

The Court said the military action against the South Moluccas Republic "violates fundamental human rights and liberties, and Indonesian Government's Round Table Conference agreements." By making her ships available to the Indonesia Government for the transport of troops and equipment to the South Moluccas, K.P.M. participates in the violation of these rights and liberties and inflicts damage on the South Moluccas people.

The Amsterdam agreement of 1949 had been drawn up on the understanding that Indonesia should be a federative Republic. Since then there has come a change over the ideas of the new ruling classes; Indonesia has been transformed into a Unitary State. Certain of the units have accepted this dispensation with mental reservations. Their case was fought out at the Amsterdam Court by South Moluccas in a representative capacity. This is our interpretation of the contretemps; it will now be carried to the U.N.O. Considering that our Prime Minister played a significant role in the emergence of Indonesia as a State freed from Dutch imperialism, we will watch with interest how the Natsir Ministry of Indonesia react to this judgment.

Ceylonization

For about twenty years there has been developing among native Ceylonese a feeling that no non-Ceylonese should be allowed a place under their sun. This was a denial of history, old and new. To confine ourselves to the latter only, it can be asserted with confidence that Ceylon is what she is today owing to the life and labour of non-Ceylonese. The ruling British had supplied the capital for her industries and skill to make proper use of it; others, Tamilians specially, have supplied the labour; her rubber and tea estates have been built up by them. These people, men and women, constitute about one-tenth of the land's population of seven millions. And by the laws of nations they are entitled to claim their rights as citizens of Ceylon equal to the natives.

But the newly-awakened Nationalism in Ceylon is unwilling to recognize this claim. The latest outburst of this feeling was an announcement made by a Ceylonese Minister that he proposed to insist on "Ceylonization" of all services in the island whether under public or private dispensation. This was challenged. And we are glad that the Minister has bowed to its justice as the following news from Colombo dated November 1 goes to show: Ceylon's Minister of State, Mr. A. C. Gooneshinha, said that he has decided to withdraw his proposal to mercantile and estate employers, that preference be given to Ceylonese nationals by birth over citizens by registration in Ceylon.

The Minister's decision follows representations by the Indian Government to the Ceylon Government that this proposal was contrary to an assurance given by Prime Minister Senanayake to Prime Minister Nehru during the December 1947 Indo-Ceylon talks that there would be no discrimination between citizens by descent and citizens by registration except in land development, omnibus, and fisheries Ordinances."

We cannot claim intimate knowledge of Ceylon's internal politics and party alignments. But this withdrawal by Mr. Gooneshinha from an untenable position is the first step. Ceylon cannot have two classes of citizens—native and resident, permanent and temporary. The latter two have to demonstrate their loyalty by whole-souled devotion to Ceylon. How many generations does it take to develop this quality? Many Tamilians should have passed this test.

Lala Narain Dutt

This "elder" of the Arya Samaj died full of years and honours at his Delhi residence on November 7 last. A man of commanding presence who had made good in worldly life and unstintedly rendered help to all good causes, he was, perhaps, the last link that binds us to the spacious days of Lala Hans Raj, of Lala Lajpat Rai, of Swami Shraddhananda—to the formative years of the Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj was his first love, but not the only love. He joined the Congress Civil Disobedience in 1930 and suffered imprisonment for it. In later life he was a tower of strength to the Hindu Mahasabha.

Dwijendra Nath Moitra

Dr. Dwijendra Nath Moitra died on the morning of November 26 at the age of 72. A medical man, he developed varied interests that took him from literature to Social Service. His Bangiya Hitasadhini Sabha thus revived in the Raja Bazar area of Calcutta the traditions of working men's education built up by Keshub Chandra Sen and Sashipada Banerji.

Prasanta Kumar Sen

A good man, a great lawyer, an outstanding Bengali outside Bengal, has departed from this world. He was a man of scholarly habits. For some years he was Dewan of the Mayurbhanj State, and worked to maintain the traditions created there by Maharaja Sri Ram Chandra Bhanj Deo, father of the present Maharaja. He was judge of the Patna High Court, and during the last few years of his was a member of the Indian Constituent Assembly and later of the Parliament at New Delhi. Along with Sri Prafulla Ranjan Das, he was a leader of the Bengalis in Bihar facing a new challenge to their ways of life. He won respect from all quarters by the equipoise of his conduct. May his soul rest in peace!

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Hem Chandra Basu

The Bengalis domiciled in Bihar have lost in the death of Hem Chandra Basu of Monghyr, a valiant defender of their cause. Leader of the Bar, Hem Chandra was placed at the head of affairs in self-governing institutions and by his vigilance protected and advanced their interests during 40 years of public life. He had as his exemplar Guru Prasad Sen, a leader of public opinion in Bihar and a leader of the Congress during the last quarter of the 19th century. He was no politician but served the Bihar public in unobtrusive ways reminiscent of the older generation.

Bibhuti Bhusan Banerji

On the 1st of November, 1950, departed from this world of mundane activities this Bengali literary man in his 54th year. Bengal literature is the poorer for it.

Bibhuti Bhusan had carved out a place for himself in the love of his people by the sheer beauty of the patterns of natural life that were etched by his pen. The book that made him famous at one bound was *Pather Panchali* (The Story of the Path), tracing the growth of "Apu" amid sylvan surroundings through which he had intimations of "the light that never was on sea and land, the consecration and the poet's dream."

Bibhuti Bhusan had been a type apart; and it was no little credit that he became what he was in the age when Rabindranath Tagore and Sarat Chandra Chatterji bestrode the land. The circle that *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* had created in Bengal welcomed his advent and smoothed his path to fame.

George Bernard Shaw

Death has come to the author of *Back to Methuselah* who had prescribed 300 years as the human span of life; it came before he completed one-third of that period. The "life-force" that had been encased in a body known to the world as George Bernard Shaw was extinguished on the morning of November 2, 1950, at the 94th year of its existence here on earth.

This "life-force" has made for itself such a part of the modern educated person's mental make-up that he and she feels a void in their life at the departure of this teacher of humanity, moulder of its opinions. He was the clarion voice of its aspirations, of its dissatisfactions with things as these are.

He was an Irishman inheriting the views of the Celt for the Anglo-Saxon. Thus he took revenge on the despoiler of his country by making John Bull ridiculous before all the world, by making for himself a place as a mentor of this exploiter. The new morality that Britain has accepted was the creation of the Fabian Society in the making of which Shaw had played no inconsiderable part.

In this evolution, Shaw developed the British virtue of following "precedent", of hastening slowly; the Celtish ebullition of spirit suffered such a sea-change that the British found no difficulty in acknowledging him as one of their major prophets.

And how could this mutual transformation take place? The secret was given out by Shaw himself: "In this world if you do not say a thing in an irritating way, you may not say it at all." This technique of teaching took a long time to seep through, but it did ultimately. All the same, Shaw was not the challenger of accepted values of life as he is represented to be. He accepted "modernism" with all its good and evil, denouncing the latter and by implication upholding the former. He helped propagate in the English-speaking world the teachings of Karl Marx without sharing the new gospellers' creed of hatred, of "class war."

By contrast, his contemporary and antagonist in debate and controversy, Gilbert Keith Chesterton, had been a rebel against "modernism," against what the world accepted as "scientific and progressive." Shaw challenged certain of the evil externalities of "modernism"; Chesterton challenged it whole—spirit and expression—and he went unheeded. The present generation has forgotten this history. We refer to it because the death of Bernard Shaw and the void created by it, cannot be properly understood without a knowledge of the great fight that he had to wage against the inertia of human nature. He irritated us into mental activity. That would constitute his title to remembrance by unnumbered generations.

A Noted Tamil Scholar

Tamil literature has lost an eminent exponent in the death of Marai Malai Adigal (Swami Vedachalam) which took place at Pallavaram, Madras, on September 15 last. An outstanding literary genius of his age, Marai Malai Adigal led an eventful life, fruitful in accomplishment.

Early in life, he showed remarkable preference for Tamil grammar and language. Following this bent, he soon came to be known as an eminent scholar. The Trivandrum Arts College and later the Madras Christian College had the benefit of his services as lecturer in Tamil.

After retirement from service, Marai Malai Adigal took up research work in literary criticism, Saiva philosophy and mysticism of ancient Tamil literature. With Mr. J. M. Nallaswami Pillai he started the Saiva Siddhanta Maha Samajam in 1906. For a time, he was also a disciple of Srila-Sri Somasundara Ayangar. From his *Ashram* at Pallavaram, Marai Malai Adigal published a number of books, which included "The Age of Manickavasagar" and "Thiruvasagam." He was also interested in Yoga.

He founded the Tinnevelly Saiva Siddhanta Publishing Company and he had a collection of more than 60,000 volumes. Drawing inspiration from Agamic Saivaism, his contribution to the exposition of this philosophy will always be remembered, and his memory treasured by his people.

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STATE GOVERNOR IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND BEFORE

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.),
Vice-Principal, Central Calcutta College

In this paper I propose to discuss the position of the Governors of States under the new constitution of India with special reference to the changes introduced at the last stage by the Constituent Assembly in the Draft Constitution prepared by the Drafting Committee. To understand the subject in its true perspective it is necessary to study it in its historical setting. The office of the Governor has existed in what was called British India ever since the East India Company took upon itself administrative responsibility for vast areas in this country (and even before under the title of President), but from time to time it has undergone changes in its character. Without going into the details of this process of evolution of the office its history may be divided broadly into three periods: (1) 1773-1919, (2) 1919-1947, (3) 1947 and after. In the first two periods the office was characterised by authoritarianism to a greater or less degree and in the third period by democratic constitutionalism. In the first period we find the Government of the whole of British India centralised, with its nerve centre at Whitehall, the Provincial and Central Governments being knit together by the autocratic authority of "The Great Mogul at Whitehall"; the Provincial Governors are mere cogs in the wheel moved from England.

In the second period we find at work the consistent process of devolution of authority from the centre and transference of responsibility from the people of England to the people of this country. As a result the position of the Governor consistently undergoes a change from that of an agent of an autocracy to that of a constitutional headship. The first step is taken in the scheme of dyarchy promulgated in the Reforms of 1919 where the Governor assumes a mixed role in the dual government set up, with one face looking towards Whitehall and another towards the Provincial legislature. But constitutionalism was diluted with such a strong dose of authoritarianism as to lose its true character. The Ministerial half of the Government was reduced to nullity under the heavy pressure of the other half and the overpowering influence of the Governor. It proved to demonstration that the marriage of authoritarianism and constitutionalism, autocracy and democracy, can never be happy. In 1935, dyarchy was abolished in favour of Provincial autonomy. Dyarchy was, however, transferred to the centre in the event of the federal part of the constitution coming into force. As this did not materialise due to various reasons the Centre remained autocratic and unitary as before under the leading strings of the Secretary of State. Even in the provinces autonomy was substantially neutralised by the reserve powers and special responsibilities of the Governor which made serious inroads on the principle of ministerial responsibility. The Governor was placed under the complete control of the Governor-General and through the latter of the Secretary of State in the exercise of his special powers and responsibilities. What was conceded to the principle of popular government with one hand was virtually taken away with the other in the shape of these reserve powers of the Provincial Governor. With the transfer of power to the two newly created Dominions of India and Pakistan carved out of what was so long British India on August 15, 1947 under the Independence Act all the special powers of the Governor and Governor-General and all vestiges of control of British Government were swept off by a stroke of pen. Till the coming into force of the Draft Constitution the government of the country is regulated by the Government of India Act, 1935 as adapted by the India (Provisional Constitution) Order, 1947 which we shall call shortly the Adapted Act. We shall discuss the position of the Governor of the States as the Provinces have now been renamed, as set forth in the Draft Constitution, contrasting it where necessary with what it was under the Act of 1935 and the Adapted Act. It may be noted here that the federal part of the Act of 1935 has been given effect to under the Adapted Act with necessary modifications so as to fit in with India's new status of a Dominion.

The Draft Constitution provides for the constitution of India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic on a federal basis. India is to become a full-fledged federal Republic under the new Constitution described as a Union of States. Although all the units are designated as States the existing disparity between different administrative units (Provinces and States) is continued at least for the time being by dividing them into three categories and is indicated by enumerating them in three different parts of the First Schedule to the Constitution. What were previously Governors' Provinces are enumerated in Part I (A) of the Schedule while the Chief Commissioners' Provinces and the Indian States of the old order are enumerated in Parts II (C) and III (B). In this paper we shall be mainly concerned with the States of Part I.

Up to 1935 the Provincial Governor was truly what his designation implies, a Governor—the real executive head of a Province, although since 1919 he had been consistently casting off this role. Even

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under the Act of 1935 although the spirit of provincial autonomy required the Governor to be a constitutional figurehead, actually the plenitude of powers vested in him to be used at discretion and in his individual judgment rendered him by and large an irresponsible executive. In the spheres of administration outside this field he was to play the role of a constitutional figurehead, but as governmental matters cannot be dealt with in compartments but impinge on each other it proved difficult for the Governor to play the role of a constitutional ruler strictly even where he was expected to. Attempts were made to explain away the powers of interference of Provincial Governors as not standing in the way of ministers in the carrying on of the day-to-day administration and as meant to be used only in extreme cases after exploring all possibilities of carrying the ministry with them.[1] Yet in actual experience these expectations were belied as they were bound to be in the very nature of things. Two parts of the Executive drawing inspiration from two different quarters and bearing responsibility to two different electorates were bound in the ultimate analysis to have interests more often than not opposed to each other. As Mr. Attlee, then the leader of the Opposition, very rightly pointed out in course of the debate on the Government of India Bill, 1935 on February 6, 1935:

> "The keynote of the Bill is mistrust. There is no trust at all. India is not to have control of her foreign affairs and of her finances. Indians in the Provinces are not fit to deal with terrorism . . . In fact, the one thing which seems to be left out of the Bill is the Indian people."

The whole idea behind the concept of reserve powers and special responsibilities of Governors was that popular Ministers could not be trusted in those matters without jeopardising imperial interests. The whole constitution smacked of the spirit of colonialism and imperialism which were sought to be entrenched behind these provisions.

The transitional constitution ushered in by the Independence Act and as embodied in the Adapted Act by effacing the provisions of the Act of 1935 giving special powers to the Governor-General and Governors and by abolishing the office of the Secretary of State and consequently the supervising and controlling powers of the "Home Government" removed the obnoxious features of the old constitution. Both the offices of the Governor-General and the Provincial Governor have been reduced for all practical purposes to constitutional figureheads. In certain matters the Governor remains subject to the powers of superintendence and control of the Governor-General but as the Governor-General is now no longer under the control of British Government but is guided strictly by the advice of the Federal Ministry which in its turn is responsible to the Federal legislature it does not detract from the popular character of the Government.

Coming however to the Draft Constitution we find evidence of retrogression in certain features to the position that obtained in 1935 particularly after the changes made by the Constituent Assembly in some of the provisions in the Draft Constitution.

The Governor is to be the head of the Executive in each State, all executive power of the State being vested in him and the Government of the State is to run in his name. As the constitution envisages parliamentary system of government which assumes co-operation between a formal and titular executive head and a real executive, *viz.*, the cabinet, it is to be expected that the Governor should be made a perfectly constitutional ruler placed beyond the din and bustle of party politics, absolutely nonpartisan and discharging his limited duties in complete dependence on the advice of his Ministers who are to shoulder full responsibility for all his public acts. Let us examine how far this conception of the office has been actually realised in the final form of the constitution. The mode of appointment is a vital matter in this context. The Draft Constitution laid down two alter-

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1. Read the controversy raised over the question of Office acceptance by the Congress Party in the summer of 1937 and the Congress demand for assurance from Governors. The following review of the exact constitutional position in Lord Linlithgow's statement on the relations of Governors with Ministers, dated June 22, 1937, is particularly instructive :

"The executive authority of a Province runs in the name of the Governor but in the Ministerial field the Governor, subject to the qualifications already mentioned, is bound to exercise that executive authority on the advice of his Ministers. There are certain strictly limited and clearly defined areas in which, while here as elsewhere primarily responsibility rests with Ministers, the Governor remains ultimately responsible to Parliament. Over the whole of the remainder of the field Ministers are solely responsible, and they are answerable only to the Provincial Legislature. In the discharge of the Governor's special responsibilities it is open to the Governor, and it is indeed incumbent upon him, to act otherwise than on the advice of his Ministers if he considers that the action they propose will prejudice minorities or areas or other interests affected. The decisions in such cases will rest with the Governor; and he will be responsible to Parliament for taking it. But the scope of such potential interference is strictly defined—and there is no foundation for any suggestion that a Governor is free, or is entitled or would have the power, to interfere with the day-to-day administration of a Province outside the limited range of the responsibilities specially confided to him. Before taking a decision against the advice of his Ministers even within that limited range a Governor will spare no pains to make clear to his Ministers the reasons which have weighed with him in thinking both that the decision is one which it is incumbent on him to take, and that it is the right one. . . . In such circumstances, given the goodwill which we can, I trust, postulate on both sides, and for which I can on behalf of His Majesty's Government answer so far as the Governors are concerned, conflicts need not in a normal situation be anticipated."

It is significant that within a short time of the acceptance of office by the Congress Party in the Provinces after such liberal interpretation of those provisions of the Constitution relating to special powers of Governor a fresh deadlock arose in U. P. and Bihar over the question of the release of political prisoners leading to the resignation of the Ministries.

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native procedures in this connection: (1) direct election by all enjoying the franchise for the Legislative Assembly of the State or (2) appointment by the President from a panel of four candidates to be elected by the members of the Legislature of the State in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. Both these procedures have however been rejected by the Constituent Assembly in favour of nomination by the President of the Republic. This can hardly be regarded as a change for the better. There is every chance of the appointment being dictated by partisan considerations as the President in making the appointment would be advised by the Federal cabinet which must necessarily belong to a political party. Even assuming the selection is made from the best of motives and free from all party considerations, which is too much to expect, still a cloud of suspicion would attach to the person nominated which is hardly desirable considering the neutral character of the office. Then again, being the nominee of the Federal Government he might feel himself to be a sort of agent of the centre particularly in cases of conflict of interests between the State and the Centre. Even if he is actually free from such a bias he would still be under a suspicion. The vesting of some discretionary powers in him has added to the potentiality of this danger. It may also be construed as placing the State Government in a position of subordination to the Centre contrary to the principle of Federation. This is likely to be resented in view of the growing consciousness of individuality of the provinces. The person nominated may be viewed as being foisted by the Centre and may not be on that score quite acceptable to the Province. As regards the two alternative procedures suggested in the Draft Constitution the first alternative would not have been a desirable substitute, firstly as some members of the Committee themselves felt "the co-existence of a Governor elected by the people and a Prime Minister responsible to the legislature might lead to friction and consequent weakness in administration".[2]

Moreover, the direct election of a pivotal office like that of the State Governor is hardly desirable. It would give rise to great popular excitement which apart from creating dislocation of normal life during the election campaign might affect the quality of the result by subjecting the election to all sorts of dubious practices connected with election particularly with an unenlightened electorate as in our country. The case of U.S.A. with its highly intelligent and politically conscious electorate is not quite relevant for our purpose.

The second alternative suggested by the Drafting Committee appears to be the best method of appointment in the circumstances of our country. The association of two independent authorities—the President of the federation and the State Legislature—in the process would serve as a mutual counterpoise to each other and is expected to secure the appointment of the best candidate. As regards the position of the Governor *vis-a-vis* the Ministry the Draft Constitution provides that the Governor would be aided and advised by a council of Minsters in the exercise of his functions, "except in so far as he is by or under the constitution required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion." As regards the interpretation of whether a particular matter falls within his discretion the Governor himself is made the final deciding authority, his decision being made at his own discretion. This provision has to be read with Clause (3) of fourth Schedule setting forth Instructions to Governors of States which explains and elucidates the provision as follows:

> "In all matters within the scope of the Executive power of the State save in relation to functions which he is required by or under this constitution to exercise in his discretion, the Governor shall, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him, be guided by the advice of his ministers." (This is an exact reproduction of clause 9 of the Instrument of Instructions under the Act of 1935 omitting the part dealing with the exercise of his special responsibilities).

Article 143 (Revised Sec. 163) is almost a reproduction of Section 50 of the Government of India Act 1935 with slight modifications. It may be noted here that Section 50 was amended in the corresponding section of the Adapted Act so as to eliminate the portion giving discretionary powers to the Governor. It is curious to find that this reactionary part eliminated in the transitional constitution is going to be restored in the new constitution. It looks like putting back the hands of the clock of progress. What adds to the potentiality of its danger is that under the new constitution the Governor is not subjected to control from any quarter in the exercise of his discretionary powers. Even under the Act of 1935 [Sec. 54(I)] in the exercise of these powers the Governor was placed "under the general control of" and required "to comply with such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time be given to him by the Governor-General in his discretion." Under Section 14(I), the Governor-General again in his turn when acting in discretion was "under the general control of and required" to comply with particular directions, if any "as might be given by the Secretary of State" who again was responsible to the British Parliament and through Parliament to the British electorate. So there was some sort of a check, though not very satisfactory from the point of view of the Indian people, on the arbitrary exercise of these powers by the Governor. But in the new constitution there is nothing to prevent a perverse Governor from the arbitrary exercise of these powers. Even the weapon of impeachment, a

2. *Draft Constitution*, p. 57, footnote.

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clumsy method though it is of enforcing responsibility, provided for in the Draft Constitution, has been removed at the final stage by the Constituent Assembly. Nor is the President of the Republic although he would be the formal appointing authority likely to be able to exercise any effective control over the Governor. It may be argued that a person appointed to that exalted office is not normally expected to be exercising his powers arbitrarily in the teeth of opposition of his Ministry; but where is the guarantee that he would always be able to agree with them? In case of disagreement he is thrown back on his unfettered discretion. Moreover, a system that depends on the good sense and moderation of the persons working it for its satisfactory working cannot certainly be regarded an ideal one. We should always bear in mind that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. The absence of any device in the constitutional machinery to serve as an automatic brake on arbitrary exercise of these powers would by itself offer a constant invitation to abuse them.

It might open up opportunities of conflict with the ministry and constitutional crises. This may very well be illustrated by a few hypothetical cases. Under Section 144 of the Draft Constitution,[3] the Governor's ministers shall be appointed by him and shall hold office during his pleasure. Of course, it is provided under sub-clause (4) that in choosing his ministers the Governor shall be *generally* (*i.e.*, not always) guided by the Instructions set out in the fourth Schedule which require the Governor to appoint his Ministers in consultation with the person who in his judgment is most likely to command a stable majority in the legislature. But as all the powers under this section are to be exercised in his discretion there is nothing to prevent him from appointing as ministers whomsoever he likes ignoring the terms of the instructions and also dismissing them at pleasure. Of course, the ministers are also under the control of the legislature. If a ministry is thrust by the Governor acting at his personal discretion on an unwilling legislature the latter can make it impossible for the ministry to function by throwing out the budget, refusing to pass necessary legislation and so on. In such circumstances if the Governor stands his ground instead of yielding to the Legislature, administration would come to a dead stop. What adds to the seriousness of the position is the fact that the Governor himself is authorised to decide finally at his discretion the limits of these powers.

Similarly with regard to the power of the Governor, to be exercised at discretion in grave emergencies under Section 188, the Governor has simply to be himself satisfied (without even consulting his ministers) that a grave emergency has arisen threatening the peace and tranquillity of the State and that it is not possible to carry on the government of the State in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and he is authorised to declare by proclamation that his functions shall, to the extent specified in the proclamation[4], (*i.e.*, to any extent he chooses) be exercised by him in his discretion and to suspend in whole or part the operation of any provisions of the Constitution relating to any body or authority in the State with the only exception of the High Court. In other words, he may suspend the Legislature, the Ministry or any other authority and rule despotically for a time. There are, of course, certain conditions imposed on the exercise of the powers under this section. In the first place the maximum life of the proclamation is fixed at two weeks only. In the second place it will have to be communicated forthwith to the President who may either revoke it or take action under Article 356 under which the President is empowered to assume to himself all or any of the functions of the State Government or the State Governor or any other auhtority of the State and so on. But these conditions are of little avail in preventing abuse of power by the Governor, as much mischief may have already been done before the President could intervene and revoke it. He might utilise the provision for getting rid of a ministry or legislature he fell foul of. In this respect the corresponding section in the Act of 1935, *viz.*, Sec. 93 had greater safeguard against abuse of authority by the Governor inasmuch as it made the issue of the Proclamation by the Governor subject to the previous concurrence of the Governor-General in his discretion.

It will be seen that the whole idea of vesting such unfettered discretionary authority in one man assumes a measure of honesty, integrity, sobriety and devotion to the welfare of the community which is not ordinarily found in any man. It is hardly consistent with the true spirit of parliamentary democracy.

It is difficult to understand what made the Drafting Committee vest such authority in the Governor. Naturally it raised a heated debate in the Constituent Assembly and two amendments were moved which of course were turned down by the Congress majority. Yet it revealed a strong opposition to the proposal. The only defence that Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, could put up was the precedent in the 19th Century Constitution of Canada and Australia—a very poor defence indeed! The vesting

3. Since writing the objectionable feature in the provision pointed out above has been removed by recasting the section at the last stage of the proceedings of the Consembly. The Governor is now bound to appoint other Ministers on the advice of the Chief Minister appointed by him, responsibility of the Ministry has been made collective statutorily and the subclause (4) giving discretionary power to the Governor in the exercise of his functions under the article has been omitted.

4. This section has been omitted by the Consembly at the last stage, emergency powers being vested in the President under Section 356 of the Constitution as finally adopted.

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of such undiluted autocratic power in an officer who is himself not responsible to anybody in its exercise can hardly be justified on any legitimate ground whatsoever in this century at any rate. To the extent that the Governor will be exercising the powers that the Constitution has vested in him to be exercised at discretion the office has become almost a replica of its prototype in the days before 1935 or even worse, because even in those days the Governor was under the control of some higher authorities though of a foreign origin, but now he would not be accountable directly to anybody. This is calculated to make a serious inroad on the working of responsible government in the States.*

* A paper read at the Twelfth Session of the Indian Political Science Conference at Madras in December, 1949.

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BRITISH LIQUOR CONTROL DURING FIRST WORLD WAR AND ITS LESSONS FOR INDIA

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.P.

I

In the life and death struggle with Germany during the First World War, Great Britain had to mobilise all her industrial and man power. By the second year, the mobilisation of man-power and the organisation of industry were completed. In addition to the permanent armed forces, four millions in round numbers passed from the industries into the combatant services. Another two millions, if not more, were subtracted from ordinary occupations and added to the munition trades. Then came a second labour army composed of Belgian refugees and a vast assemblage of British women and workers in addition to a host of skilled and unskilled workers. It is to be noted here that industrial workers engaged normally in essential staple industries who did not have to change their occupations are not included in the above figures.

This labour army was engaged in the manufacture of munitions which included not merely various types of arms and ammunition but also food and drink, foot-wear, clothing and bedding, building materials, canvas, leather and rubber equipment, chemicals, hospital requirements, electrical supplies of various types, engines of many kinds, ship-building, devices for trench warfare, artillery and aircraft, etc. Every one who could bring a pair of hands to the country's service found employment. Grown-up men and women, young men and young women had to work hard for the country.

II

The increased earnings of workers especially where they were separated from their families which could no longer exercise a restraining influence on them encouraged larger consumption of liquor. In particular, many casual labourers whose services were not in continuous demand in normal times, found permanent employment and the high wages received regularly enabled them to at last quench their past unsatisfied thirst for liquor. Many people who had either observed extreme moderation or had been total abstainers were tempted and acquired the habit of drinking more than was regarded as good for them.

There was an unprecedented rise in arrests for drunkenness, for brawls and fights as well as absence and irregular attendance in mills, factories and munition works.

Drinking by women, so notable a feature during the war years, was largely due to the disruption of family life. Men enlisted or went to distant towns to engage in munition work and wives and mothers were left lonely with few or none for whom to keep house. For a woman to part with husband and son, often with husband, sons and daughters, frequently caused the collapse of the home as it gradually emptied when the dear and loved ones left it at the call of the service of the country. Lessening companionship, shrinking family duties united with increasing cares and fears were the lot of the mother and the older women of the family.

The only relief for the wives and mothers of soldiers, etc., consisted in meeting other women in the same unfortunate positions and sharing with them the latest news from the front, the camp and the industrial centres to which the younger generation had gone. It happened often that when these women visited one another, hospitality in the shape of liquor was extended to them which, in its turn, led to larger consumption and in some cases even to excessive drinking.

Women who were either young or strong enough to stand the strain took men's places in banks, offices, shops and in farms. Others went in their thousands to areas where different kinds of articles required for carrying on the struggle were being manufactured. There were few centres of social interest and fellowship for a majority of these women who had been sundered from home life. When they were sensible, they picked their friends and acquaintances from their own sex. The old alcohol tradition of linking friendship with the drinking of liquor led them to the public house or to join drinking circles in one or another of their lodgings.

The money spent on liquor came from higher earnings, from remittances from male relatives or from what are known as separation allowances given

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to women separated from those male earners who had supported them in pre-war days.

In October, 1915, the Birmingham *Daily Post* conducted an enquiry through competent persons in regard to the increase of drinking among women as the result of which it was found that

> "Of the 15,933 persons counted as entering the 64 licensed premises under observation *for an average of one hour in the evening,* 6,329 were women."

These figures are arresting for they prove the high percentage of women who felt no shame in the consumption of liquor in public especially when we remember that, in spite of their comparatively easy financial conditions as compared with pre-war days, there were larger ejectment orders for non-payment of rent, summonses for neglect to send children to school and ill-treatment of and cruelty to children.

III

Experience during the Boer War had shown that increased earnings and wider employment lead to larger consumption of liquor and the mischiefs associated with it. It was therefore that, with a view to discouraging excess, the British Parliament within less than a month of the opening of hostilities, to be exact on the 31st August, 1914, passed legislation empowering the relevant authorities "to suspend the license of any retailer and to stop the consumption of liquor in any club" whenever this was deemed necessary for "the maintenance of law and order and the suppression of drunkenness." This measure, however, had little if any effect in reducing the evils it sought to remove.

By the end of October, 1914, it had become clear that Great Britain and her allies would have to put forth their best efforts if they were to survive. That even such a national crisis did not have the effect of reducing consumption of liquor which was seriously hindering the war effort is evident from the following extract from a letter dated March 30, 1915 addressed by the Private Secretary to the King-Emperor to Mr. Lloyd George :

> "We have before us the statements not merely of employers, but of the Admiralty and War Office officials responsible for the supply of munitions of war, for the transport of troops, their food and ammunition. From this evidence it is without doubt largely due to drink that we are unable to secure the output of war material indispensable to meet the requirements of our Army in the field, and that there has been such serious delay in the conveyance of the necessary reinforcements and supplies to aid our gallant troops at the front."

Seven days later, to be exact on the 6th April, 1915, it was officially announced that "by the King's command no wine, spirits or beer will be consumed in any of His Majesty's houses after to-day". Be it noted that this abstinence from liquor was to operate for the duration of the war only. This gesture on the part of the King was welcomed throughout the country. Many individuals and groups of workers in professional and commercial circles took what in those days was called the "King's Pledge". On page 42 of his book entitled *The Control of the Drink Trade,* Mr. Henry Carter, a prominent temperance leader of those days, has described the failure of this movement in the following terms:

> "A few weeks sufficed to show that voluntary effort, though strengthened by the appeal and example of the Throne, was insufficient to solve the problem."

The movement fizzled out because the members of the British Cabinet in the language of the above-mentioned writer "were by no means of one mind to follow the King". We also know that a resolution to the effect that liquor would not be served for the duration of the war only in the refreshment bar of the House of Commons was rejected by an overwhelmingly large majority, the clearest possible proof of the existence of the feeling that indulgence in alcoholic beverages even when the country is faced by a threat to its existence is not wrong provided excess is avoided.

IV

On May 19, 1915 the Privy Council was authorised under the Defence of the Realm Act to issue regulations for the control of the drink trade and in exercise of this power it created the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic). The first step this body took consisted in reduction in the hours of sale and elimination of "treating".

Prior to declaration of war by Great Britain, the total number of hours during which liquor could be legally sold in England and Wales was as follows :

London—	
Week-days	19½ hours
Sunday	7 „
Provincial towns—	
Week-days	16 „
Sunday	6 „

The Board of Control reduced hours of sale in England and Wales to 5½ per day while sale of liquor for consumption away from licensed premises was limited to 4½ hours per day. To put it in a different way, while the hours of sale in England and Wales were cut down by about two-thirds, those in Scotland were reduced by more than one-half. In addition, the sale of spirits such as brandy, whisky, gin and rum whether for consumption in public houses or at home was prohibited on Saturday and Sunday.

The practice of drinking together when friends meet, when a business deal is finalised, etc., is a well-known cause of unnecessary, if not always, excessive drinking. It grew into a positive danger when the civilian public took to the custom of offering free drinks to members of the armed forces as a sign of its appreciation of their patriotism. Intemperance encouraged in this way hindered to a marked extent the efforts of the authorities to build up an efficient

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armed force. In addition, it was also found that now and then German Secret Service agents used this technique for worming out military secrets. The no-treating order, however, was not always strictly followed.

The second measure imposed by the Board of Control to discourage drunkenness was to reduce the alcohol content of all liquors. So far as fermented drinks like beer and stout were concerned, the gravity of beer was reduced to an average of 1,030 degrees in Great Britain and to 1,045 degrees in Ireland for the stout for which it is famous.

As regards distilled liquor such as whisky, brandy, gin and rum which contain a larger amount of alcohol than fermented liquors like beer and stout, the British Government passed legislation to reduce the alcohol content. This came in four successive stages under the last of which it was compulsory to dilute them to 30 degrees under proof. It was also permissible for the seller to dilute them still further to 50 degrees under proof.

The improvement in national efficiency expected from these measures was much less than what has been anticipated. Drinkers accommodated themselves to the regulations and continued to buy the quantities of liquor formerly consumed by them.

The reason for this is not far to seek. In all countries, including Great Britain, where indulgence in liquor is not banned by legislation, the State endeavours to discourage excessive consumption through restrictions imposed on the retailer of intoxicants. For instance, in all these countries it is illegal to sell liquor to minors, to people already drunk, to sell outside certain hours of the day, not to do so on particular days and so forth. There are, however, practically no restrictions on the producers of liquor in normal times. Nor are they prevented from using every channel of publicity and every channel of distribution to sell their wares.

As a matter of fact, the liquor trade in Great Britain continued to produce the pre-war normal quantity of beer amounting to 36 million barrels of beer and 32 million gallons of spirits; there was no diminution in consumption, what little improvement in efficiency appeared was due to the reduction in the alcoholic content of liquor and that only where the drinkers did not buy larger amounts than before these measures had come into force and which they could easily do on account of their higher earnings during the war period.

V

It was round about this time that the compulsion of circumstances forced the British leaders to take note to the attitude of employers to their workers which, a heritage from the unsympathetic if not selfish individualism of the nineteenth century, had consisted in the total lack of interest in their welfare, easily understandable because the supply had always been in excess of the demand. They turned their attention to ascertaining the causes of excessive drinking in the hope that their removal would encourage moderation. Such a course, it was believed, would not only yield immediate results and thus be helpful in the war effort but would, if implemented as a long term programme, greatly reduce even if it failed to eliminate drunkenness.

Medical men and social workers were consulted and various Committees were set up to conduct intensive investigations into the reasons which led workers to indulge in liquor in spite of the advice of the leaders of the nation to the contrary, their undoubted patriotism and their burning desire to utilise all their energies in the service of their country.

Among the various reports submitted by one or other of these Committees, mention may be made of the following; *Industrial Efficiency and Fatigue, Hours of Work, Statistical Information Concerning Output in reference to Hours of Work, Industrial Canteens, Employment of Women, Juvenile Employment and Welfare Supervision.*

The findings of these Committees may be classified under three heads. Working people did not ordinarily eat wholesome and nourishing food in adequate quantities at a time when it was incumbent on them to speed up the manufacture and delivery of munitions and when therefore the extra output of energy required should have come from the improved quality and the increased quantity of food. Many of these under-fed people took to liquor mainly because the capacity to undergo hard toil which should have come from food was, under its influence, derived from their reserve stock of energy the depletion of which ultimately led to loss of strength, ill-health and disease.

Secondly, housing accommodation, previously in short supply, became scarcer when abnormally large number of workers had to be concentrated in centres of work. This resulted in unusual overcrowding which deprived them of recuperative rest. Many unable to secure lodgings close to their places of work found it at distant places and were compelled to spend time which should have been devoted to rest, in going to work and returning home. Most of them had been separated from their families and the dreary and monotonous nature of their work increased their need for companionship and relaxation. This they found in the public houses where they met others similarly circumstanced and the temptation to drink, purchase of which was easy on account of the high wages earned, was irresistible and excess in it almost inevitable.

A third cause was excessive fatigue due to long hours of work, overtime and even work on Sundays. The people could have stood up to the strain, at least to some extent, if the food taken by them had been of such a nature as to supply them with the quantum of energy spent in work. The connection between

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habitual overstrain for months at a time and drinking under these circumstances hardly needs emphasising.

Recognising the necessity of removing these principal social causes of drinking, the British Government through certain organisations, public and private, established industrial canteens where nourishing food in adequate quantities was supplied to labour. These had halls for rest, relaxation and recreation. Housing schemes sponsored by the State and private enterprise were put through. For reasons easily understood, Government was not in a position to do anything to drastically reduce the excessive labour which had to be undergone during the war period.

Naturally enough, it was sometime before arrangements for providing the proper type of food and accommodation for anything like a respectable proportion of the millions of British workers could be made with the result that the improvement derived from this method was not such as to make any immediate appreciable difference in the drink situation.

VI

The next step was taken when the submarine menace grew in intensity and many a ship carrying foodstuffs to the United Kingdom was torpedoed leading to loss of valuable lives and of food at a time when starvation stared the people in the face. An official publication entitled *How to Save and Why* which drew attention to the urgent necessity of no longer using precious foodstuffs for the manufacture of liquor and aimed at mobilising public opinion in favour of utilising every available grain of it for feeding man and beast, stated:

> "Immense quantities of food materials such as barley, wheat, and maize are used in this country for the manufacture of beer and spirits. As beer and spirits are almost valueless as food, and can only be classed as luxuries pure and simple, all this grain is lost for food purposes. If this grain were available for food, both for man and beast, the prices of bread and meat would be lowered."

When a sufficient volume of public opinion in favour of the saving of food in the above manner had been created, the Food Controller passed orders under which the production of beer was cut down to 30 million barrels in 1915-16. Then came the Output of Beer (Restrictions) Act, 1916 fixing the production of beer to 26 million barrels in 1916-17 followed by similar legislation reducing it to 10 million barrels for 1917-18.

Restrictions were also applied on the production and avalibility of distilled liquors. In 1917, distilling for beverage purposes was prohibited except under license from the Minister of Munitions. The quantity of spirits that could be cleared from bond was restricted to one-half the amount cleared in 1916.

The beneficial results of reduction in the alcoholic content of liquor which had failed to encourage moderation so long as the production of alcoholic beverages had been maintained on the pre-war level began to manifest themselves when, under the restrictions referred to above, gradually diminishing quantities were made available to the public. The effect of all these measures, in the language of Mr. H. Cecil Heath, a prominent leader of the Temperance Movement in Great Britain, was that

> "The year 1918 (when the effects of the above measures for reducing the consumption of liquor manifested themselves most effectively) was indeed the most sober year since the beginning of the century."—*The Control of A Dangerous Trade*, p. 89.

While the difficulty of definitely fixing what exact proportion of the sobriety which appeared especially towards the end of the First World War can be attributed to each of the above measures is freely admitted, it does not seem unreasonable to presume that the most potent factor in improving the drink situation was limitation in the production of liquor and reduction in the quantity made available for sale. This view appears to be corroborated by the deterioration which manifested itself immediately after the withdrawal of this particular war-time restriction.

VII

The unquestioned acceptance of what has been called the alcohol tradition in Western countries accounts for the failure of the appeal for voluntary abstinence made by the King-Emperor as also for the rejection of the resolution moved in the House of Commons to stop the serving of alcoholic beverages in its refreshment bar for the duration of the war only—matters referred to previously. It also explains the deprecatory tone of the speech made by Mr. Lloyd George when introducing legislation for imposing restrictions on the production and availability of liquor as is evident from the following extract from it:

> "Of all the perplexing and disagreeable tasks that could fall to the lot of any Minister, I think that any attempt to provide a solution for the drink difficulty is about the worst. . . . . To agree upon the facts is bad enough, but to agree about a remedy is almost impossible. One cannot hope to satisfy everybody, because the problem is one that will always provoke very intense feeling, and unfortunately it is a question where everybody has what I may call 'previous convictions.' . . . Every Government that has ever touched alcohol has burnt its fingers in its lurid flames. Whenever you try to approach it, there are barbed-wire entanglements on every road, and passions and prejudices and principles all of the most explosive character behind them."

What has been said above makes it quite clear that the different measures for controlling the production and availability of liquor were so unpopular that the British Government had to feel its way carefully and slowly increasing the stringency of such steps as it took only when the failure, complete or partial,

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of the previous one had been demonstrated beyond any doubt.

No fair-minded man will deny that, taking into account the public sentiment in Great Britain in regard to the drink problem, the Government of the day showed great wisdom in tackling it in the way it did as also that it did manage to secure almost universal support. The reason why this was accorded most certainly was not a radical change in public sentiment. An abnormal situation was responsible for what for want of a better term may be described as an abnormal decision. And it came because, in the language of an advocate of moderate consumption of liquor, Britain,

> "a nation dominated by indescribable fear of the future was wholeheartedly behind any steps taken to safeguard the national interests and drink was admitted on all sides to be interfering very seriously with national efficiency."

While every one realised its individual and social evil effects, so strong was the hold alcohol had on the public that it refused to admit the only permanent and satisfactory solution of the problem *viz.*, a total stoppage of the production and distribution of alcoholic beverages and the legal banning of its consumption.

VIII

So impressed was the British Government with the reduction in excessive drinking which appeared in 1918, that in a statement issued by it in November that year it declared :

> "There must be a proper adaptation to peace conditions of the experience which, during the war, they had gained in regard to the traffic in drink."

This undertaking was not, however, fulfilled. With peace, all restrictions on the output of beer were withdrawn so that by July, 1919 brewers were free to produce and sell as much fermented liquors as they desired. Similarly, increase in the specific gravity of beer to the pre-war level was permitted. By November the same year, restrictions on the production of distilled liquor and the quantities allowed to be withdrawn from bond also disappeared. The only beneficial measure which was continued, and that in a modified form, was a reduction in the hours of sale as compared with pre-war conditions. These were as follows:

London—	
Week-days	9 hours
Sunday	5 „
Elsewhere—	
Week-days	8 „
Sunday	5 „

After the withdrawal or relaxation of the war-time restrictions, the consumption of intoxicating liquors in terms of absolute alcohol in 1919 showed an increase of approximately 60 per cent while the per capita expenditure on alcohol including drinkers, abstainers and children rose to £8-8s as against £3-12s-6d in 1913 with an alarming increase in arrests for drunkenness. In fact, the war period of compulsory moderation was followed by a swing in the direction of larger consumption and, along with it, re-appearance of all the old evils.

IX

Coming to the conclusions we are legitimately entitled to draw from the facts set forth above, it may be stated that, generally speaking, the long-term programme for ensuring moderation has not been an unqualified success. The First World War came to an end more than three decades ago. During all these years the movement for providing the proper type of accommodation, food and working conditions has continued. Today, there are many organisations, some voluntary, others State-aided, working continuously and whole-heartedly to do all they can for the removal of those factors which largely explain the drinking habits of the West. It has, however, to be pointed out that well-intentioned and efficiently organised as they are, they have so far failed in materially reducing what we may call the incidence of drunkenness by which is meant the physical, intellectual and spiritual degradation and ruin of the drinker and the social and economic injury for which his habit is responsible.

This technique has only a limited utility for, as is clear from Western experience, it is far from being a complete solution of the drink problem. These and similar other well-meant efforts have failed because in Great Britain as in other Western countries, the approach to the drink problem has invariably been a hesitant one being directed not towards the elimination of drinking but at discouraging excess. Nonetheless, they have a significance for India which is pledged to full-blooded prohibition. If, following the example of Great Britain, we are in a position to remove what have been called the social causes of drinking, there is little doubt that we shall succeed in materially reducing the number of those who today patronise illicit liquor.

It has also to be remembered that among peoole who have so long earned their living through the liquor trade, the vast majority are those engaged in tapping palm trees and selling today. Generally speaking, they are poor and have followed this business for generations. As such people know no other way of supporting themselves, they are tempted to follow their hereditary occupation, obviously in a clandestine manner, after the introduction of prohibition. And it is only natural to presume that they will be tempted to do so till they are provided with some alternative employment. This explains the steps taken by Madras, Bombay and Uttar Pradesh for what we may describe as their rehabilitation. And we may be certain that this wise move is the best long-term method of ending much of the illicit production and distribution of the most widely consumed variety of alcoholic beverage in India.

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The second conclusion is that even the most stringent of restrictions can never eliminate drinking; they can only reduce it, as was the aim set before their country by British leaders during the First World War. From this it follows that if our goal is the abolition of drinking, no system of control, however ingenious, can enable us to reach it. This is possible only with the total stoppage of the production and distribution of liquor and the banning of drinking through legislation which is what we are doing in India.

One great advantage in our favour is that, unlike Western countries where the majority have no objection to drinking so long as excess is avoided and which does not carry social obloquoy, public sentiment in India very definitely condemns even moderate indulgence in liquor.

The third conclusion is that the successful operation of any system of control as also of prohibition demands large-scale active public support. It was offered during the war period in Great Britain on account of apprehensions of losing the war through inefficiency due to indulgence in drink. We in India have what we may call the passive acquiescence of the public in our prohibition programme.

The creation of a strong and active public opinion against drinking and in favour of prohibition is easier as, according to competent observers including Mahatma Gandhi, indulgence in alcoholic beverages is, up to the present, confined to about 10 per cent of the population. Anti-alcohol and pro-prohibition education and propaganda are probably the most effective methods for this purpose.

The difficulties we shall have to overcome were rampant even when we did not have prohibition and they will continue so long as the world contains greedy people prepared to defy the law for the sake of profit and individuals ready to pay high prices for liquor without which their lives become uncomfortable. The former as law-breakers have to be severely dealt with especially where they are well-to-do and educated people from whom the State has the right to expect better things. Poor men who are driven to illicit practices because they are thrown out of employment through the imposition of prohibition should, as stated previously, be trained in new occupations.

Effective steps will have to be taken along Western lines to remove the social causes of drinking including regulation of working hours, providing healthy accommodation and balanced food for workers. What are called neighbourhood centres and poor men's clubs where ex-drinkers and others can enjoy social life will have to be provided by welfare organisations with or without State aid.

Normally, a majority of the new generation which will appear after prohibition has been in operation for some years will not know or care to familiarise themselves with the taste of liquor. But there will always be some defectives who will continue to crave liquor. They will need medical attention which should be provided by the State.

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LONDON LETTER

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

There is little doubt but that London is the show place of the world. Nowhere else can you see pageantry so well mounted. Within the space of a single week—at opposite ends of the historic street of Whitehall—two events have occurred to capture the public imagination. In Trafalgar Square, the Prime Minister has hoisted the flag of the United Nations. In Westminster Hall, to mark the opening of the Commons' new debating chamber, the King has received loyal addresses from Lords and Commons in the presence of the Speakers or Presiding Officers of all the Parliaments and Legislative Assemblies that exist in the British Commonwealth.

The United Nations' flag has a clear and lovely blue for its ground. No other colour would have been more fitting. Red is like the blast of a trumpet but blue has a persuasive quality. It has been described as the colour of youth and distance and devotion. (In Western religious art the mantle of the Virgin Mary is invariably painted blue). How many years will pass before this flag stirs the heart of our common humanity —in the same way as a national flag stirs our private loyalties? It will be a wonderful day for the world when the members of the United Nations agree to fly its flag on all public occasions, alongside the national flag and —eventually—at the head of the mast!

No one can tell at this stage what will be the immediate consequences to the world of the United Nations intervention in Korea. If Korea had no neighbours, the war would be as good as over and the victors using their great resources for the more congenial work of rehabilitation. But Chinese prisoners have been taken and they all speak of a force of forty thousand Chinese troops which are coming to the aid of the Northern Koreans. China is in anxious and perhaps expansionist mood and she is fishing also in the troubled waters of Indo-China and the hitherto untroubled Tibet. Is she going to make war on the United Nations forces? It would be a tragedy for China and the world if she mistook United Nations police action for the old Western imperialism.

Still whatever the immediate consequences of United Nations intervention in Korea, there is no doubt that Korea marks a turning point in the history of the world. For the first time in its history the nations of the world have seen themselves as a community and a community that will not tolerate aggression. The League of Nations

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failed because it had not grasped that principle. When Japan invaded Manchuria, it should have been everyone's business to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. Then Abyssinia would have been saved from Italy, Austria from Germany, and Spain from Italian and German intervention in her civil war. There would have been no second world war. But this time history is not going to repeat itself. Keeping the peace is the concern of everybody and aggression will not be allowed to succeed anywhere.

In Europe, we feel it is a pity that the United Nations forces fighting in Korea, aside from the powerful aid of the South Koreans themselves, should be almost entirely American and European. It is a satisfaction to hear that a Turkish contingent is on its way. The Turks cannot be regarded as 'western capitalists.' Turkey indeed has every reason to support the United Nations action. In Europe, she has Russia and other Iron Curtain States for neighbours. Only Greece has preserved her independence—and Turkey has seen what Communist neighbours tried to bring off in Greece.

When the Korean war is over, as we pray it soon may be, the United Nations Organization will have an opportunity to show the North Koreans that other aspect of collective security, collective well-being. All over England this past week meetings have been held at which these two sides have been under examination. Perhaps it is worth while recalling for a moment the position taken up by UNO. Its aim is to put down aggression, to hold the world in a secure wall. But a wall is no good unless life inside it is tolerable. *The problem of well-being,* says UNO, *is the parallel problem to that of war.*

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." But what a pity that these victories are so lacking in the picturesque! It is high time that we turned our attention to the business of making the virtues of peace-making, of compassion, as attractive as the heroics of war. When most people think of the United Nations they think of its most conspicuous feature, the fact that Russia has used the veto about forty-seven times. But there have been other kinds of vetoes of much greater importance to mankind. In 1947, as a result of the prompt action of the World Health Organization of the United Nations Organization, an outbreak of cholera in Egypt was 'vetoed' in a matter of weeks. Last year, through the work of the same Organization, for the first time in her history there was not a single death from malaria in Italy. The United Nations has vetoed endless misery amongst refugees. It has settled eight hundred thousand of them in new countries and re-instated seventy thousand others. At present it is keeping alive six millions of mothers and children. India is aware of the great attempt which the United Nations is making to combat infantile paralysis since only last year its Organization sent her twenty iron lungs. It is the intention to create an international pool of iron lungs for use by any country in emergencies. It is impossible to overrate the value of this side of UNO. Just as collective security mobilises the armies of the world to put down aggression, collective well-being is mobilising the conscience of the world. But the mobilisation is so slow. What can we do to make it a reality to the man in the street?

But to return to Westminster Hall and to the opening of the new Commons. Rather surprisingly this seemingly formal and domestic occasion turned out to be a most moving experience with a message for the whole world. In the first place the business was one long courtesy. It had begun earlier in the week when speeches were made by the Commons thanking the Lords for the hospitality of their chamber which they had enjoyed ever since their own was destroyed by enemy action in May 1941. Then, when in Westminster Hall, Lords and Commons met to present loyal addresses to his majesty the King, it was his speech in reply which made the day remarkable. Parliament has a history reaching back for about seven hundred years and more. We are rather apt to take it for granted. But in his speech the King put it into world perspective. 'This new Chamber', he said, 'will stand as a sign to the world of our faith in freedom, for freedom finds expression in this palace of Westminster where free men and women can speak in accordance with the dictates of their consciences. Not for us the silence of 'suppression.' Point was given to his words by the presence of representatives of twenty-nine Commonwealth Parliaments. 'Of all the bonds which unite my peoples,' he had said earlier in his speech, 'none is stronger than our common devotion to the ideals of freedom, justice and toleration.' Freedom, justice and toleration—we must not forget that this is our heritage and our contribution to the common stock.

The new chamber is no bigger than the old and there are still not enough seats for members. 'We shape our buildings and then they shape us.' For years Parliament met in a chapel and members of the House spoke from either side of a narrow aisle. This made for an intimate manner in debate and it also pre-figured the two-party system. By such an accident of architecture have we been influenced, but it was a lucky accident. In France and Germany, we have seen the confusion and impotence wrought in their assemblies by the splintering and shading off of parties. And as for a confined space, it has its advantages. There is no room for a rostrum and its rhetoric, no opportunity for prolonged bad manners. In France, the other day, where the deputies are provided with desks, the Communist members banged the lids of their desks for three-quarters of an hour on end!

A consequence of our predeliction for the two-party system is that the Liberal Party can make no headway. In the last two elections its vote has not varied. Seeing this, some prominent Liberals have put forward an interestng proposal. They think that Liberalism can operate primarily as a faith than as a party. To this end

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they suggest that Liberals everywhere should make it their special object to expose injustices and to help to preserve the freedom of the individual in every way possible. Many Conservative and Labour supporters will approve this project. Freedom of the individual seems to them to be especially threatened. Somehow several well-meant schemes have gone away. It is rather as if the horses had been given oats, but the oats had eaten the horses (as Shakespeare remarked)! A writer in this week's *Time and Tide*, a non-party weekly, after enumerating the various *numbers* which he has been allotted —birth certificate, identity card, health insurance, trade union, car, driving, dog, gun and fishing licence, and his passport—comments: 'Never was so much done for the citizen; and never did the citizen feel less important, less in charge of his own actions and destiny, than he does today.'

The Commons are entering into possession of their new quarters for what may be the last lap of the present Parliament. In any event its life cannot be prolonged for more than another year. But whether the span be long or short, it will have a different character. Sir Stafford Cripps, England's version of an 'Iron Chancellor', has no longer his hand on the tiller. His successor Mr. Gaitskell is a much younger man and a trained economist. He will need all that youth and knowledge and vision can give him because he is taking over at a moment when an economic blizzard is rising. For some years we have had a wage freeze but the pressure of perpetually rising prices has proved too much for it and a thaw has set in. The policy of restraint in wages, as the *Economist* points out, has been abandoned. It has been abandoned moreover by its stoutest practiser, Mr. Deakin, the General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union. And 'when the Transport and General Workers Union turns to claim higher wages, no union will be far behind.' The ordinary citizen, in fact, is finding himself in an intolerable position. Prices go up all the time and especially, it seems, of the things he cannot not do without. In the past few weeks, to name a few items, prices have risen on wool, pyjamas, utility furs, stockings, bacon, butter, chocolate, sardines, shoe repairs, railway and bus fares, cinemas and rain-coats.

The new Chancellor has certainly a dismal prospect before him. Can he find a way out of the storm? Our city news editors seem content for the most part merely to chart its course. This is a comment from the *London Star*: 'With cotton and wool prices soaring to dizzy heights—Egyptian cotton is now five shillings a lb. and wool at twelve shillings to fifteen shillings is fifteen times the price in 1945—an extraordinary situation is arising in the textile trades. Cost accountants in Lancashire say that about thirteen shillings in every pound spent by the manufacturer now goes for raw materials. The poor man's clothes of cotton and wool are becoming silk and satin luxuries. And we can't even wear sackcloth because of the price of jute.'

How are we to pay these prices and how on top of all this are we to pay for our part in Korea and for re-armament? It is to be hoped that the new Chancellor of the Exchequer is more interested in the ways of making money, in increasing production, than in increasing taxation. At the Labour Party Conference this year there was a section still out for blood—for a further capital levy. But the results of such a levy are a drop in a mighty ocean, in fact, have a spite value rather than an economic one. Earlier in the year the Government published the Report of a Committee appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enquire into the question of the preservation and maintenance of houses of outstanding historic or architectural interest. This Report, most extraordinarily interesting for its own sake, revealed incidentally what a tiny minority there are in England who can by any standards be considered well off. Commenting on income tax and sur-tax it stated: 'The present rates of these taxes mean that no individual, however much his gross income or whatever its source, can have much more than £5,000 to spend; only seventy taxpayers in the country are left with more than £6,000 a year; and that sum represents a gross income of about £100,000.' If, as we are so often told, real money is worth about a third of what it was before the war, it is in sober fact arguable that there are no rich people left in the country at all! Indeed it is a safe conjecture, whenever we hear of some great house that is still in private occupation or of some individual who is living in a particularly beautiful London flat, that in the first case the owner is drawing on his capital and in the second is a director whose expenses are being paid. There is no escape from figures.

There may be no escaping taxation if you live in this country but some businesses can go abroad and this is what they are going to do. During the past week Rhodesian copper concerns have decided to move their domicile from London to Rhodesia and the Anglo-Palestine Bank is moving to Israel. No doubt the Chancellor of the Exchequer has taken note of this, has seen how penal taxation is at last penalising itself. The move on the part of those who can go is not surprising; the wonder is that they have waited so long. Consider for a moment the position of the Calico Printers. After paying no dividend for a number of years, they have just paid 12½ per cent. This is a long way better than nothing but its value is off-set by the tremendous rise in prices. And the dividend could have been infinitely greater, to make up for the lean years. But the Treasury has taken the lion's share. £138,000 was paid out in dividends. £1,368,000 was paid in taxes.

Somehow the country must find a way of becoming richer. At present all classes, whatever their income, feel they are growing poorer all the time. A working man remarked to me the other day: 'I am four times better off than I was before the War and I am twice as poor.' Personally I think the country could do with a little zest. For a change we might try a policy of all-out production. No restrictive practices, no restraint on

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wages, no restraint on profits. All these restraints, whatever else can be said for them, are bad for the spirit. People should feel it is what they can do, not what they can do without that is of use to society.

The night before the opening of the new Commons several of those who had taken part in its building—from its distinguished architect downwards—joined in a broadcast from the new chamber. The most interesting to me was the master wood-carver. One of the things he said was this: 'People think our craft is dying out, but it is not. And it won't if you give us work to do.' An inevitable consequence of the economic revolution which has taken place in this country has been a great falling off in style. Beautiful houses, built to be lived in by a private family, have been turned into offices or converted into flats. They have an extraordinarily depressing effect, mainly because of the neglected appearance of the windows. Such windows, meant to be furnished with well-hung curtains, are now for the most part empty sockets—if a house has been turned into offices—or are disfigured by an unrelated collection of curtains if the house has been let off in flats. From Victoria to Marble Arch, on the way to my tribunal office, I pass nothing but these forsaken houses (except for the large hotels and modern blocks of flats in Park Lane which make the remaining houses, with their deserted balconies, seem more derelict than ever). It is difficult to see how anything can be done to bring back life to these houses, but we have a chance to save another kind—if the Chancellor will take it.

In her country houses England has made an outstanding contribution to the common stock of beauty. In the words of the Report quoted above: 'It is not too much to say that these houses represent an association of beauty, of art and of nature—the achievement often of centuries of effort—which is irreplaceable, and has seldom, if ever, been equalled in the history of civilisation.' But these houses are in danger because they can no longer support themselves. In the old days labour was cheap and the rent roll was sufficient. But to-day domestic help is all but non-existent and the rent roll dwindles as successive heirs sell off land to meet the cost of death duties. The disappearance of domestic help is causing great damage to the fabric of the houses. It means dry rot amongst other consequences of neglect. Also—and this brings us back to the master wood-carver—'few recruits,' says the Report, 'are now attracted into the career of estate carpenter, plumber or mason.'

We have had a surfeit of plans. Can we not devise one that will rescue these beautiful houses from decay? The disappearing masons and carpenters, for instance, whose crafts we all want to keep alive, could not a guild be made of them—from which it would be possible to choose whenever one of these houses was in need of their skill.

An exhibition of paintings and silver and gold ware from one of the historic houses of England—Woburn Abbey—is now being held in London. People flock to it to see the beautiful portraits by Reynolds and Gainsborough. But it is worth while taking a season ticket and paying several visits. Then there is leisure to disregard for the time being the artistic claims of the various paintings and to consider instead the subjects as they were in real life, these curiously attractive but reserved members of the house of Russell. (There is only one painting that smiles and it succeeds in seeming vulgar). In one room a slender, stately Duchess fixes the attention. Her son was killed in the hunting-field and his wife, who is painted in the dress she wore as one of Queen Charlotte's bridesmaids, died a year after him. He appears in hunting kit—not the tiresome 'pink' but a gilt lace get-up—and the portrait of his wife is the most striking one in the entire exhibition. The bereaved Duchess presided for years and years at Woburn after they had died. Something of the poignancy of defeated hopes and the ability to hold on comes across from these portraits. Or again, one's attention is caught—and this time it is by a really insolent-looking beauty. It is not surprising to read in the catalogue that Queen Elizabeth was offended when this creature attracted the notice of the Earl of Essex. Not that she was unhappily married. But when one tracks down the portraits of the husband, here is a surprise indeed. He seems the very embodiment of intelligence and open good humour. Why did that age, as witness its poetry, feel such an attraction in these cruel harpies?

One could haunt these paintings for a very long time, recapturing from their subjects—and the corroborating notes in the catalogue—a bit of the atmosphere of the days in which they lived. One feels it would be a real historic loss if these paintings—and other similar collections—were dispersed and put up for sale. There is an artistic value and a value that belongs to history, and the historical value is dissipated when a portrait is considered in isolation.

Some way must be found of carrying over the past into the welfare state.

And yesterday, with the accustomed pageantry, the King opened the new session of Parliament. The sun shone out—the usual King's weather as with the Queen he drove amid cheering crowds from Buckingham Palace to the Palace of Westminster.

The King's Speech from the Throne was a not very inspiring document. The proposal to continue permanently the controls which have heretofore only been carried on from year to year will raise much opposition. Already a vote of censure has been tabled by the Opposition led by Mr. Churchill. It is generally expected that this will be the last Session of this Parliament and that Spring or at latest Autumn of next year will see another General Election resulting, everyone hopes, in a decisive majority for one party or the other so that the Government may carry on with a definite programme instead of, as at present, whipping up all the halt and maimed for each Division so as to keep the government in office.

Westminster, London, 1st November, 1950.

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"POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA"

A Rejoinder *

By D. N. BANERJEE,

University Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

I

I have read with a considerable interest Mr. K. K. Basu's article entitled "The President of India," published in *The Modern Review* for September, 1950, in reference to mine entitled "Position of the President of India," published in *The Modern Review* for June, 1950. In his natural and understandable anxiety to defend the position of the "eminent Calcutta lawyer" to whose discourse on the Indian Presidency I had made a reference in my previous article, Mr. Basu does not appear to have very carefully gone through the article; otherwise he would not have made in *his* article some of the observations he has thought fit to make. So far as I am concerned, I adhere to every word of what I had stated in my article in regard to the position of the President of India.

II

Before, however, I actually deal with the points raised by Mr. Basu, I should like to make a preliminary remark in regard to the cheap fling he has cast at the subject of Political Science. I very much wish that all our lawyers—particularly the "practising" ones—had been keen students of Political Science before they took to the legal profession. Had they all been so, it would not only have been good for themselves as well as for their clientele, but many of them would not also have betrayed in their professional and other activities that lamentable ignorance of elementary, constitutional matters which we often find in them. I do not know if Mr. Basu himself had been a serious student of Political Science. Perhaps not; otherwise he could not have made in his article the rather amazing statement that "both in origin and effect a written constitution *radically differs*[1] from an unwritten constitution." Every student even of the Elements of Political Science knows that the distinction between a so-called written and a so-called unwritten constitution "is really one of degree rather than of kind" and, therefore, does not mark a contrast between two very widely differentiated groups. As Bryce[2] has rightly observed, written constitutions, so called, become "developed by interpretation, fringed with decisions, and enlarged by custom, so that after a time the letter of their texts no longer conveys their full effect."

> "The classification . . . of constitutions as written and unwritten," says a distinguished American publicist,[3] "is not only confusing and unscientific, but it results in placing in the category of written constitutions some which contain a large element of custom and convention, and in the category of unwritten constitutions others which to a large extent have been reduced to written form."

And Dr. Strong,[4] a well-known English authority today on Comparative Politics, has gone so far as to say that the division of constitutions into "unwritten and written" "is really a false distinction, because there is no constitution which is entirely unwritten and no constitution entirely written."

> "We repeat," he has emphasized, "that a classification of constitutions on the basis of whether they are unwritten or written is illusory."

Moreover, such a distinction is "misleading."[5] Any argumentation based upon this "false," "illusory," "misleading," and "unscientific" distinction between a so-called written and a so-called unwritten constitution, as appears to have been done by Mr. Basu in his article, is fallacious, confusing, meaningless, and irrational, and I need not, therefore, say anything further in regard to this particular point at this stage.

III

I shall now deal with the main points raised by Mr. Basu in his article.

In the first place, I should like to state that I did not, for the sake of decency,** actually refer in my article to the view of the "eminent Calcutta lawyer" in question on the position and powers of the President of India. I simply referred in it to his method of approach to the subject and stated that "the Constitution of a country is not to be found in its law alone" as "it is a blend of formal law, precedent, and tradition." And I added that "what Maitland has called 'rules of constitutional morality, or the customs or the conventions' of a constitution, make up a substantial part of it." I, therefore, really wonder how Mr. Basu could say, "Hence no view other than the one ascribed to 'the eminent Calcutta lawyer' is, in the nature of things, possible." Mr. Basu has, however, agreed with me, although for reasons which are different from my own and with which I shall deal hereinafter, that "the President is the constitutional head of our State." But this was not the view of the "eminent Calcutta lawyer" whom he is so anxious to defend. Arguing solely from the letter of our Constitution, this eminent lawyer declared, in essence, at a public function attended by a host of legal luminaries and others, that the Constitution

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* This Rejoinder may kindly be read along with my article on the "Position of the President of India" in *The Modern Review* for June, 1950.

1. The italics are mine.

2. *Quoted* by Prof. Garner in his *Political Science and Government* (p. 512) and also in his *Introduction to Political Science*, p. 388.

3. Prof. J. W. Garner. See his *Political Science and Government*, p. 514, and also his *Introduction to Political Science*, p. 390.

4. See C. F. Strong, *Modern Political Constitution*, 3rd Edition, 1949, pp. 64-65 and pp. 129-30; also Marriott, *English Political Institutions*, 4th Edition, pp. 27-28.

5. See *ibid.*

** I knew that the eminent Calcutta lawyer in question would be present at the Legal Conference where I would read my article referred to before.

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had made our President a despot and that he could, under it, be, if he wanted to, a dictator or an autocract in certain circumstances. Will Mr. Basu accept this view in regard to the position and powers of the President of India? I am afraid that he cannot, by his own admission. The whole object of my article was to establish that the President of India was not, could not be, and was not either intended by the authors of our Constitution to be, a despot, a dictator, or an autocrat, in any circumstances, as some people erroneously thought, and that he was simply the constitutional Head of a quasi-federal parliamentary democracy. And I stick to this view.

Secondly, Mr. Basu has said that

> "An unambiguous provision of a written constitution can never be rendered obsolete by mere desuetude or country practice," and that "Prof. Banerjee's views seem to rest upon a fallacious assumption that conventions may control or regulate the working of a written Constitution."

It may be borne in mind in this connexion that the words "obsolete," "control" and "regulate" do not imply abrogation, or repeal or deletion. No one will say—and I, although not a practising lawyer, did not say it anywhere in my article—that a convention can override or repeal or abrogate the provision of any law, written or unwritten. The distinction attempted to be made by Mr. Basu between a written or statute law—and what he means by a "written" constitution is only an instance of a written or statutory law—and an unwritten or common law is not relevant in this connexion. A law is a law and it does not matter, for the purpose we have in view, whether it is written (or statutory) or unwritten (or common). However, what Mr. Basu has tried to imply by the statements quoted above, is not correct. The operation of a law, written or unwritten, may, particularly in the constitutional sphere, be profoundly affected or modified, in actual practice and in the course of time, by a convention or conventions. As we find in Sir William Anson,[6] the whole system of responsible government as it has developed in England is based on convention. And we find in Ridges' *Constitutional Law of England*[7]:

> "The whole system of responsible government in the Dominions (with the exception of the Irish Free State) and of inter-imperial relations grew up upon Convention."

Again, as Professor K. C. Wheare[8] of the University of Oxford has shown, the constitutional structure of a State—and by this he means the entire "collection of rules establishing and regulating the political institutions of that State"—"contains two classes of rules, rules of strict law, a selection of which might often be found inscribed in a 'Constitution,' and non-legal rules or usages and conventions." Their mutual relation may be stated shortly by saying that, although the non-legal constitutional rules can never repeal or abolish the rules of strict law, yet the former often operate "to supplement, to modify, to paralyse, or to nullify the rules of strict law." By way of an illustration Professor Wheare says that if any person wants to know what is meant by the expression "Dominion Status" today, *i.e.*, the constitutional and international position of a Dominion, then it is not enough for him to study the provisions of the Statute of Westminster, 1931; but he must also study, along with it, the non-legal constitutional rules "to be found in the constitutional conventions between Great Britain and the Dominions agreed upon and declared at the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930, and set out in the Reports of these Conferences."

> "Neither the Statute of Westminster (1931) alone, nor the Reports alone, can supply an adequate definition of Dominion Status . . . but it requires a correlation of the two elements to describe the *constitutional* status of the Dominions, and it is this constitutional status which is denoted by the term 'Dominion Status'."

Thus, Professor Wheare continues:

> It is "the interaction and co-operation of rules of strict law and non-legal rules which is characteristic of all constitutional structures. . . . The working of the Cabinet system in Britain illustrates this type of co-operation. The legal power in the hands of the King, by prerogative or under Statute, to perform certain (not very extensive) functions in the administrative government of the country is exercised, by usage and convention, through and on the advice of Ministers responsible to Parliament. In the same way the exercise of the legal executive powers of the President in France has, largely as the result of usage and convention, been transferred to Ministers in Parliament."

I may cite one or two more illustrations here in refutation of Mr. Basu's contention.

Clause (1) of Section 52 of the Government of India Act laid down:

> "The governor of a governor's province may, by notification, appoint ministers, not being members of his executive council or other officials, to administer transferred subjects, and any minister so appointed shall hold office during his pleasure."

Apparently, there was no restriction in law upon the Governor's discretion in regard to the choice of Ministers except as provided for therein, and he could lawfully remove a Minister at pleasure. This was the position in law. But, as a matter of fact, the power of the Governor to choose his own Ministers was regulated in practice by a Convention which owed its origin to the following recommendation of the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919, over which Lord Selborne had presided:

> "The Committee are of opinion that the Ministers selected by the Governor to advise him on the transferred subjects should be elected members of the legislative council, enjoying its confidence and capable of leading it."

And although the Governor had the undoubted constitutional right of dismissing a Minister whose

6. See his *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, 4th Edition, Berridale Keith, Vol. II, Part I, p. 14.
7. See its Revised Edition, 1946, by Keith, p. 4, Foot-note (p), and Part IX, Chap. II; also See Anson, *ibid.*
8. See his *Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status*, 4th Edition, pp. 291-96, and 1-21.

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policy he believed to be seriously at fault, yet it would ordinarily be extremely difficult and risky for him to exercise this right so long as the Minister enjoyed the confidence of a majority in the Legislative Council of the Province concerned. The whole constitutional position was very lucidly explained by His Excellency Lord Lytton, Governor of Bengal, in the course of a speech delivered in the Bengal Legislative Council on 11th January, 1927:

"The main principle," he said, "which characterizes a system of responsible representative government is that the Executive should be selected from that group or party which comprises a majority of the legislature and that it should resign, if and when the majority of the legislature refuses to support it. This principle was intended by Parliament to operate here so far as the administration of Transferred subjects was concerned. A Governor is expected to select Ministers who can obtain the support of a majority of the members of the Legislative Council, but, should he fail to do so, the Council has the remedy in its own hands and can compel the resignation of the Ministers. . . . Only such Ministers as can secure the support of the Council can remain in office. . . . I have no wish, and I have no power if I had the wish, to appoint Ministers that are unacceptable to the Council."

I may now refer to the particular convention in the United States of America, a country having a so-called written Constitution, which has "deprived the presidential electors of any freedom of choice."[9] Referring to the development of the American Constitution by usage, Professor Munro[10] has observed:

"The Constitution has been developed, expanded, and modified by usage or custom. What habit is to the individual, usage is to the State. Nations, like men, get into the habit of doing things in a given way. Habit then hardens into usage, which becomes difficult to change. . . . This habit-forming process goes on continually. Usage is always at work—*adding, subtracting, altering,* and *influencing* the substance of the written Constiution and the laws. It has given us, in considerable measure, an 'un-written Constitution'."[11]

"What are," then asks Professor Munro, "some of the usages that have modified, developed, and fixed the political institutions of the United States? The most striking one, perhaps, concerns the method of electing the President. Here the written provisions of the Constitution have been so greatly altered by usage that a literal reading of them gives, in some cases, an impression which is wholly at variance with the realities."

The presidential electors have become, under this usage, "human robots with a purely mechanical function, and they now form an inconsequential cog in the machinery of election."

"Yet, as a matter of law," concludes Professor Munro, "there is nothing to prevent their doing just what the Constitution contemplated. It is merely that usage has become stronger than the Constitution itself." As a consequence, "there has developed precisely what the architects of the Constitution sought to avoid."[12]

The observations of Professors Frederic Ogg and Orman Ray[13] in this connection are also worthy of note:

"Another mode," they have stated, "by which our national constitution expands and develops is usage or custom. This method of change attracts less attention than the others. It does not—at all events immediately—result in amendments, laws, or judicial decisions. Superimposed, nevertheless, upon the instrument of 1787 and its formal amendments, upon the laws that amplify and the decisions that extend it, is a great and steadily developing 'unwritten constitution,' consisting of usages determining actual government practice quite as truly as do the stipulations of written law—in fact, sometimes more more truly, considering that no small number of such usages have had the effect of turning written law into unintended channels, or even of reducing it to a dead letter. Plenty of illustrations will come to view as we proceed; for the present, it must suffice merely to mention the manner in which the electoral college functions in choosing the president," etc.[14]

Nor, again, should we ignore here the view which Professor Laski[15] has expressed in his characteristic way:

"No important institution," he has said, "is ever what the law makes it merely. It accumulates about itself traditions, conventions, ways of behaviour, which, without ever attaining the status of formal law, are not less formidable in their influence than law itself could require. The prerogatives of the Crown in Great Britain are perhaps the supreme example of this habit; many of them retain their formal status as law and yet could hardly be revived without what would amount to a constitutional revolution. The habits of one period, this is to say, can hardly hope to determine the conduct of its successor. The dynamics of life require a continuity of adaptation which almost always means that the formal appearance is different, at any given moment, from the actual reality. To penetrate that reality, therefore, is always a difficult matter. In part, it is obscured, as most institutional phenomena are obscured, by the complexity of the material itself. The processes of government are very like an iceberg; what appears on the surface may be but a small part of the reality beneath."

Nor, again, should we ignore here the significance of the following remark of Maitland[16]:

"We are lawyers dealing with law, but an account of our present mode of government which spoke only of legal rules would be an extremely inadequate and indeed a quite unintelligible account."

I may also refer here to the case of the Third French Republic:

"Under the Constitution of the existing French Republic,' writes Dicey,[17] "constitutional conventions

9. See Ridges' *Constitutional Law*, etc., Keith, p. 4, footnote (p).

10. See his *Government of the United States*, 5th Edition, pp. 72-75.

11. The italics are mine.

12. See Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

13. See their *Introduction to American Government*, 9th Edition, p. 58.

14. Also see in this connection Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, Chapter V, Edition 1928; also Beard, *American Government and Politics*, Chapter VI; also Horwill, *The Usages of the American Constitution*; also Strong, *Modern Political Constitutions*, 3rd Edition, pp. 65 and 241-42.

15. See his *American Presidency*, pp. 13-14.

16. See his *Constitutional History of England*, 1941, p. 341.

17. See his *Law of the Constitution*, 8th Edition, p. 28, Footnote 1.

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or understandings exert a considerable amount of influence. They considerably limit, for instance, the actual exercise of the large powers conferred by the letter of the Constitution on the President."

Considerations of space do not permit me to give any further illustrations here in refutation of Mr. Basu's contention. It is hoped, however, that, in view of what I have shown above, he will be convinced that it is not at all fallacious to assume that "conventions may control or regulate the working" of even a so-called written constitution, and that they may render an unambiguous provision of such a constitution practically obsolete. Nor is it an impossible idea to say, as Mr. Basu seems to imply, that conventions cannot grow under a so-called written constitution.

"The conventional element," says Dicey,[18] certainly an undisputed authority on Constitutional Law, "in the Constitution of the United States (which has undoubtedly a so-called written constitution) is far larger than most Englishmen suppose . . . It may be asserted without much exaggeration that the conventional element in the constitution of the United States is now as large as in the English Constitution."

Thirdly, according to Mr. Basu, it is a "faulty" "assumption" that "a parliamentary system of government necessarily imports a government on the English model," and he seems to think, agreeing with Principal Sri Ram Sharma, that "the pattern of our executive government is really French and not English." This only confirms my doubt, previously expressed, that Mr. Basu has not been a keen student of Political Science which he has tried to hold up to ridicule. Is there any *essential* difference between the English and the French system so far as the relation of the executive to the legislature is concerned? We should certainly not be misled by the fact that the Head of the State is called President in France (and also in the United States of America), and King in England. France had, under the Constitution of the Third Republic, and also has, under that of the Fourth Republic, the parliamentary form of government like England, and not the presidential type of government as in the United States, or any other type. And she has "borrowed" this idea of ministerial responsibiity from England. She has thus simply imitated, so far as the relation of the executive to the legislature is concerned, the English system. And if, therefore, we are to refer to any country for a model of the parliamentary type of government, we should certainly refer to England, its original home, and not to France which has, *in essence*, only imitated it, although not always in a very satisfactory manner. As Professor Munro* has aptly put it, "there is no magic in terminology." Not to speak of the Constitution of the Third Republic, even under the Constitution of the Fourth Republic, France "is a parliamentary republic," and "the prototype of the French President" is to be found in Buckingham Palace and not elsewhere.

The President, as Dr Strong[19] has shown, is still, in fact, "only the nominal and not the real executive in France. The real executive is a Cabinet of Ministers (the Council of Ministers) with a Prime Minister (the President of the Council of Ministers) at their head, (and) responsible to Parliament (in France)."

The President "cannot act in any executive matter except through his Ministers, who must, by the Constitution, countersign his every decree.....He is exactly in the position of a Constitutional King. 'He is a titular executive, nominally endowed with large powers and really restrained from employing them by the action of a responsible parliamentary Cabinet.' He is, in short, 'a Constitutional King for seven years.'"[20]

In view of all this, it is only natural and rational that I should refer specially to England for the salient features of the parliamentary type of government and not to France. Nevertheless, I have referred more than once to the French analogy in my previous article.[21] Perhaps this has escaped the attention of Mr. Basu. That the English model was deliberately chosen by the authors of our Constitution is also established by the following statement[22] of Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, a member of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly:

"The Constituent Assembly has not drawn upon the French and other Continental Constitutions which had not the long experience which England had in the working of Responsible Government."

We should not presume to know more about the nature of our Constitution than its authors.

Fourthly, according to Mr. Basu Article 78(c) of our Constitution is a bar to the adoption of the English conventions relating to the Cabinet form of government as it "contemplates a contact between the President and individual Ministers without the intermediation or intervention of the Prime Minister," etc. One fails to see how the Article in question can act as such a bar; at least, the authors of the Constitution who had deliberately chosen the English model, did not think so. Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that the Article contemplates an occasional contact between the President and an individual Minister, there is nothing inherently wrong in it so long as the Minister does not "counter-work" the Council of Ministers, or commits an act of treachery against it, or tries by his intrigue to undermine, in the estimation of the President, the position of any of his colleagues, or conspires against the leadership and ascendancy of the Prime Minister; or so long as the President himself does not overstep the elementary decencies of his constitutional position either by encouraging any such mean conduct on the part of the Minister, or by trying to introduce a disruptive element into the Council of Ministers. I need hardly point out here that any such base conduct, either on the part of a Minister or on the part of the President, as the case may be, will be inconsistent with Article 75(3) of our Constitution, which lays down that "the Council of Ministers shall be collec-

18. See *ibid.*

* See his *Governments of Europe*, p. 409.

19. See his *Modern Political Constitutions*, 3rd Edition, 1949, pp. 226-27.

20. See *ibid.*

21. See *The Modern Review* for June, 1950, pp. 452-53.

22. See *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, (Republic India Supplement), January 26th, 1950, p. XXI.

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"fully responsible to the House of the People," and which, therefore, envisages a united and indivisible responsibility on the part of the Council. I do not think that any President or any Minister will, unless he has taken leave of all his senses—and in that case there is bound to be a remedy soon,—behave in a manner which will go against the principle of collective responsibility of Ministers. And how will this principle operate? Dr. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly, made it clear in the course of a speech before the Constituent Assembly on 30th December, 1948 :

"In my judgment,' he stated, 'collective responsibility is enforced by the enforcement of two principles. One principle is that no person shall be nominated to the Cabinet except on the advice of the Prime Minister. Secondly, no person shall be retained as a Member of the Cabinet if the Prime Minister says that he shall be dismissed. It is only when Members of the Cabinet both in the matter of their appointment as well as (*sic*) in the matter of their dismissal are placed under the Prime Minister, that it would be possible to realise our ideal of collective responsibility. I do not see any other means or any other way of giving effect to that principle."

And this will ensure that the Council of Ministers will be "an unity" in relation to the President. Such personal contacts between the King and his individual Ministers *do take place* in England. Thus we find in Berriedale Keith's *Constitutional Law* :[23]

"Individual Ministers have the right of access to the Sovereign on matters concerning their own departments, though, if of any importance, such communications should be made known to the Premier immediately beforehand or afterwards.....The right of the Crown is to early information. . . . . Edward VII preferred oral discussions, and George V enjoyed frequent contact with Ministers."[24]

In another place[25] Keith writes :

"The natural form of intercourse with Ministers in important matters is for the King to see the Minister concerned, if the issue is departmental in importance, or the Prime Minister if the issue is of general concern, and to discuss the issue verbally. The alternative of written communications is naturally resorted to for much routine business....But it is clearly a sign of some failure in due relations between Sovereign and Minister when personal intercourse is avoided..... Edward VII.....liked to see Ministers or Under-Secretaries rather than indulge in long exchanges of written documents."

And Dr. Ivor Jennings[26] has quoted from Lord Esher's *Influence of King Edward* to show :

"He (i.e., King Edward VII) was always accessible to his Ministers, and far more than half of the business transacted by the King was transacted orally, by personal interview. He enjoyed putting questions to his Ministers, and he liked to state his own views, not in a formal document, but face to face with whom the matter concerned."

In regard to the Crown's right to information in England, we have the authority of Keith[27] to state :

"The one clear rule is that the sovereign is entitled to the fullest information in any sphere in which he has indicated desire to be kept informed, and must be given it on any issue which comes before him."

And this is corroborated by Dr. Ivor Jennings[28] who says :

"There is nothing to prevent him (i.e., the English King) from asking for information from any Department in respect of any branch of its administration, and from criticising proposals and actions."

Dr. Ivor Jennings[29] has also observed :

"An able monarch can have considerable influence in the policy of the Government. He is in close touch with the Prime Minister, and he reads the Cabinet minutes. He may, also, have outside sources of information. He can criticise governmental proposals and governmental acts. Though he must, in the last resort, accept a Cabinet decision, he is not bound to accept anything less. He can, therefore, insist on the submission of any question raised by a department; and he can raise any question, which ought, in his opinion, to be submitted to the Cabinet. The efficacy of his criticisms and proposals necessarily depends on their quality and upon the extent to which they conform with the political philosophy and Parliamentary position of the party in power. Nevertheless, these limitations are not so narrow that they do not give him a wide sphere of influence."

In view of what I have shown above there is nothing in Article 78(c) which is inconsistent with the characteristic features of the parliamentary form of government as it has developed in England. Nor is there any justification for any apprehension of a discord or conflict among Ministers arising from the operation of the Article, provided that the President and individual Ministers behave as they should in a Parliamentary Democracy.

Fifthly, the interpretation that Mr. Basu has put on Clause (1) of Article 74 of our Constitution does not follow from the language of the Clause. The word "aid" simply means "'help (a person to do)," and it has to be taken along with the word "advise," in the Clause. Apart from the fact that the words "whether any" in Clause (2) of the same Article constitute a bar to the acceptance of any such interpretation—and Mr Basu has had to admit it—*technically speaking*, the President in whom the executive power of the Indian Union is formally vested and in whose name all executive action of the Government of India is to be expressed to be taken, is not *legally bound* to accept, in the exercise of his functions, any advice tendered to him by his Ministers. That is to say, there is no *statutory obligation* requiring him to accept such advice. As I have shown in my previous

23. *I.e.*, Bidges' *Constitutional Law of England*, 7th Edition by A. Berriedale Keith, p. 157.

24. It does not, however, follow from this that "the Crown should deal with Ministers individually behind the back of the Prime Minister, a rule occasionally violated by Queen Victoria. A Prime Minister, would, of course, be justified, on discovering the facts, in resignation if the offending Minister were not removed. . . . The duty of the Crown to Ministers is clear. It must not do anything inconsistent with the fundamental fact of ministerial responsibility."—See *ibid.*, p. 158.

25. See Keith, *The King and the Imperial Crown*, pp. 76-80.

26. See his *Cabinet Government*, p. 264.

27. See his *King and the Imperial Crown*, p. 249.

28. See his *Cabinet Government*, p. 276.

29. See *ibid.*, p. 264.

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article,[30] there would arise many practical difficulties if there were any such statutory obligation on the President. The distinction attempted to be made by Mr. Basu between an "unadvised exercise of the President's functions," and "an unaided exercise of his functions" is really meaningless in this context. The essential point is whether the President is *legally bound*, under Article 74(1) of our Constitution, to accept the advice of his Council of Ministers in all circumstances. My submission is that he is not. The same view was taken by Sir B. L. Mitter in another connexion.[31] He held that

> "There is no provision in the Constitution that he (*i.e.*, the President) is bound" to "act in accordance with the advice of his Council of Ministers."

To use Mr. Basu's own words "the text" of the law here is not explicit, and, therefore, it is not "conclusive." As I have already explained in detail in my previous article, with special reference to the views of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Shri S. N. Mukerjee, "Joint Secretary and Draftsman, Constituent Assembly of India," and Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, why the President will have to accept the advice of his Council of Ministers, I need not say here anything more on the point than what is given below.

What Shri S. N. Mukerjee,[32] referred to above, who is said to have played an important part in the actual drafting of our Constitution, has said on the question, is of special weight in this connexion.

> "The President," he has said, "will be bound by the advice of his Ministers, his relation with his Ministers being the same as that between the King of England and his Ministers. The authors of the Constitution have not expressly stated in the Constitution that the President in the exercise of his functions is always to act on the advice of his Ministers, but have preferred to leave this to conventions as in the United Kingdom."

Mr. Mukerjee is expected to know more about the true nature of our Constitution than many of us. I may also note here what the Hon'ble Shri K. Santhanam had stated in the Constituent Assembly[33] in reference to Articles 61, 62, 63 and 64 of the Draft Constitution of India, which became later on Articles 74, 75, 76 and 77 of our Constitution, with a slight addition[34] to the last.

> Articles 61, 62, 63 and 64 (of the Draft Constitution), he said, "should not be interpreted literally, because they embody conventions of the cabinet system of government evolved in Great Britain as a result of a long struggle between the King and Parliament. At every stage of this struggle the King yielded some power, but was anxious to preserve his prestige. Therefore, at the end of the struggle, the King gave up all his power, but preserved all his forms. Therefore, it is said here that there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions. That does not mean that normally, the function of the Prime Minister is to aid or advise the President in the exercise of his functions. In fact, the position is altogether opposite, or the reverse. It is the Prime Minister's business with the support of the Council of Ministers, to rule the country and the President may be permitted now and then, to aid and advise the Council of Ministers. Therefore, we should look at the substance and not at the mere phraseology, which is the result of conventions."

Finally, with due deference to the legal acumen of Mr. Basu, I am constrained to say that the interpretation which he has put upon Article 53(3) (b) of our Constitution, is the climax of absurdity in constitutional reasoning. The object of this permissive Article is not to "denude" occasionally, as he wrongly thinks, a recalcitrant President of India of those constitutional powers which *must* be formally vested in the Head of the State in a Parliamentary Democracy, but the withdrawal of which for teaching him a "lesson" in good behaviour, will lead to administrative break-down and chaos, in the absence of unifying and integrating factors in the constitutional machinery of the country: Its object is simply to provide for the delegation to subordinate authorities, for administrative convenience or exigence, of some powers which may, to begin with, be vested in the President but which may be safely delegated to those authorities without inviting a breakdown of the unity and stability of our Constitutional structure. This particular *enabling* provision in our Constitution, on which Mr. Basu so enthusiastically bases his main argument against my mode of approach to the question, is, however, so unimportant that there had, naturally, not been even a reference to it by any speaker during a fairly long debate[35] in our Constituent Assembly on Article 42 of the Draft Constitution, which became later on, in a slightly amended form otherwise, Article 53 of our Constitution. Besides, if Mr. Basu carefully goes through Section 7(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935, whether original or "adapted," then he will find that there is, practically, a similar provision in the Section. Certainly, this provision was not intended to teach a "lesson" in good behaviour to the Governor-General of India, from time to time. Moreover, unlike a hereditary monarch, the President of India has no more *personal* stake in the proper working of our constitutional machinery and in the good administration of our country than any other enlightened citizen of India. And I believe that our Parliament would never be so foolish as to cut off its nose just to spite its own face. But this is what the acceptance of Mr. Basu's interpretation of the Article in question will lead to.

As I have said before, we should not presume to know more about the nature of our Constitution than its

30. See *The Modern Review* for June, 1950, pp. 454-55 and the relevant footnotes.

31. See his article entitled "Human *versus* Civic Equality" in *The Hindu*, Madras, of 26th January, 1950, Republic Supplement, Section 1.

32. See his article entitled "The Constitution of India: An Analysis" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Republic India Supplement, of January 26th, 1950; also his article in *The Hindu*, Madras, Republic Supplement, of 26th January, 1950.

33. The *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Official Report, 30th December, 1948.

34. Namely, Clause (3) of Article 77.

35. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 10th December, 1948.

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authors. I have already referred, either in my previous article or in this, to some of the views of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Shri S. N. Mukerjee, and the Hon'ble Shri K. Santhanam on the nature of our system of government. I may refer below to some more authoritative views on the same question :

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (Chairman, Union Constitution Committee of the Constituent Assembly) said[36] on 21st July, 1947, in connexion with the question of the mode of election of the President:

> "One thing we have to decide at the very beginning is what should be the kind of governmental structure, whether it is one system where there is ministerial responsibility or whether it is the Presidential system as prevails in the United States of America; many members possibly at first sight might object to this indirect election and may prefer an election by adult suffrage. We have given anxious thought to this matter and we came to the very definite conclusion that it would not be desirable, first because we want to emphasize the ministerial character of the Government that power really resided in the Ministry and in the Legislature and not in the President as such. At the same time we did not want to make the President just a mere figure-head like the French President. We did not give him any real power but we have made his position one of great authority and dignity."

Again, on 28th July, 1947, Panditji said,[37] in reference to the question whether India should have a parliamentary or non-parliamentary executive :

> "That raises a very fundamental issue of what form you are going to give to your Constitution, the ministerial parliamentary type or the American type. So far we have been proceeding with the building up of the Constitution in the ministerial sense and I do submit that we cannot go back upon it and (as ?) it will upset the whole scheme and structure of the Constitution."

The Hon'ble Shri K. Santhanam,[38] again, on 10th December, 1948 :

> "This (Constituent) Assembly has already discussed the question and taken a decision in favour of parliamentary system of government and, on the basis of that decision, the entire Constitution has been drafted by the Drafting Committee."

The Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar,[39] again, on 10th December, 1948 :

> "The parliamentary form of executive....is contained in the Draft Constitution....We have adopted the parliamentary system."

Shri K. M. Munshi[40] (also a Member of the Drafting Committee), on 10th December, 1948 :

> "At the earlier stage of the Union Constitution Committee, it was decided, I think possibly with one or two dissident voices, that our Central Government should be based on the English model."

Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar,[41] again, on 10th December, 1948 :

> "There are weighty reasons why what may be called the Cabinet type of Government should be preferred in this country to what is generally known as the Presidential type of Government....An infant democracy cannot afford, under modern conditions, to take the risk of a perpetual cleavage, feud or conflict or threatened conflict between the Legislature and the Executive. The object of the present constitutional structure is to prevent a conflict between the Legislature and the Executive and to promote harmony between the different parts of the Governmental system. That is the main object of a Constitution. These then, are the reasons which influenced this Assembly as well as the various Committees in adopting the Cabinet system of Government in preference to the Presidential type. It is unnecessary to grow eloquent over the Cabinet system. In the terms in which Bagehot has put it, it is a hyphen between the Legislature and the Executive. In our country under modern conditions it is necessary that there should be a close union between the Legislature and the Executive in the early stages of the democratic working of the machinery. It is for these reasons that the Union Constitution Committee and this Assembly have all adopted what may be called, the Cabinet System of Government."

Further,[42]

> "After weighing the pros and cons of the Parliamentary Executives as they obtain in Great Britain, in the Dominions and in some of the Continental Constitutions, and of the Presidential type of Government as it obtains in the U.S.A., the Indian Constitution has adopted the institution of Parliamentary Executive....The working of the Cabinet Government in England at the present day shows that though in theory the Ministers are the advisers of the Crown, in the actual working, if the Crown is to usefully function, it has to advise the Cabinet and exert a moral and social influence over the members of the Cabinet. Similar would be the position of the President in the Indian Constitution."

IV

In view of what I have shown above and also in my previous article, can there be any reasonable doubt that we have adopted for our Centre the parliamentary system of Government of the British type so far as Constitution of the Executive and its relation to the Legislature are concerned ? And once we accept this position—and there can be no rational justification for any other—, all the incidents, and conventions, and traditional maxims of the parliamentary form of government as it has developed in England, automatically become, by implication, a part of our Constitutional system, *mutatis mutandis*. The position of our President in this system is no exception to the general rule. As I have discussed in detail in my previous article what that position is, I need not say anything further here. It is true that I did not give in that article a list or catalogue of the President's powers. This omission was intentional. After all, these powers are really formal. Besides, my object was to

36. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 21st July, 1947.
37. See *ibid.*, 28th July, 1947.
38. See *ibid*, 10th December, 1948.
39. See *ibid.*
40. See *ibid.*
41. See *ibid.*
42. See Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar's article on "The Indian Constitution" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Republic Supplement, January 26, 1950.

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explain the principles underlying the Constitution of our Central Executive and not to encumber my article with unnecessary details.

Lastly, Mr. Basu has quoted Mr. Hughes C.J., to say that "the Constitution is what judges think it is." I think that the better view is that of Professors Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray[43] who have said that "the actual Constitution at any given time is what citizens, lawmakers, administrators, and judges think it is."

43. See their *Introduction to American Government*, p. 58.

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TECHNICAL EDUCATION

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)
Late Inspector of Technical Education

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. This adage, applied to Technical and General Education, leads to a marvellous conclusion, when we compare the heights of prosperity, which the industrialists reach, and the depths from which the teachers and clerks seek to rise. It is admitted on all hands, that general culture is equally, if not more easily secured by practical as against purely literary studies. There is another adage. One should not marry for money, but there is no harm in marrying where money is. Money is a necessity for decent living and for our poor country, for living at all. Therefore, that path to culture, which secures money as well, is preferable, even if money may not be the only consideration in this world. Besides the methodical exercise of the hands, the eyes, the brain, as well as co-operation dervied from practical studies, becomes from habit immensely useful in after-life. Again the fact that skill so attained is more important than courage, has been amply proved in the recent global disturbances.

We have to give up our longstanding prejudice against practical work for a living and get rid of the ideas of superiority of the so-called liberal and scholastic studies over the more useful vocational training. Every student will not like it, but not all students like Mathematics or compulsory Sanskrit. We have to provide facilities for a graduated and progressive course of instruction to suit the diverse inclinations of students, so that, they may easily choose the lines most suitable tired of least resistance. We should have institutions of only one category in all stages, with the University at the apex. Dr. Schairer, Professor of International studies at the London University, said:

"The need can only be met by a bold experiment. New Institutions of the University rank with research departments should be established to form the apex for the basic institutions of all grades of Technical and manual education.

"If once the upper outlet, the University apex, is contributed, the attraction of training would be so great that the need for artificial efforts to develop it will cease . . . . . The extended Technical training must be given its full opportunity by all those interested outside the school sphere, by the Government, by Industry, by the Trade Unions and by other branches of Education."

What is suggeseted as a bold experiment for the West, owing to the existing conditions there, appears to be a simple matter for India, unbiassed by traditions not yet fully grafted on the soil. A solution harmonising general with Technical Education is necessary in the new Universities or educational centres in the making.

To present a complete picture, we have to start from the beginning. I will not put forward any arguments here for the age limits in free and compulsory education, which should ultimately be 16 for the upper. But for the present, free and compulsory education is proposed from the age of 5 to 12 in Primary schools.

The Primary school is to be a separate entity, complete in itself, although a normal, common but not compulsory, way of approach to the Secondary school. Education during the age up to 11 or 12 is of more than ordinary rapid growth. It will teach things of immediate value to the pupils (both boys and girls), "in terms of the activity and experience, rather than knowledge to be acquired, or facts to be stored." The course should be above the restraints of precedents, the exigencies of examinations, demands of schools and occupations in after-life. It is to be essentially a training of body, mind and character through games, etc., for health; formal instructions in an atmosphere of sympathy and vitality for intellect; attractive and inspiring social environment for character, imagination and interest of children, rather than passive obedience. The treatment should be of a collective nature instead of individualistic. Besides the usual drill in reading, writing and arithmetic, attention should be paid to correct pronunciation and expression of ideas; cleanliness, comely postures, and movements; inculcation of a sense of duty and discipline; good writing, drawing and constructional or creative handwork in simple forms involving the *charka*, bamboo, paper, etc., which disciplines the fingers as well as appeals to the growing child's sense of making and doing something. Games satisfy to an extent that natural hunger to co-ordinate the faculties and to achieve something.

After the primary stage, a change of school is made incumbent for physiological reasons. A large number of students will finish their school life here, to join their parents in their hereditary vocations, say, agriculture or rural industrial pursuits, and for

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these the question of adult education then comes in, for which the accommodation and equipment of the primary schools for use during off-hours, will be handy. Apart from the moral and social values, the object of providing adult education, as well as of free and compulsory education, is mainly a preparation for citizenship in a democracy. Whether the period of compulsory education between the legal limits is enough, is of less consequence than whether what they have learnt at school will be kept alive or lost in after-life in the adult, although the chances of continuation of education rise with the increased period of early instructions.

A considerable number will also proceed to further studies, which will be a universal system of post-Primary education with the schools of only one category, the secondary school, after the age of 12 (separately for boys and girls) with a general uniform inner organisation. Besides the compulsory mother-tongue (which is to be the main core of study) and the English language, there should be several alternative aspects in separate types of institutions or in the different streams in the same institution according to the demand and local conditions.

There will be simple and self-explanatory types of secondary schools with one or several departments as follows :

1. A Literary Course, in which stress will be laid on the languages.
2. A Scientific Course with Mathematics and Pure Science, as the main subjects.
3. A Teaching Course which will absorb nearly a third of the students of the corresponding age group, aiming to be primary school teachers.
4. A home training course for girls for general welfare work, with cooking, laundry work, needle work, nursing, etc.
5. A Commercial Course with shorthand, book-keeping and typewriting.
6. An Agricultural Course with a school garden, farm animals, insect life, etc.
7. An Industrial Course with hand-work and drawing for boys and dress-making and leather work for girls.
8. An Artistic Course with drawing and artistic hand-work.

The first three types will form the "Academic" side for about 16 per cent in the literary and scientific courses and 33 per cent in the Teachers' course, of the whole student population of the corresponding age group. The other types, which may be called the Junior Technical, Agricultural, or Commercial school, when self-contained, will constitute the "Modern" side, with a realistic and a practical trend for as many as half the number of students, either—

1. to give a practical bias only, or
2. to prepare generally for a vocation, or
3. to help in a particular vocation by part-time instructions.

These courses would involve workshop and industrial practice in a variety of subjects, chosen to suit the locality, as at present provided in the Junior Technical schools. Besides the practical work, stress will be laid on applied science and practical mathematics generally, as part of the general education which is essential, just as general science and mathematics will be included in the academic lines. It may be added that the feature of provision of a vocational part-time course, will extend to all post-matriculate (intermediate as well as the final) stages of education.

Students of the "biased" courses will proceed definitely to the general lines at the University. For others, the age 12 would also not be too early to begin a vocational training, as distinct from the biased course. Besides the full-time vocational course in preparation for a vocation, as is commonly met in rural Bengal in industrial schools, part-time courses for those already in employment should be attached to these institutions, where desirable and possible. The products will be semi-skilled or skilled labour. With the introduction of compulsory education, the drawback of our industrial school students, of insufficient literacy, as is well known, will disappear, as well as the distinction between Artisan and Technical students. It will be obvious that the students of vocational courses would not generally proceed to further studies in the University but choose a more modest career. But there is to be no compulsory prohibition.

For the first two years (13 and 14 years of age) which we may call the Junior Secondary School period, the curriculum of a common core of humanity, arts, music and domestic science will be identical in all schools with other subjects as optional. A common general course is kept for two years, because "a satisfactory vocational education must be based on an adequate general education" and "it is most undesirable to commit a child to a particular career until he is old enough for his inclination and his attitude to have been ascertained." (Abbott). There is another strong reason. "Specialisation is bad at school and increases at the University." It leads to an unconsciousness of other aims and interests of life—that there is anything else in the world, just as in later life or on the lower level, some men are absorbed in making money. (Livingstone). There should be no congestion in the curriculum, or overcrowding of the time table. But the second choice of a "side" with a view to decide the course of life, which is a most important question for all children, should be possible at the end of two years, allowing transfer in the first instance of misfits or of those who develop later or for those who show a distinct aptitude later in life.

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For the next two years (15 and 16 years of age) in the "Senior Secondary School," there will be courses "sufficiently elastic and of sufficient variety of type" to meet the needs of all the children in the same or separate institutions. It is not difficult to conceive the arrangements here or at the post-Matric stages for a bias and part-time or whole-time vocational training as such are at work in Bengal, in respect of Commercial and Technical training. We have the biased training in the colleges and vocational training, part-time or whole-time, at the Commercial Institute or Senior Technical Schools. The major distinguishing features have been indicated, but special subjects will be alternatives, for the finding out of individual vocational leanings for choosing suitable lines. There is no harm in making an early decision which can be changed as a result of experience, because there will be a chance of transfer at the end of this course, before entrance to the University, as there will be still another at the end of Intermediate course at the University. It should be possible to proceed to the University after examinations from all sides of the Secondary School, with necessary adjustments if a change in the line is desired, as is practised at the end of the Intermediate stage at the Calcutta University, when Art students want a Science degree or *vice versa*.

There will be some model Government Institutions of prescribed standards, but mostly, they will be private enterprises of the same standard, with controlling grants-in-aid. There will be provision of "free places" and scholarships to award merit, for about a fourth of the total number of students, based on proper methods (including examinations) of selection, say, 12 per cent for the academic and 12 per cent for the modern sides of the total number of students. "Special places" to provide for "equal opportunities for all" should be available to an equal number of students, based on a proper enquiry as to the position of their parents in life. The balance 50 per cent will be paying fees at a slightly higher rate than at present, which will help the finances of the school. The above concessions should not be made more liberal in the interests of private enterprise for furtherance of education.

Opening of the schools of different types and location of the institutions will, as already suggested, depend on the demand and local conditions. Thus the types under category I (academic) will be spread all over the country according to the necessity and density of the population. Types under category 2 (modern) will be concentrated in commercial and industrial centres, excepting Agricultural schools and Industrial classes, which will be mainly in the rural centres; that is, schools with curriculum corresponding to the special character of the natural environment, will be generally provided. In Bengal, single subjects, which are to be post-Matric and industrial, such as cotton (*e.g.*, at the weaving school at Serampore) or silk (*e.g.*, that at Berhampore) are located at the outlying centres of the industry. These may be called monotechnics. Several pre-Matric industrial subjects, such as weaving, carpentry, type-writing, sewing, etc., may, however, be taken in the existing Junior Technical Schools in district towns, without reference to any existing bigger technical institute or industries as has been suggested. The most comprehensive, including post-Matric, subjects, such as plumbing, electric wiring or supervising, motor mechanism, photography, printing and allied trades, modern welding, etc., can only be taken in polytechnics in big cities like Calcutta. Post-Matric including professional subjects in the intermediate and final stages, should, however, be taken in the colleges (*e.g.*, Engineering and Commercial), Technological Departments of the Universities and Technical Institutes.

Some people object to having a mix-up of general and technical education, although general education includes manual classes (*e.g.*, in Secondary schools in England and "B" classes in this country) and technical education involves academic lessons (*e.g.*, in Junior Technical School in England and here). Others support it for the sake of equality and utilisation of workshops in common, giving a wider outlook from contact with students with different objects, but it is only in the bigger Urban schools that it is possible to combine comprehensive departments. But there may or may not be a mix-up as a matter of choice. As already stated, apart from the biased courses leading to the Matriculation, training in single subjects may be whole-time as in the existing industrial classes in Bengal (only with this difference that the recruits must have a minimum educational qualification), or part-time for those engaged otherwise. Trade schools in the Western countries are comparable with the industrial schools, which have been established in India, although they usually devote more time to the continuance of the general education of the pupils than is usual in India. (Abbott)

A few suggestions are made for arranging practical work and examinations in schools. Manual training in simple subjects, involving the use of the eyes, hands, touch, as well as of the mind for the primary stage, does not require any elaborate equipment or accommodation and work can be done on the ordinary class tables or verandahs in one (and two periods in advanced stages), at a stretch, set apart for the purpose. But the problem of grafting biased or vocational classes into the post-primary courses presents certain difficulties in actual practice. (Think of a handloom, surrounded by 20 students, and the fly-

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shuttle worked by each alternatively for 2 minutes at a time. This is not an imagined picture). The following conditions, based on experience, are conducive of substantial work :

(1) The time given for a given task should be long. Three-hour periods are convenient. For shorter periods, time is wasted in getting to and winding up of, the work, as compared to the time for actual work. Such is the arrangement in the Science laboratories.

(2) The tasks should be so chosen that they can be completed at one sitting and no part left over, so that other classes may freely utilise the accommodation and equipment and the expert instructor kept fully engaged. Such graded tasks have been worked out in cane and bamboo work, cotton and jute spinning, weaving and dyeing, tailoring and carpentry, in Bengal.

(3) The task must be simple, not involving much exertion and should consist of something useful to be of interest, while acquaintance with tools and materials and methods of practical work in a graded manner, is secured.

(4) The arrangement to hold these non-examination classes during intervals, either before or after school hours, as has been suggested, is sure to appear as drudgery to the students, who will thus imbibe a prejudice against such work.

(5) Unless ample accommodation, which is expensive, can be provided, it becomes difficult to get all the students to work together in one subject. The alternative is to have several subjects and divide the students, as it is unthinkable that some will work, while others are waiting their turn, idly or even if engaged in general work alternately.

(4) and (5) with short periods have been seriously tried at the Cossimbazar Polytechnic, with fair results, but the defects are obvious.

(6) Demonstration work by the instructor, as suggested by the Sir J. J. Thomson's Committee for Science subjects, instead of experimental work by the students themselves, will not apply in these cases, for obvious reasons.

Students will be provided with an internal school certificate whenever they leave; those intending to proceed to the University, must take their Matriculation examination; others are to take the internal examinations, founded on the curriculum, subject to the external assessment, for a leaving certificate.

The courses of instruction should be complete in themselves, since only a small percentage of students should go for further studies at the University. That is, they must be self-contained instead of being a preparation for further education, which however should not be prejudiced in any manner. The nature of training should take into consideration the pupil's tastes and interests, his or her natural and social environments, as well as future occupation, time and attention being devoted to hand-work particularly, without overburdening the student. The practical lines should not, however, prejudice the general education of the pupil. The structure of the present system of education can be compared to a double funnel. All students have to pass through a constricted opening—the Matriculation examination of the University, and afterwards diverge to different lines. This results in so much coaching and cramming that examinations degenerate to an evil, which however cannot be avoided. In our proposals, these vital defects will disappear and the structure will be more or less cylindrical, as a variety of courses are offered before and after what is no longer to be a narrow channel.

Great attention should be given to the physical training and health of the students. This should consist not only of systematic physical exercise, which can be controlled, but also of games and sports, which, under limited control, develop character and social virtues, such as self-reliance, team work, loyalty, self-restraint and resourcefulness. Every encouragement should be given to corporate activities or opportunities for leisure which besides games, may take the form of plays, concerts, and other forms of social activities (clubs, societies, etc.) in and outside the school. Attention, confined to individual pupils and interests which gave rise to special private schools or private tutoring of the children of well-to-do families, is a thing of the past. The claim of society "for service as workman and citizens in its organisation" is being felt to be equally important, and hence the necessity for the corporate activities.

After the University Matriculation examination, students (both boys and girls) of about sixteen years of age will enter the University and take up courses mainly, but not necessarily, corresponding to the different courses in the Secondary schools, where they had their education. Except passing an examination of a reasonable standard, there will be no barrier of a dead language or an unreasonable fetish for entrance to the University. The great problem of harmonising the objects and scope of the courses, as existing and described or proposed, of the University, Technological Departments and Senior Technical Institutes can be solved only in one way, suggested by the sub-committee of the Central Advisory Board. "It is possible that Senior Technical Institute as in some Western countries will become increasingly recognised as the technological departments of University." The Universities will welcome the formation of different faculties with experts on different subjects mainly from the Industries and Commerce. The courses will then cease to be parallel and will be complementary. An identical outlook is hoped for the lower secondary school stage. The Institution of Engineers or other similar bodies should be made responsible for at least the practical portion of the certificates, in order to make them truly national.

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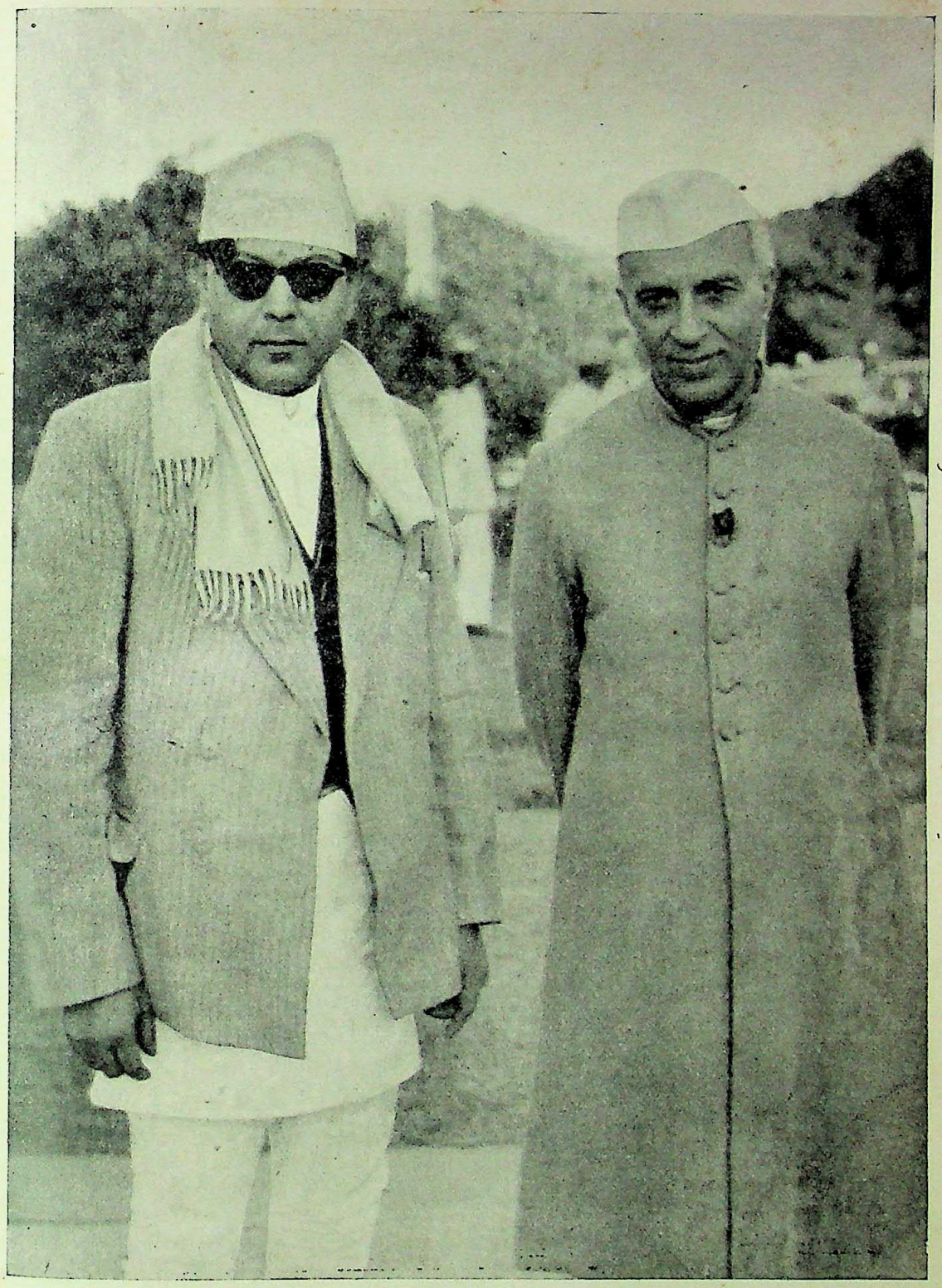

H. M. the King of Nepal and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru

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Dalai Lama and his regent

Potala Palace, Lhasa

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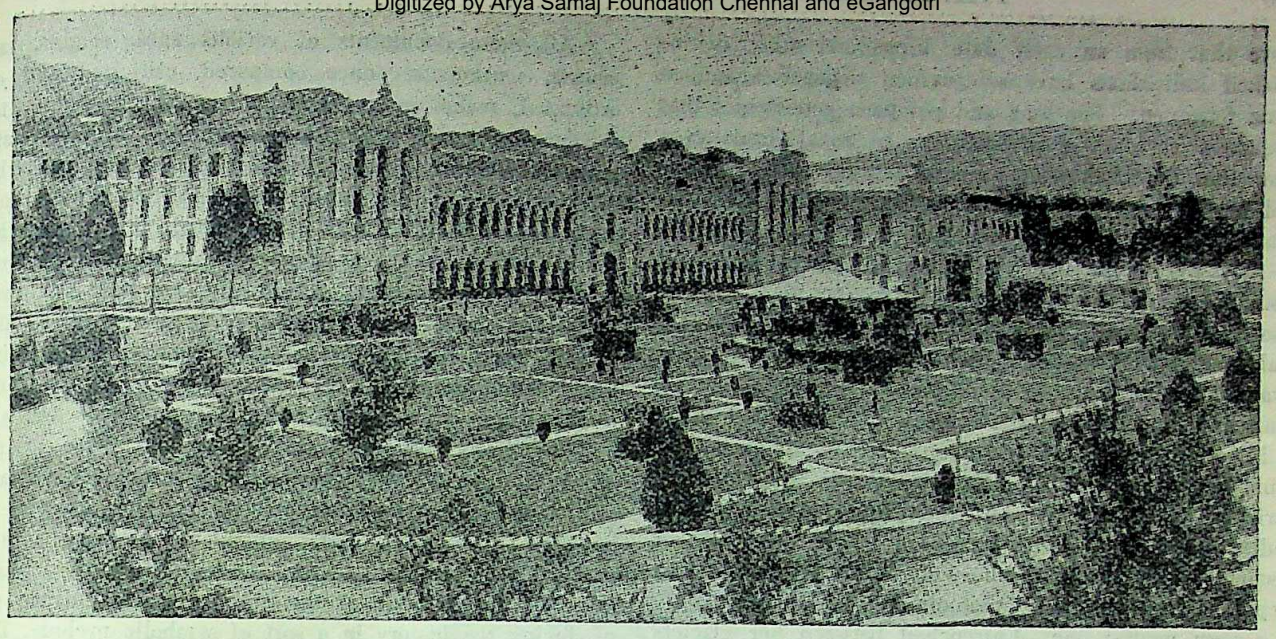

The Royal Palace

NEPAL
(A Historical Sketch)

By SIVA NARAYANA SEN

THE name of Nepal is not unknown, even outside the narrow circle of erudites. The charm of the Himalayas has reflected itself, so to speak; on the Hindu Kingdom which the great chain shelters. Gaurishankar and the other giant peaks that impart dizziness to the imagination of school boys, evoke to the memory the image of Nepal, stretched out on the map at the feet of these colossi. Between Tibet to the North, and Indian Dominion that shoulders her to the South, East, and West, the Kingdom of Nepal occupies little space. Nepal, properly speaking, would occupy even less. The local practice, in accordance with the tradition, reserves exclusively the denomination of Nepal to an oblong valley—perhaps the biggest valley in the world—situated in the very heart of the country, half-way between burning. Hindusthan and the lofty frozen plateaus, laughing, fertile, populated, reclaimed ages back to civilization and which has never ceased exercising a predominance over the rough surrounding mountains.

The name of Nepal, Nepala, in spite of the Sanskrit feature does not offer to etymology as satisfactory an explanation. Lassen proposed to interpret it, by analogy with the words Himala, Pancala, etc., as an abstract of the two terms, *nipa* and *ala*. Ala would be as in other names of this type an abbreviation of *alaya* "abode;" *nipa*, strengthened into *nepa* would signify the foot of a mountain. But even to suppose it as legitimate—the modification of *nipa* into *nepa*, the meaning attributed here to this word has no other guarantee than that of a scholiast comment; besides it adapts itself rather badly to a country situated in the very heart of the mountains; Nepal is in proper only the great interior valley. The word *nipa* designates especially a variety of Asoka (the Nauclea Kadamba of the botanists) which is far from characterising the Nepalese region.

The local interpretation prefers another analysis; it divides the word in *Ne-pala;* this last element signifies in Sanskrit—"the protector."

Most ancient nations have recorded themselves in history, by conveying a durable narrative to posterity; organisd in community, the home directly extended to the group the instinctive sentiments of the individual. They have desired to decipher the mystery of their origins and thus survive in the future. The priests, the poets, the erudites have offered themselves to this very powerful need. The Chinese have their annals, as the Greeks have Herodotus and the Jews their Bible. Nepal has nothing.

The exception is so singular that it has, at the very outset, caused surprise and given rise to interpretations. Some have especially alleged as a decisive argument, the transcendental indifference of the Hindu mind, repelled by universal vanity, and the Hindu's superb disdain for the illusive course of earthly phenomena. Thus, to humble the human smallness his legends and his cosmogonies draw the years and the centuries into incommensurable periods that involves the imagination in the throes of a vertigo. The sentiment is exact; but in India as elsewhere, the highest doctrines have had to adapt themselves to the incurable failings of humanity. The commemorative inscriptions and panegyrics carved out of stone that are strewn over Nepal,

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prove that from an early date kings and other distinguished individuals have safeguarded themselves against being forgotten. The long and pompous genealogies that frequently serve as a preliminary to royal deeds even show that the chanceries were setting up their archives and official history of the dynasties. But the political administration of Nepal condemned these crude materials as they were most likely to disappear and with fateful results. If contented people had no history, then anarchy also had none, and Nepal had exhausted herself in perpetual anarchy. Invasions from outside and internal rivalry have never ceased to overthrow the order of things. Sometimes, at long intervals, a genius would rise and knead in his strong hands the amorphous mass of kingdoms and principalities, and make of Nepal an empire, but the work perishes with the workman; the empire gets dislocated and the self-made soldiery proceed in the work of her dismemberment into states of lesser importance. If Nepal has a history, like Kashmir and Ceylon her history is a very modest one. Entrenched between her glaciers and her impenetrable forests, isolated like an undefined dominion between Hindusthan and Tibet, she has never known the refined civilisation of Kashmirian Courts, or the opulent activity of the great Buddhistic island. Her annals do not remind one either of Mahavamsa in Pali, or of the Sanskrit Rajatarangini; their very shape betrays their contrast; they consist in dynastic lists (Vamsavalis) combined with the lists of endowments and royal donations, the compilers who have gathered and founded them have not attempted to raise them to the dignity of a literary work. The usual language sufficed them, they had chosen to speak in the half-Tibetan of the Nevars or the Aryan dialect of Hinduised Nepalese. Their narratives, poor and usually meagre, dwell only on miracles and prodigies. It only swells into details at the mythical period and at the modern period. The strength of recent souvenirs only is able to withstand the dazzling brilliancy of the legendary past. Heroes and gods enshrined by popular mind move from century to century; always truer and more real, proportional, as each generation gives it its soul and its faith. One sees them, one feels them present everywhere; man is the blind instrument of their wills and caprices. The revolution of 1768 which gave Nepal to the Gurkhas is only, to the chroniclers, but the sequel of a treaty first arranged in heaven. History propagated in this way is reduced to a pious epic, mounted on a pedestal of a doubtful chronology. Science happily has at its disposal other ways to check and complete the tradition. The epigraphy is already substantial and dates back from the 5th century; the ancient manuscripts, numerous in Nepal where the climate has better preserved them than in India; the literature of local origin; the narrations of pilgrims and of Chinese envoys, the information taken from the history and from the Indian literature, in short the information gathered by European travellers and savants, since the seventeenth century, all complete the record.

All these documents of various ages, origins, languages, sentiments, once compared, criticised and coordinated, make up a harmonious setting wherein the scholar can easily delineate the destinies of an Asiatic tribe, subdued by contact with India during a period of duration of at least twenty centuries. Ancient legends state that primeval Nepal was a lake; the water that comes down from the neighbouring summits, is gathered in captivity at the feet of the mountain that surrounds it. But a divine sword forces a breach; the valley empties itself, the soil dries up; the first intruders arrive. They come from the North led by *Manjusri*, the hero of Buddhistic sagacity who holds sway in China and who still manifests himself to-day under the guise of the Son of Heaven. The mythical age opens then; the imagination of Nepalese story-tellers had no difficulty in peopling this distant past, abandoned wholly to their fantasy; but their inventions, apart from reality, which inspire them in spite of themselves, result only in reproducing the history in a sort of symbolic prelude. The dynasties that they relate emerge—one from a Chinese world, another from the oriental Himalaya, another from India. After myriads of years in which the legendary gods and heroes occupy the scene, personages of the most modern type suddenly make their debut. A hermit, the patron and eponym of Nepal, installs on the throne simple shepherds. It is history which commences or at least historical times. The Gopalas, the Abhiras represent the first pastorals who ventured with their flocks on the grassy and lonely slopes of the mountains. Their names, though being given in Sanskrit, must not create an illusion; forerunners of the Gurungs and of the Bhotiyas who live now in the higher alps of the Gurkha Kingdom, they came from the Tibetan plateaus. Picturesque accounts gathered from the neighbourhood of Nepal, show that the herdsmen of old were forced by reason of snow and ice, to remain on the outer slope; but one amongst them in searching for a lost sheep, wandered in the snows, surmounted a mountain pass and discovered a new verdant and fertile world. He returned, the glad tidings spread from place to place, multitude of pioneers ventured on the road to the South.

The tribe of Nevars who took possession of Nepal, belonged to a race of men whom Nature stamped with a bold hand. Accustomed to highest impracticable thoughts, exposed to the glacial rigours of a long winter, but swept by a vivifying breeze, cheered up by a smiling summer, removed from the trade of the world, confined in their horizon as well as in their ambitions, associating the pleasures of a nomadic life with the rustic pleasures of a sedentary life, these herdsmen of a boundless Arcadia mingled kindness with barbarism, eclogue to ferocity, boisterous mirth, frank and jovial gaiety; they play about like children, dream like wise men and strike like brutes. Among bands of plunderers under bold ring-leaders, armed, drilled by stoics. Buddha's doctrine has also produced monks, savants and philosophers. Their dialect indistinct and rough, however, adapted itself quite

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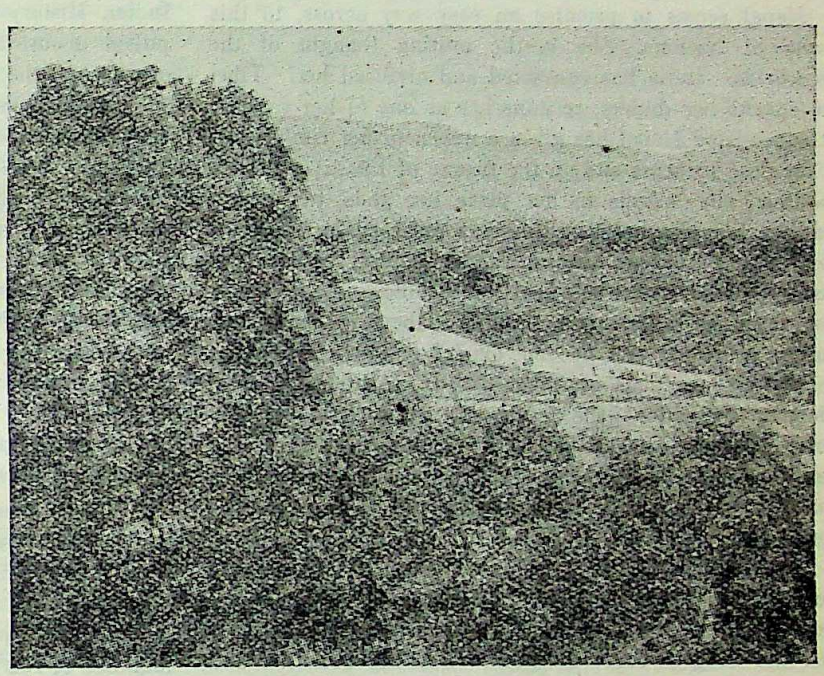
readily to poetry, to science and to abstruse speculations. Born and sprung up from this robust trunk, the bough, Nevar, the one nearest to India, was the first to flourish.

Nevar had firstly to surmount over an imminent peril. To the East the shepherds of Nepal, an older tribe, had occupied the basin of the seven Kosis, spread over this vast territory, which nature herself had cut up in narrow valleys by high mountain barriers. The tribe of Kiratas, had broken up into principalities; but weary perhaps of exhaustion in fruitless rivalry, guided perhaps by the wisdom of neighbouring India, they organised themselves in a confederacy, like the Mallas or the Vrijis of Aryan country, and powerful by their union, they created an empire which overflowed on the southern plain, spread towards the sea to the Ganges delta, and left its remembrance in Hindu Epic, whilst to the West, their expansion and triumphal progress wrested out Nepal from the shepherd kings. The *Vamsavali* records a long list of Kirata Kings whose barbarous names seem to bear the stamp of authenticity. It is during the course of this period that Buddha firstly, and then the Emperor, Asoka, visited Nepal. Taken literally, the two facts are at least doubtful, if not improbable, they express, however, a portion of the truth. Buddhism was born at the feet of the Nepalese mountains and at the opening of routes which led from Nepal to the plains, to the limits of the Aryan sphere. The proximity of the Himalayas had perhaps tempted the first apostles, eager to propagate the words of salvation. And later on, about 250 years before Jesus Christ, when Asoka undertook his pious pilgrimage to holy places, his route, still recognisable by the pillars he erected, guided him at least in that mixed region where the Nepalese highlander meets the Hindu from the plains.

Supported by the power of the great Buddhist emperor, or only by his own zeal, the missionary of Buddhism had taken root in Nepal. India followed him there. Under the influence of the new religion, illustrious families attempted to connect themselves, really or fictitiously, to the Buddhist nobility of India. One, amongst them acquired such reputation, as to overthrow the Kiratas, about a century after the Christian era, and to create a dynasty which survived nearly eight centuries. The descendants of Kiratas pretended having sprung up from the clan of Licchavi who held sway at the time of Buddha, over the wealthy town of Vaisali and who still existed in the most glorious names of the Indian aristocracy, Nepal, under the Licchavi regime, united with the scheme of Hindu states but without pledging her independence. The most powerful of Gupta emperors, sovereign of nearly the whole of India, inscribes Nepal among those kingdoms beyond the borders, that maintain with him friendly relations. In short, in the beginning of the sixth century, real history commences with the epigraphy. The first document known, shows India's civilisation attaining her full bloom. The literary tongue, Sanskrit, which reaches at that period the classical perfection in the India of Brahmans, is handled without difficulty, in the heart of the mountains, by learned poets, by the fashionable, by the dainty, in the employment of the Court or by ordinary laymen. Buddhism had almost conquered Nepal. The monks had consecrated to the religion of Buddhas, the hill of Svayambhu, and they had erected a sanctuary of antique shape which tradition dates back



The Valley of Nepal

to Emperor Asoka; scattered in the valley, hemispheres of earth and brick built on the elementary style of primitive monuments of Indian Buddhism, testify to the date already distant of the country's conversion. Siva and Visnu had fixed their abode on two other heights. Siva, the known associate of Himalayan retreats and summits, is adored here under the name of Pasupati. Visnu popularly called Narayana is less intimately connected than his competitor, with the life of the country. Around them, lesser divinities, partly common to the Bonze and to the Brahmans, had their temples, and their priests, and their faithful. Hereditary royalty would extend outside the valley, to the East and to the West; but a restless feudalism, indocile, would subdue to almost nothingness the royal domain and the authority of the sovereign. There were no large towns as yet; the villages, where the cultivators and tradesmen gathered, only bore indigenous names purely Never. The inscriptions and the chronicles allow one to follow the development of Nepal up to the seventh century where she reaches her

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apogee. Fortune seems then to suddenly widen the political horizon of this little kingdom. Drilled and disciplined by one of those leaders of men that Central Asia now and then produces, the Tibetan tribes unite; a state is created, organised, which threatens at its very birth the old Chinese colossus. China, on the other hand, reminded by her aggressors, of the "Western Countries" which she had almost forgotten since the Huns, attempts by the fervour of her pilgrims and the adroitness of her Mandarins, to force her way to India. India, herself on the North, united for a while under the Empire of a learned and curious monarch, answers China's call and attempts to break the cordon of barbarians which close her frontiers.

Nepal seems to promise an easy way across, to this comity of Nations. She is the uniting thought of the two worlds. India has converted and civilised her. Tibet who speaks her dialect, reckons her as one of her vassals; but subjugated Nepal has given a queen to her conquerors. A Nepalese princess sits on the throne of Lhasa; a fervent Buddhist, she installs in her place her gods, her priests and her holy books. Clotilde has once again converted Cloris; the barbarous king surrounds himself with monks, learns theology after his battles. Chinese ambassadors, sent towards India, pass through Tibet, suspend their journey at Nepal and become official guests. Enticed by the political fortunes of Tibet, Nepal is influenced considerably by China; she sends her messengers and presents; an army of Nepalese soldiers even descend to the plains of India to avenge an insult she suffered. Chinese monks come to settle down, learn and flourish in the monasteries of Nepal.

The intensity of exchange promoted a surprising prosperity. Old royal dwellings that were too poor or scanty were discarded; palaces sprang up that sheltered with the king a court of dignitaries; the convents and temples grow handsome, wealthy and increased; sculpture and paintings decorated works of architecture. Nepal's art astonished the refined Chinese themselves. Towns are built; capitals emerge from the earth, one after the other. Science, encouraged and sustained by liberal donations, flourishes; Royalty sets the example: Amsuvarman composes a Sanskrit grammar. In the convents learned monks multiply and increase the copies of holy scriptures and canonical treatises, diverting themselves in their austere work by paintings and finely executed miniatures.

But the resources of Nepal are not sufficient for her needs, deprived of the reform which swept over her, she falls in decay. India has ere long returned to anarchy; Tibet and China in the throes of perpetual struggles exhaust each other mutually. Tired of a vassalage which falsified her destinies, Nepal rose in arms, and struggled against her Tibetan chieftains; distracted by diverse influences that were permitted to prevail, the kingdom splits up, crumbles and sinks in a feudal chaos. The Licchavis disappear, swept away by the turmoil. A clear and precise date emerges from this fog and is inscribed on the frontal of a new period. The year 880 A.D. inaugurates Nepal's era.

For a long time already, Nepal had been initiated by India in the usage of a local era. The ambition of the Indian Kings, Emperors and petty chieftains went so far as to create an era proper which perpetuated their memory; the use of a distinct era was held as a symbol of independence, of proud and free might; it was like a national emblem, carrying the blazon of a dynasty. Amongst all those difficulties, through which passes the history of India, the multiplicity of eras is an element of inextricable confusion. A number of kings often flicker in the chronology, at the mercy of the time, awaiting a decisive synchronism. The Guptas who dominate the Indian History for a hundred and fifty years, were still pulled about, 15 years ago, between the first and sixth century of the Christian era. Even the origin of the most popular eras escape the historian; we do not know the circumstances that gave birth in 57 B.C. to the Vikrama era, and in 78 A.D. to the Saka era, both as loosely used in contemporary India as in the India of the middle ages. The Licchavis of Nepal had founded or introduced into the valley, an era which starts, if my calculations are correct, from the year 3 A.D. At the beginning of the eighth century, they must have accepted as a mark of servitude, the era of Tibetan conquerors. The year 880 officially describes the rupture of the bond of vassalage. Nepal escapes from Tibet which is torn by religious upheavals and a new dynasty is substituted for the Licchavis, the Mallas.

The Mallas, like the Licchavis, are the heirs, more or less legitimate of an antique name, consecrated by the biography of Buddha. At the time the cheiftain lived, the Mallas formed a confederacy of tribes, as yet little advanced in civilization; it is on their territory that the founders of the two great schismatic doctrines, Buddha and Mahavira, had come to die. Later on, they disappeared from history, absorbed in the Magadha Empire or driven back to the mountains. They appear in Nepal in the first of the century's epigraphic monuments; their name is retraced later on in other inscriptions of the Licchavis. Established outside and to the west of the valley, they refuse to recognise the authority of the Nepalese dynasty and appear even to impose on them, sometimes, a sort of retribution.

Rulers of Nepal in their turn, the Mallas introduced a kind of feudal federation which reminds one of the constitution of ancient Mallas. At the end of the eleventh century (1097 A.D.) a sudden shock announced to the little valley, the breaking up of neighbouring India and presage of future revolution; under cover of the disorder provoked, from the Indus to the Ganges, by the Mahommedan invasion, a Hindu devout and an orthodox native of the Deccan, enters fully armed in Nepal and occupies the throne, which he bequeaths to his descendants. But the conquest is premature; the new dynasty reigns only by name. Anarchy is complete, each borough has its chief who is opposed to the monarch, the capitals

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have their provincial kings. The rivalry of convents add to the rivalry of parties. A prince of the mountains, supported by the Brahmanic faction believes the time ripe; predecessor of the Gurkhas, he attacks Palpa in Nepal, occupies it, but thinking himself too weak to hold it, retires precipitately. In spite of successive defeats, his repeated efforts testify to the continuous growing interest of the Brahmans.

In 1324 a third attempt succeeded in installing a Brahmanic dynasty in Nepal; the conqueror Hari Simha Deva, victim of the Mussalmans who had chased him from Trihut, searches in the mountains a refuge and a compensation. He brings with him an academy of Brahmanic jurists whom he protects and who is ardently busy in codifying the traditions which are in danger of disappearing under the Islam triumph. The subtle intricacies of the Brahmanic organisation spread and gained ground, but it was set reserved in store to the Mallas, who were better qualified for this role, to work out a harmonious conciliation between the local custom and the exigencies of the Brahmans. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Jaya Sthiti the Malla, assisted by the Hindu doctors, outlines clearly the rules of the social and religious organisation. The whole population is divided into two classes running in accordance with the two churches, the faithful of the Hindu gods are subdued by the strict rules of the Brahmanic castes, the followers of Buddhistic divinities are divided into professional groups, according to castes. Laws, the salient of points that disclose the scrupulous methodology of the Hindu genius, stipulate the details in dress, of the house, of functions allotted to each of the groups. A well-established reform for a system of weights and measures also gives evidence of the economical transformation of Nepal.

The work of Jaya Sthiti Malla restores to Nepal a durable stability and prepares her for a period of prosperity. Circumstances are propitious. The religious zeal of the Mogul Kublai Khan saves Tibet from anarchy, gives power to the Lamas, enriches and multiplies the convents, restores the studies and reanimates the commercial activity. The dynasty of the Ming, which succeeds the Moguls in China, retakes the traditions of the Huns and the Tang, binds its fortune to Buddhism, dreams of uniting under its protection the scattered members of the church. Its ambassadors travel by the great roads of Asia; Nepal exchanges missions and presents with the Imperial Court; the King of Nepal, taken for a Lama in error, receives this title, the investiture of China. The King Yaksa the Malla compels to obedience the vassals and the refractory rivals and re-establishes, for a while, unity; but this Charlemagne ends up like Louis the Debonnaire; be it either by parental weakness or be it premature debility, he shares his empire between his sons. The small valley becomes the permanent seat of three kingdoms, and the battleground of three dynasties.

The kingdoms of the Mallas all three perished at the same time, exhausted by their quarrels and perpetual wars, undermined by internal disputes, by the indiscipline of an aristocracy jealous of its rights and liberties, by the underground ways of the Brahmans.

The Gurkhas are the masters of Nepal. Sprung up from a little village perched upon the mountains of the west, which has given them their name, they pretend to be the natives of India proper, legitimate descendants of the ancient Kshatriyas, equals of the most authentic Rajput. However, their traditions cannot dissimulate their real origin which is also betrayed in the lines of their face. These proud representatives of integral Brahmanism were born of a promiscuous interbreeding: some of them are issues of Brahmanic adventurers, others of Rajput adventurers, whom the Mussalman conquest had ejected out of India and who had come in search of fortunes in the mountains. The refugees contracted with the indigenous girls' irregular unions; the children who were born claimed and obtained in society a rank worthy of parental blood, but which India scrupulously refused to acknowledge. Helped by their advertisers' dissensions, the Gurkhas have, however, triumphed only after bitter struggles; the honour of the success was due to their chief, Prithvi Narayan, a crafty politician, a valiant soldier, and a farsighted tactician, cautious in the working out of his plans, stubborn in executing them, dispassionately barbarous or generous after mature deliberation. The capture of Kirtipur characterises his method: Installed on its perpendicular rock and defended with bravery, the town repels the assaults of the Gurkhas. Insensible to failures, Prithvi Narayan raises the seige, returns the following year, beseiges the town again, falls again, and is not discouraged. Treason surrenders him the place which force could not capture. He declared an amnesty, disarms the inhabitants, and regardless of age or sex, cuts their lips and noses off. Europe that had partly to pay the costs of victory, furnished the means. The British troops of the Company who flaunted their victorious banner through Bengal and the country of Oudh, taught the Gurkha King the value of discipline, while European merchants supplied him with fire-arms which decided success.

Prithi Narayan and the Gurkha Dynasty

When Prithi Narayan (Prithi Narayana) ascended the Gorkha throne in 1742, at the age of twelve, his small principality was quite insignificant in the vast stretch of the Nepalese empire. His capital was a borough of eight to ten thousand souls, at about sixty miles distant from Kathmandu on the hardly recognisable road that led from the central valley to the Western frontier. The sovereign of Gorkha was one of the twenty-four petty kings of so-called Rajput origin, who formed in the basin of the seven Gandakis, a kind of confederacy, presided over by the Rajah of Yumila. Each one of them addressed yearly to this Rajah an embassade with presents; each new prince asked him for the investiture, symbolised by the impression of the finger on the forehead (*tika*). Likewise, in case of conflict the role of mediator naturally devolved on him.

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The kings of Gorkha, like all good families from the mountain, prided themselves in having for ancestor a Rajput of Chitor, escaped from the disaster where so many noble Hindus had perished. Their origin has been readily traced as far as Dravya Sah (1559-1633) who has left the record of a legislator; his heir Dambara Sah (1633-1642) had always a row to pick with the king of Kathmandu, Pratap Malla, who boasts of having beaten him. The father of Prithi Narayan, Narabhupala Sah (1716-1742) attempted, to no avail, the enterprise in which his son was destined to succeed. He thought of taking advantage of the rivalries and dissensions that enfeebled Nepal in order to capture the country and crossed the Tirsul Gandak; but the autonomous Thakurs of Nayakot, the Vaisya Raja, barred his progress; he was forced to fall back.

Nara Bhupala Sah had two wives, the eldest became pregnant. The younger one night dreamt that she was swallowing the sun; no sooner did she awake than she related it to the King. He replied to her with offensive words, so much so that she could not sleep again until dawn. The sun once arisen, the king gave the meaning of his brutal behaviours; such a dream certainly portended the expansion of the kingdom; but followed with another sleep it would have lost its efficacy. Indeed, the young queen conceived in her turn and seven months later she gave birth to a son who was called Prithi Narayan.

The legend has surrounded with a miraculous halo the birth and first years of the Gurkha hero; it relates again for instance the dream of that Nevar peasant (1,352) to whom Matsyendra Natha announced in a dream the approaching arrival of the Gurkha conquerors. In fact, evident signs presaged the imminent close of the three Malla kingdoms. The reigning sovereigns, Ranajit at Bhatgaon, Jayaprakasa at Kathmandu, were undoubtedly not without merit. Ranajit was intelligent and economical, he derived a large profit from the coinage which he supplied to Tibet; he loved rarities and curiosities. Jayaprakasa was active, courageous, energetic. But their minds were bent on worthless dissensions. Ranajit learns that Jayaprakasa has erected a monolithic pillar in his capital, he asks him for his workmen to erect a similar one in Bhatgaon. Jayaprakasa does not refuse, but on his instigation, the workmen arrange it for the work to progress badly; they dropped the pillar which breaks into three pieces. On another occasion, it is Ranajit who shows his pleasure in learning that Jayaprakasa had lost his son; he keeps as prisoners the people of Kathmandu, who had come to Bhatgaon to assist in a procession, "because they are too proud of their dresses." Jayaprakasa, in return, imprisons the subjects of Ranajit who had come to Pasupati.

In the interior of each Darbar, the intrigues increase in the dark and are unravelled in crimes. The seven illegitimate sons of Raja Jit, "the sat Bahalyas," conspire against prince Vira Narasimha, the heirapparent to the crown, and provoke his death by a kind of foul play. At Kathmandu, Jayaprakasa takes the crown bequeathed to him by his father, in spite of the opposition of the Khas soldiers who support the pretensions of Rajyaprakasa; he sends his father into exile who eventually goes to reign and die at Patan; but his arrogance estranges the Darbar (Tharis). They remove Narendraprakasa, the last of the three brothers, take him to Deo Patan and proclaim him king of the five towns, Sanku, Change, Gokarna, Nandigram and Deo Patan.

The sheriffs then throw their choice on Prithvi Narayan, who had already become famous by his wars, and who seems little dangerous by virtue of his remoteness. Prithvi Narayan after deliberating over the affair, refuses but proposes his own brother Dala Mardan Sha (1761-65) to replace him. Dal Mardan Sha accepted at first as lieutenant of the Gorkha King is afterwards proclaimed King of Patan to check the growing ambition of Prithvi Narayan. At the end of four years, he is deposed and the nobles elect "a poor man of Patan who descended from the Royal House," Teja Narasimha Malla, the last of the Patan King's (1765-68).

Prithvi Narayan was a man to take advantage of circumstances. He coupled to an insatiable ambition a pertinacity that nothing tired; he saw clearly, decided quickly, acted with sang-froid; he rewarded liberally the services rendered and punished resistances with savage cruelty; the religion, the gods, the priests were only in his eyes instruments of domination placed at the service of his will.

Prithvi Narayana to train his troops wages war at first around his feudal castle. The successes of the Company in Bengal have taught him the value of fire weapons and the utility of military discipline.

Ruler of Nepal, Prithvi Narayan established the capital of the Gorkha Kingdom at Kathmandu. But he was not lulled to sleep by success. No sooner was Bhatgaon subued than he renewed his campaign against the twenty-four king-confederates of the seven-Gandakis, whom he wanted to eliminate one by one as he had done in Nepal. He at first succeeded by means of his two favourite instruments, war and intrigue. But the king of Tanhung inflicted on him a heavy defeat. Faithful to his method he went to recoup and try his forces elsewhere. He proceeded towards the east of Nepal, invaded the country of the Kiratas which had so far maintained its independence almost whole and even threatened Sikkim. His troops under the leadership of Kaji Kahar Simha subdued the north of the country as far as the defiles of Kirong and Kuti, the south so far as the Terai. Compelled to maintain an enormous army on the revenues of a fairly poor kingdom, he oppressed the people and especially the merchants who deserted Nepal. He thought of finding compensations on the side of Tibet. He wrote a letter to the Lama asking him to arrange markets of exchanges on the frontier of the two countries; he was disposed to allow the transport of Indian goods, but firmly asked Tibet to decline all relations with the Feringhis (Europeans) or the Moghuls and to refuse them admission in the country as he was doing himself. In short he intended

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remaining, like the Mallas before him, the supplier of the coined silver of Tibet and he addressed a first despatch with 2000 rupees stamped in his name.

This letter dated in the last days of Prithvi Narayan exposes well to the light an essential aspect of his character, the hatred and distrust of the European; he carried his suspicion even to the very goods from Europe which he refused to pass through his territory. He feared to see the merchant following the merchandise in train. Prithvi Narayan died at Mohan Tirtha, on the Gandaki, in the first days of 1775; three of his wives and two of his concubines ascended the pyre.

His successor was his son, Simha Pratap Sha who reigned three years (1775-78). Simha Pratap showed himself more generous towards the gods than his father, who during the whole of his life made only one gift to Pasupati. He engaged himself in offering to sacrifice to Guhyeswari, patroness of Nepal, 125,000 animals. He also honoured the Goddess Tulaja; lastly he had conveyed to the Darbar the Kings of Nayakot. He loved to dwell in the Terai in the winter season and preoccupied himself in improving this very neglected portion of his domains. At his death he left as heir a child in the cradle, Rana Bahadur Sha. The disastrous administration of long minorities and regencies, fought for at the dagger's point, began with the grandson of Prithivi Narayan to continue henceforth uninterruptedly.

The younger brother of Simha Pratap Sha, Bahadur Sha, who was then living at Bettia on the Indian territory on the boundary of Nepal, with his uncle Dala Mardan Sha the ancient King of Patan, hastened to reach Kathmandu to take possession of his regency. He was an active and enterprising prince, but he found in opposition to him an adversary of his calibre, queen Rajendra Laksmi, mother of the young king, who claimed to exercise the power in the name of her son. From this moment until the death of the Queen in 1795 the two rivals fought stubbornly, interrupted with short reconciliations and marked in each fresh outburst by a series of massacres. The victor struck pitilessly on the partisans of the vanquished. A secret marriage, concluded so they say, between the queen and the regent and inspired on both sides by the same ambition, did not bring any respite to the hostilities.

However the impetus given to the Gurkhas by Prithvi Narayan had not yet slowed down. The new administration did not lack in forces or men; the conquest was pursued with successes beyond expectations in the West, Palpa retained its independence, defended by a belt of tributary principalities. Bahadur Sha asked and obtained in marriage a daughter of Mahadatta, King of Palpa; under cover of this matrimonial alliance, the regent proposed to his father-in-law a political alliance, directed against the last chiefs who remained independent. The booty would have to be equally divided. Mahadatta fell in the trap, the Nepalese troops arrived led by a Khas officer as brave as he was cunning, Damodar Panre. Betrayed by the King of Palpa the only chief who was powerful enough to protect them, the princes of the twenty-four kingdoms, in the domain of the seven Gandakis and the princes of the twenty-two kingdoms in the basin of the Kali were in greater portion despoiled. The Gurkhas reserved themselves the lion's share; Mahadatta received three small states, taken away from his ancient allies and which he was not destined to retain long. Pursuing his victorious march Damodar went beyond the traditional limits of the Nepalese Empire and penetrated into the Kumaon which he subjugated.

In the East, the expansion of the Gurkhas also progressed beyond the old frontiers. Already the Kiratas were subjugated; in September 1788, a force of 6000 men penetrated into Sikkim. A month later, the capital was occupied. Bhutan was threatened; Tibet saw her frontiers violated; the Tibetan province of Kuti was invaded. A skilful movement of the Tibetans outflanked the Gurkhas in the rear but the movement stopped too soon. The Gurkhas, certain about their communications, retook their offensive march on Sikkim, occupied it a second time and declared it annexed (1789).

Tibet with her monasteries enriched due to the piety of Asia, seemed to offer an easy prey. Under insignificant pretexts, the Gurkhas rushed to the assault of the lamaseries, crossed the defiles, pillaged Shikar Jong (Digarchi) (1790). But they allowed themselves to be duped by the superb promises of the Chinese and Lamas and the Mandarins. They appeared again in Tibet, impatient for vengeance and plunder (1791). The Emperor of China K'ien Long vainly addressed them a message of threats; the Chinese envoy was insulted. Tibet was in peril. K'ien Long without delay assembled important forces which he placed under General Fou K'ang. In face of such number the Gurkhas were obliged to fall back; the victorious Chinese followed them on their traces and reached the very heart of Nepal, at one day's journey from Kathmandu (1792). The terror-stricken Darbar sued for peace, recognised the suzerainty of China and bound himself to pay a regular tribute.

At the height of his terror, the Darbar, unfaithful to the lessons of Prithvi Narayan, had solicited the help of the English. Lord Cornwallis decided too late. The Gurkhas thought better of it; they had wisely preferred a distant sovereign to a close protector. However Lord Cornwallis insisted sending to Nepal a mission entrusted to settle there and then the usual difficulties and especially to reclaim the enforcement of a commercial agreement signed in March 1792, at Benares between Nepal and the Company. This agreement stipulated fixed duties on imports and exports (25 per cent *ad-valorem*) on goods carried from one territory to another but Nepal had always known to evade it by substituting to the frontier customs, partial collections portioned out at successive stages of penetration. Colonel Kirkpatrick went to Nepal (in March-April 1793). If he did not bring away political advantages from this very short sojourn he at least gathered the materials of an excellent work.

The Chinese war had interrupted only for a short while

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the operations in the West. Jagajit Pande continued the conquest began by his brother Damodar. After Kumaon, Garhwal in her turn became a Nepalese province (1794). Nepal stretched at that time from Bhutan to Kashmir.

Suddenly a tragedy of the palace abruptly terminates the regency. Rana Bahadur had grown, as grow minor kings, under the protectorship of ambitious regents, cloistered in his palace, given up to precocious debauchery which sapped all his vitality. In 1795, he suddenly wishes to reign, by caprice. He arrests his uncle Bahadur Sha, whom he retains in prison for two years until his death. From now there begins an era of violence, fury and disorders, such as Nepal had never known. Rana Bahadur is impulsive of nature like a miniature Nero. He loves music; he arranges the tunes to be played in the larger temples, at Guhyeswari, at Changu Narayan, at Vajra Yogini, at Dakshina Kali, at Tulaja. When well disposed he gives unthinkingly, on days of great events he distributes one thousand cows in alms, he feeds the Brahmans and troops, but on the first annoyance, he blasphemes the gods, and despoils the Brahmans. The Nepalese recognise in him the King of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakasa who was to return to the world in the posterity of Prithvi Narayan.

His first act is to confiscate the principality of Yumila, free so far by the prestige of her ancient precedence. Rana Bahadur espoused the daughter of the Raja of Gulmi, Lalita Tripura Sundari, intelligent and devoted consort of her husband but she gave him no son. He at first abandoned her and took to an ordinary slave from whom was born an illegitimate son. He then took the daughter of a Brahman who became the mother of King Girvan Yuddha Vikram Sah. This prince was therefore of illegitimate birth because the king prohibited the marriage between a Kshatriya and a woman of Brahmanic blood. The Brahmans were shocked by this union which appeared to them incestuous. In order to put a stop to the abomination, the Brahmans published a deep prophesy on astrology and that announced in the near future the sickness of the favourite and the death of the king. Indeed, the favourite soon fell seriously ill. The king anxious through love and worried by the prophecy that concerned him, consulted the Brahmans on precautions to take. They indicated costly ceremonies, that would benefit them by a lac of rupees. Rana Bahadur was persuaded to perform them but in spite of the rites, the young woman died in a few days. Furious by thus being wounded in his heart and by thus losing his money, the king summoned the Brahmans to return the money under threats of terrible persecutions; he ordered to be handed over to him the idol of Tulaja which they have worshipped, breaks it to pieces, has the fragments conveyed to the cemetery of Karavisa, with a funeral cortege of Acharyas in tears, to the sound of trumpets; the remains are burnt on the pyre and the ashes thrown into the river.

This was too much. The terror-stricken people, dazed at the sacrilege committed, feared to pay the consequences. Rana Bahadur understood that an opportune sacrifice could save the dynasty and leave open to him the chances of return. He gave out as an excuse that his mourning had severed him from the world, entered into the orders, took the name of Nirgunananda Swami and announced his intention of going to die a holy death at Benares. He nominated for successor his son Girvana Yuddhavikram, in spite of his irregular birth; and in order to dissipate all opposition he requested of the King of Palpa, Prithivi Pala to come in the name of the most authentic of Nepalese Rajputs and place on the child's forehead the royal mark (Tika). The army and people took the oath of allegiance to their new king. At the time of departing the Swami felt his vocation already shaken; he went and settled in Patan, fortified himself thither, recruited partisans. But the opposition of the Brahmans condemned him to fail; he became aware of it and decided on a scheme. Queen Tripura Sundari had refused the regency in order to follow her husband; he nominated for regent the slave he had loved. Damodar Panre, the victor of the west was elected to exercise the functions of Prime Minister (1800).

In Benares, Rana Bahadur did not take long to become enarmoured of a new beauty, and to satisfy the exigencies of his passion he began by removing all the queen's jewels and he contracted loans with the Company. The Darbar suspected that Rana Bahadur would use the English to serve his ends or that the Company under the cloak would seek to meddle into Nepalese affairs. The Darbar offered to renew the commercial agreement interrupted since its conclusion and to receive in Nepal a British resident. Captain Knox was entrusted to fill the post, and he arrived at Kathmandu in April 1802. But tired of the incessant scufflings of the Darbar, which never yielded without retracting soon afterwards, Captain Knox accompanied with his assistant Buchanan Hamilton, definitively returned to India in March 1803.

In the interval, important events had taken place. Queen Tripura Sundari, tired of the treatment of her husband had left Benares and watched on the frontier for a propitious hour to re-enter into Nepal; she feared thither the hostility of her ancient rival. When the rainy season made the Terai uninhabitable (April 1802), she decided to venture on a bold stroke, encouraged perhaps by having dependent on her, Damodar Panre who had accepted with reluctance an ancient slave for regent. An escort of soldiers sent against her dared not to act; the chief of the port of Seshagarhi shut himself up with his men behind the walls in order not to arrest her. A final detachment was sent against her. She struck a blow with a dagger at the officer, who fell back ashamed of his task and the soldiers disbanded. No sooner did she reach Nepal, than Damodar Panre came before her and bowed to her; the multitude welcomed her and led her to the palace whilst the regent who was a slave fled into a temple with her son, the young king, the treasures and jewels of the crown.

The Queen handed the power to Damodar Panre, but she hastened to send back to Palpa, the King Prithivi Pala

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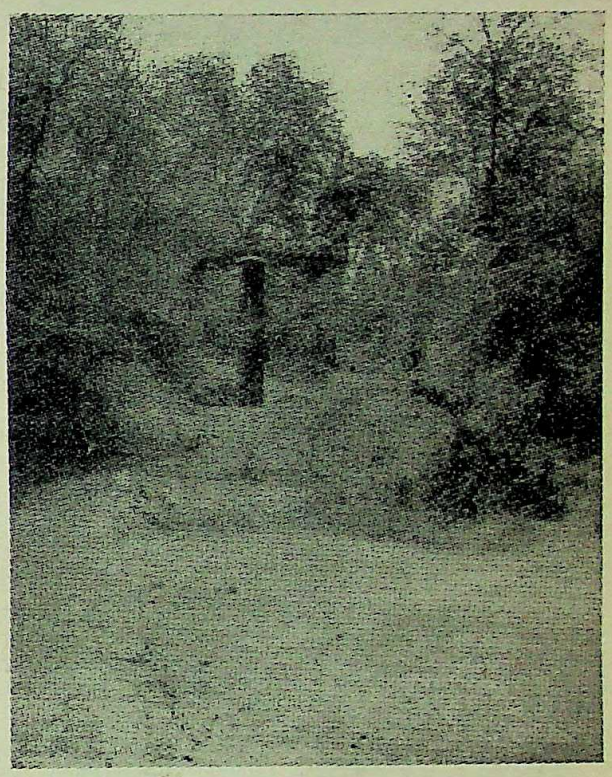
who had remained in Kathmandu since the accession of Girvana Yuddha Vikrama and whom they suspected of aspiring to the throne of Nepal. Rana Bahadur who knew it to be lawful to reckon on his wife's devotion, left Benares at the first news of events. Informed of his arrival, Damodar Panre led his troops to receive him and also to watch him should it be needed. But Bhimsen Thapa who had been on intimate terms with Rana Bahadur at Benares and who was embittered, as much by family feuds as by personal ambition, against the chief of the Panre clan, counselled the king to decide at once. With his customary decision Rana Bahadur advanced towards the soldiers and shouted to them : "Well ! my brave Gurkhas, who is for Sha, who is for Panre ?" The soldiers replied by acclamations and Rana Bahadur entered Kathmandu triumphantly followed by Damodar Panre and his sons, all in chains.

Bhimsen Thapa then became Prime Minister. He was destined to preserve the power for thirty-three years under a series of kings. He hastened to give his master the essential prestige, by new conquests. Prithivi Pala was massacared with his officers. Then Amara Simha Thapa, the father of Bhimsen Thapa, was entrusted with the English title of "General" to reduce Palpa. He only had to take possession of the town (August 1804), the last of the independent states that survived. Nepal in her entirety belonged to the Gurkhas. Amara Singha continued his march towards the west and threatened Kangra, but he was compelled to stop in front of another conqueror, who was working to shape himself an empire in the Western Himalaya; the famous Ranjit Singh had grouped Sikh clans, led them to war by a secular struggle against the Muhammedan and had thrown them onwards to the conquest of Punjab and Kashmir. Kangra only escaped the Gurkhas to fall into the hands of the Sikhs.

Rana Bahadur, informed of a plot which his illegitimate brother had schemed against him, summons Sher Bahadur and orders him to leave the capital and to rejoin the army in the western provinces. Sher Bahadur replies with an insult; the king threatens to sentence him to death. Sher Bahadur draws the sword, mercilessly wounds the king and falls himself under the sword of Bala Nara Singha Kunwar, a Thapa who was destined to have for son, Jang Bahadur, the great Minister. Bhim Sen Thapa, remaining the Prime Minister of Girvana Yuddha Vikram, compels the youngest royal spouse to ascend the pyre, gives out the order to put to death the majority of the chiefs he fears, like the associates of Sher Bahadur and shares the real power with regard to Queen Tripura Sundari. The history of Nepal is henceforth, for thirty years, the history of ministry of Bhim Sen.

King Girvana Yuddha Vikram Sah, who bore the royal title, was two years old when a political combination of the Rana Bahadur had borne him to the throne, nine years, when the death of his father had left him as a toy in the hands of the Queen and the Prime Ministers, eighteen years old, when he died of small-pox in 1816.

The persistent infringements of the Gurkhas on the southern frontier had ended in exhausting the Company's patience and making it necessary to have recourse to arms. From 1787 to 1813, more than two hundred villages had been seized by the Nepalese under unjustifiable pretexts. Lord Hastings decided to intervene. When asked for their evacuation within twenty-five days, Bhim Sen replied to the ultimatum by a declaration of war.



Lumbini. Birth-place of Buddha

Beginning on the 1st November 1814, the war lasted till the 4th of March 1816. The Gurkhas had 12,000 troops only to stand against the 30,000 soldiers and 60 cannons that the English placed on the field no sooner the campaign began. Their military virtues, their bravery, their tenacity, their suppleness almost counter-balanced the disparity in numbers and their resistance deserved the esteem and admiration of their conquerors. The incapacity of the British commandants brought about at first a series of disasters. General Gillespie, coming from Meerut, crosses the Sivalikhs, penetrates up to Dehra Dun and is delayed for a month by the fort of Kalanga (Nalapani) backed by 600 Gurkhas under the leadership of Balabhadra. The British corps lose 31 officers and 718 men and its leader fell mortally wounded. When the fort is no longer tenable, Balabhadra forces a breach at the head of 90 men who still remained with him. General Martindell, who replaces Gillespie, leads his troops but he suffers a severe check. He loses 12 officers and 450 men. In February 1815 a company of 200 Gur-

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khas routs 2000 irregulars at the service of England. General Morley is ordered to march on Kathmandu through Bibchak and Hetanra with 5,000 soldiers. Major Nearsay who is operating towards Almorah is beaten, wounded and captured. The cautious tactics of Ochterlony retrieves all the disasters. The Gurkha Forts oppose a

Prithvi Narayan
(From a contemporary picture of the Old Palace, Kathmandu)

desperate resistance but the artillery smashed up all resistance before it. The road to Kathmandu is open. The Darbar sues for peace. On the 4th March 1816, a treaty signed at Segowlie consecrates the defeat of Nepal. She loses Sikkim, Kumaon, Garhwal, the whole of the portion of the Terai to the West of the Gandaki and is obliged perforce to accept a British Resident. Lord Hastings had made of this clause the fundamental condition of the peace. Edward Gardner was nominated resident in Nepal where Hodgson came to rejoin him as assistant in 1820.

Nepal understood the lesson and profited by it; the Gurkhas did not risk attacking the British again. The Government of India on the other hand showed her sagacity; she was careful not to provoke an adversary whose merit she had recognised. General Ochterlony confidentially declared to Lord Hastings that the Hindu soldiers of the Company would never be in a state to resist the shock of those energetic mountaineers on their own soil. In consequence Lord Hastings gave instructions to Edward Gardener to work in transforming the boisterous neighbour into an amicable ally or at the least peaceful. To better mark his intention, he consented as early as the close of 1816 to modify a clause of the treaty in accordance to the dearest wishes of the king. The Company bound itself to pay an annual indemnity of 2,00,000 rupees to compensate loss of the revenues which the relinquishment of the Terai caused to the anterior holders of these fiefs. By a new arrangement a portion of the Terai was ceded back to Nepal as an equivalent to 2,00,000 rupees of yearly revenues. The English discovered too late the bad bargain they had concluded. In 1834, Hodgson estimated at 991,000 rupees to be the annual revenues of lands ceded back.

Immediately after the war, the King Girvan Yuddha Vikram was dead. He was succeeded by his son of very young age, Rajendra Vikram Sah (1816). The change of princes that opened a new minority with a long term, consolidated the power of the Prime Minister Bhimsen and of the queen Tripura Sundari, grand mother of Rajendra Vikram Sah.

Bhimsen had to face a difficult situation. The Gurkhas were a military nation incapable of living otherwise than by wars and conquests. The revenues of the Nepalese soil could not suffice to maintain an idle population, and the war with the British had showed to the Gurkhas that the era of raids had passed. Bhimsen exerted himself to encourage the traffic between Nepal and her two neighbours India and Tibet. Bhimsen erected foundries for cannons, arsenals, built large barracks, maintained and developed the discipline and military instructions.

In 1832, the old queen Tripura Sundari died. Henceforth, Bhimsen remained exposed, alone responsible for a paradoxical administration that for 28 years left absolute power in the hands of an ordinary servant of the crown. One of his brothers Ranavir Sinha Thapa had become intimate with the young king whom he had under his authority and whom he excited by ambition to seize the authority once again. In the seraglio, the old rivalry of the Thapas and the Panres was preparing a new crash. The first spouse of Rajendra Vikram was related to the Panres; the second, by her birth and interests, was connected to the Thapas. Since 1833, it appeared that the authority of the Prime Minister was undermined. At the early ceremony of the "Panjni," when all the officials are subjected to a new nomination, Bhimsen was not confirmed in his post which remained without titulary. A few days later, Bhimsen was recalled to the ministry.

In the spring of 1837, the nephew of Bhimsen, Mathbar Singh, the most popular chief of the army, is dismissed and his place is given to a son of Damodar Panre. A few days later, the youngest son of the first queen suddenly dies: Rumour says that Bhimsen had desired to poison the queen and that the child becomes a victim of his guilty actions; he is arrested, thrown in prison together with Mathbar Singh and the rest of the whole family. Rana Jang Pande replaces Bhimsen at the ministry.

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Bhimsen humbles himself at the foot of the king who grants him a pardon; the prisoners were released and are looked upon with clemency. The army makes a triumphal acclaim to its old chief and his young favourite. Rana Jang descends from the power where he had just hoisted himself, and leaves the place to the chief of the Brahmanic party, Raghu Nath Pandit, who seeks to manage everybody, but whom the army looks upon with antipathy as the representative of a dangerous rivalry.

In the palace, the two queens quarrel between themselves to gain the influence for the benefit of their parties. The first queen who had thought herself triumphant at the fall of Bhimsen and who had seen with rage the Brahmans jiggle away with victory, decides on a coup. She demands that Rana Jang be made a minister. Mathbar Singh, who feels the approach of a new storm, goes to hunt the elephant in the Terai, cautiously crosses the frontier, takes refuge with the old Ranjit Singh at Lahore. Raghunath Pandit gives his resignation as Prime Minister, a Chautaria, collateral of the Royal family, is called to form a cabinet in which Rana Jang is all-powerful. Soon he unmasks himself, dismissed his colleagues and retains alone all the powers, in the beginning of 1839. The accusation of poisoning flung against Bhimsen in 1837 is immediately renewed, supported by a battery of falsehoods that deceives nobody but that gives an air of dignity to the judicial comedy. The old minister, accused of treason by the king is thrown in prison again, threatened, pushed to commit suicide because none dares to incur the responsibility of his death. They told him that they were going to bury him up to his neck in a ditch of human excretions, to exhibit his wife stark naked through the town. Horrified the old man strikes himself a blow with his own Khukri (knife) and dies of the wound nine days later. His body is dismembered, the stumps exposed to public gaze are afterwards thrown as food for the beasts. The doctor who had cared for (treated) the young prince, a Brahman whom the law forbids to excute is branded on the forehead and on the cheeks, so much so that the skull and jaw bones are laid bare. His colleague, a Newar, is impaled, and his heart excised alive. A royal decree excludes the Thapas from all employments for seven generations (July 1839).

In order to mitigate these horrors and to gain public favour the Panres exploited the Gurkha chauvinism which Bhimsen took so much pains to curb since the treaty of Segauli. Prophecies were pronounced regarding the early downfall of the British. Cannons were manufactured and so were rifles. 800,000 (lbs.) pounds of gun-powder were ordered, as well as bullets and shots. A military census was taken and showed 400,000 men capable of carrying arms. Secret relations were sought with the Rajput and Maratha chiefs of India—Gwalior, Satara, Baroda, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Kotah, Bundi, Rewa, Panna states—and with the weak heir of Ranjit Singh, who had just died, as also with Burma, Persia, Afghanisthan and with China. But this policy cost dear and money was lacking. The troops rebelled, and demanded a war against India. There was an universal discontent within the kingdom. To better grasp the power and share it with Rana Jang, the first queen worked to discredit the king in the hope that an upheaval would compel him to abdicate in favour of his son and designate her for regent. Death frustrated her calculations; she died of fever in October 1841.

Jang Bahadur

England, weary of the ridiculous provocations, had imposed an agreement in Nepal in 1839. The disappearance of the first queen hardly simplified the interior politics of Nepal. The second queen who had impatiently borne the supremacy of her rival, aspired to seize the reins of power by the successive elimination of the king and heir-apparent, who stood between the throne and her progeny, and establish herself in the regency. The heir-apparent, then twelve years old was a kind of sanguinary lunatic who delighted in the torture and mutilation of animals and men. He longed to reign and to do away with his father who was stubborn in existing. At last, King Rajendra Vikram, dazed and idiotic, passed from one influence to another without cessation. He fled from quarrels and only asked for peace, but nobody around him was disposed to let him have it.

The situation became so serious that the nobility, judging the state to be in peril, forgot for a while the rivalry of parties.

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A general gathering, held in December 1842, nominated a committee entrusted with the power of asking and of proposing to the king, the necessary measures for the protection of life, of goods and of the legitimate rights, public and personal, of all the subjects of the crown. The petition was successively submitted to the ministers, to the chiefs, to the municipal authorities of the towns, of the valley, of the army. It was approved, signed and carried by an immense deputation to the Royal Darbar on the 7th of December. The king received, signed and ratified it. The crisis had lasted twelve days.

The queen, who was given by this charter an increase of power destined to counter-balance the action of

Maharaja Chandra Shamsher, Commander-in-Chief Bhim Shamsher and Senior Commanding General Yudha Shamsher

the princely heir, hastened to recall the Thapas to power. Mathbar Singh who was living abroad for the past four years was recalled. He asked and obtained the public vindication of Bhimsen, the punishment of his accusers. At last he became a nominal Prime Minister in December, 1843. Maintained in power in spite of himself he lost the support of the queen, whom he refused to assist in her criminal schemes. On the 17th of May 1845, at night he is summoned to the palace, presents himself before the King and the Queen, Three rifle shots wound him; he asks for mercy in the name of his mother and his children, streches his hands towards the throne. A servant cuts off the wrist. The quivering corpse is let down from the window. The murderer who had slain Mathbar was his own nephew, Jang Bahadur.

The personage who entered the scene with such a brutal exploit was destined to the tragedies of the palace. His father, Bala Narasimha had assisted at one time to the murder of Rana Bahadur and had slain the murderer with his own hands, who was the brother of the king. Grand nephew of Bhimsen he had obtained a high position at an early date; but tired of the barracks he had deserted, crossed the Kali (river), visited the provinces of the Company and thought of enrolling himself under Ranjit Singh. He was brought back to Nepal by his parents. Soon the fall of Bhimsen compelled him to hide. He travelled over Nepal as a discreet observer, initiating himself in the practices, customs and languages of all the races, exercising his body muscles with the severest of toils. Reaching Kathmandu he reveals himself in most brilliant fashion. An elephant who had run amock caused havoc in the town and none dared to stop it. Jang slips from a roof on the back of the animal, throws a cloth over its eyes blinding it and masters it. The Darbar offers him a dress of honour and a sum of money which he refuses. He joins the army as a captain, is employed on a secret mission with the Raja of Benares and is arrested by the British who bring him back to the frontier. He has already envious rivals who strive to ruin him; he baffles them with his audacity. Numerous instances are given. One day whilst he was crossing on horseback a furious torrent on a bridge of two planks at a giddy height above the abyss the princely heir calls him back. Without hesitating he forces his riding animal to turn round by an audacious leap and rejoins the bank. Another day in order to escape the ferocity of the same prince, he throws himself into a well, holds on till night time.

After the murder of Mathbar Singh, Jang was nominated a general with the command of three regiments and was entrusted with the ministry. Temporarily he ceded his place to Chautariah Fateh Jung and remained outside the new Cabinet; but the three regiments he commanded guaranteed his influence. The real power belonged to General Gagan Simha, an old servant of the harem who becames the lover of the queen. The king threatened with being sacrificed to this adulterous love, hired the service of a professional bravo who slew Gagan Simha with a rifle shot whilst he was praying in his room (September 1846).

Mad with sorrow at the news the queen seized in her hands the royal sword, the emblem of supreme authority which the King had authorised her to carry since January 1843; she orders the trumpeteers to summon the soldiers and all civil and military officials of the State assembles. The King embarrassed avoids the affair under the pretext of informing the Resident. The nobles hasten to assemble without taking the precaution of arming themselves. "Who among you have killed my faithful friend?" shouted the Queen. She rushes at one of the Panres whom she suspects of the crime and wishes to kill him with her hand. She is held. She escapes, rushes towards the staircase that leads to the

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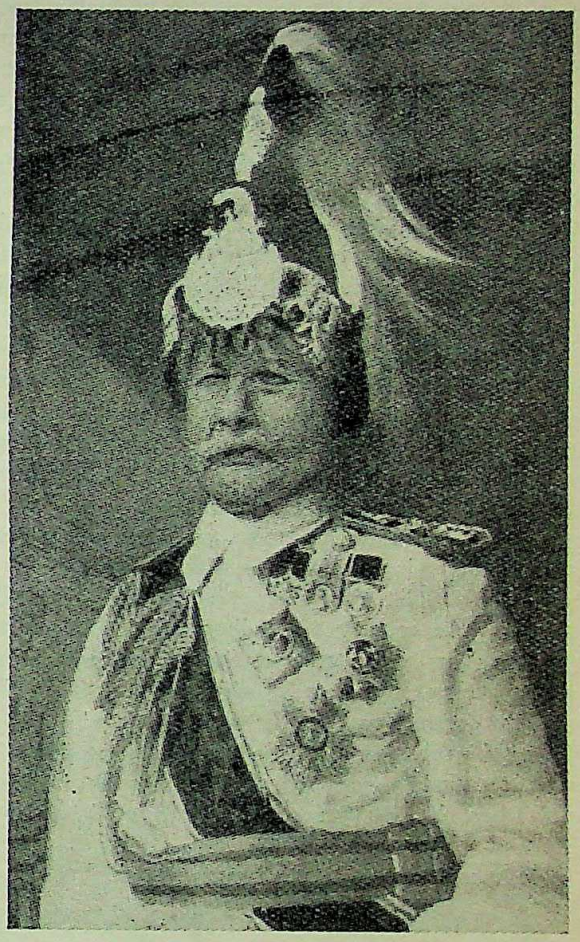
higher storey where lay her apartment. Three of the ministers follow behind her when shots fired from apparently nowhere stretched them dead on the floor. While falling, Abhiman Singh designates Jang Bahadur as his murderer. The son of Abhiman throws himself on one of the brothers of Jang and strikes him with his sword. He is about to strike another when Jang appears on the staircase and shoots him dead with a gun-shot. In the darkness of the hall and the corridors, dimly lighted by the flickering light of night lamps a murderous battle takes place blindly between the partisans of Jang rallied around him and his adverseries. They hit, they throttle, they massacre without knowing the victims. Outside the regiments of Jang guard the exits; their knives slay mercilessly the enemies or those held in suspicion who hope to find safety in flight.

Jang, in appearance docile, places near the two princes guardians entrusted in reality to defend them against the furies of the Queen. Deceived the Queen organises a new plot against Jang this time. But advised in time, the minister forestalls her, captures and executes the conspirers who belonged to the clan of Bashniyets. He appears before the King and heir-apparent, declares to them that the safety of the State depended on the removal of the Queen. The Queen finding herself vanquished becomes submissive. She succeeds however in dragging with her the idiotic husband. The princely heir is entrusted with the regency and Jang of the office of Prime Minister.

The Royal couple shelter in Benares, and carry on intrigues with all the dscontented exiles of Nepal. The unhappy King Rajendra Vikram Sah deceived by everybody finally takes the route to Nepal where he enters as a prisoner and is deposed without a word being said in his favour and his princely heir Surendra Vikram Sah ascends the throne.

The policy of Jang tends from then to conciliate itself to the favour of the English perhaps with the view of an eventuality that his ambition and his talents permit him to look upon. In 1848 he offers the Government of India the help of the Gurkha troops to reduce the last defenders of the Sikh independence; he is politely refused. In 1850 after long negotiations, he left for England as the chief of a mission entrusted "to carry to the Queen Victoria the respects of the King of Nepal and the assurances of his friendship; to see the greatness and the prosperity of the country and the state of the people, to examine to what extent the application of arts and sciences is useful to the comfort and the commodity of life." Indeed he hopes to double his prestige in Nepal by his relations with the powerful nations of Europe and to gain by his allurement the English government to his personal interests. He wishes also as a man of positive views to exactly understand those mysterious masters of India who make the people feel their might without showing themselves. In London, in Paris, whither he proceeds afterwards, he is the lion of the season. The strangeness of his costume, the wealth of his attire, the legend published by the press, the prestige of a country that remains impenetrable, singles him out for attention. Balls, feasts and representations are given to him. Returning to India in 1851 Jang and his companions stop at Benares to accomplish at great cost on the banks of the Ganges the ceremonies of purification imposed on every Hindu who goes out of the country.



Maharaja Mohan Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister of Nepal

The insolence and violence committed on the Tibetan territory against the Nepalese ambassador sent to Peking was the cause of another war between Tibet and Nepal in 1854. In spite of the great feats accomplished by Nepal, the hostilities are prolonged for more than two years without any marked advantage, as it was interrupted by the insurmountable difficulties of a region where the snow-storms, the avalanches, the precipices, the barrenness of the soil defy the bravery of men. The passes of Kuti and Kirong at first occupied by the Gurkhas are lost, then retaken. Dhir Shumshere, younger brother of Jang anl father of the next five successive Prime Minister of Nepal, saves the honour of Nepal by his untiring energy. On the 25th March, 1856, Tibet ends in signing the peace treaty: the Gurkhas evacuate the territories they had occupied, but in return Tibet pays Nepal an annual indemnity of Rs. 10,000. She renounces

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to gather the customs duties on Nepalese goods; she authorises Nepal to entertain at Lhasa a resident entrusted with defending the interests of the Nepalese merchants.

In August, 1856, Jang unexpectedly renounces his power, passes the military to his brother Ram Bahadur and wishes to be satisfied with a kind of secret dictatorship. The King on this occasion confers on him the title of Maharaja for himself and his heirs and cedes to him all the sovereign rights of the two principalities of Kaski and Lamjung in the ancient territories of the 24 royalties. The office of Prime Minister is to be perpetually transmitted in his family, to his brothers at first and to his sons afterwards. Lastly Jang must exercise a power of absolute control on the relations of Nepal with Great Britain and China.

England refuses to abide by this combination which would impose a third party between her and the King, the only authority officially recognised outside. Jang retakes the power in 1857 during the mutiny of the sepoys, when Hindusthan was anxious to know if she was about to change masters. Jang offers on several occasions to join the British troops to quell the rebellion. England who is reluctant to have a saviour awaits till the recapture of Delhi, and the relief of Lucknow to accept the co-operation of the Gurkhas. Jang at first sends 3000 men, then he lends 8000 more. To recompense these services, England restitutes to Nepal by the treaty of 1860 (1st November) that portion of the Terai limited by the country of Oudh which had been taken away from her by the treaty of Segouli. In order to show his independence and to provide for the future Jang discreetly opens Nepal to the vanquished. The famous chief of the rebellion Nana Sahib with about fifty of his lieutenants find a secluded shelter in the impassable Terai where he disappears, carried away by fever or perhaps welcomed in Nepal. Nepal extends an official hospitality to the wives of Nana Sahib and to the Begums of Lucknow.

Maharaja Jang Bahadur was created a G.C.B. by a grateful Britain. His career came to a close with his death in 1878.

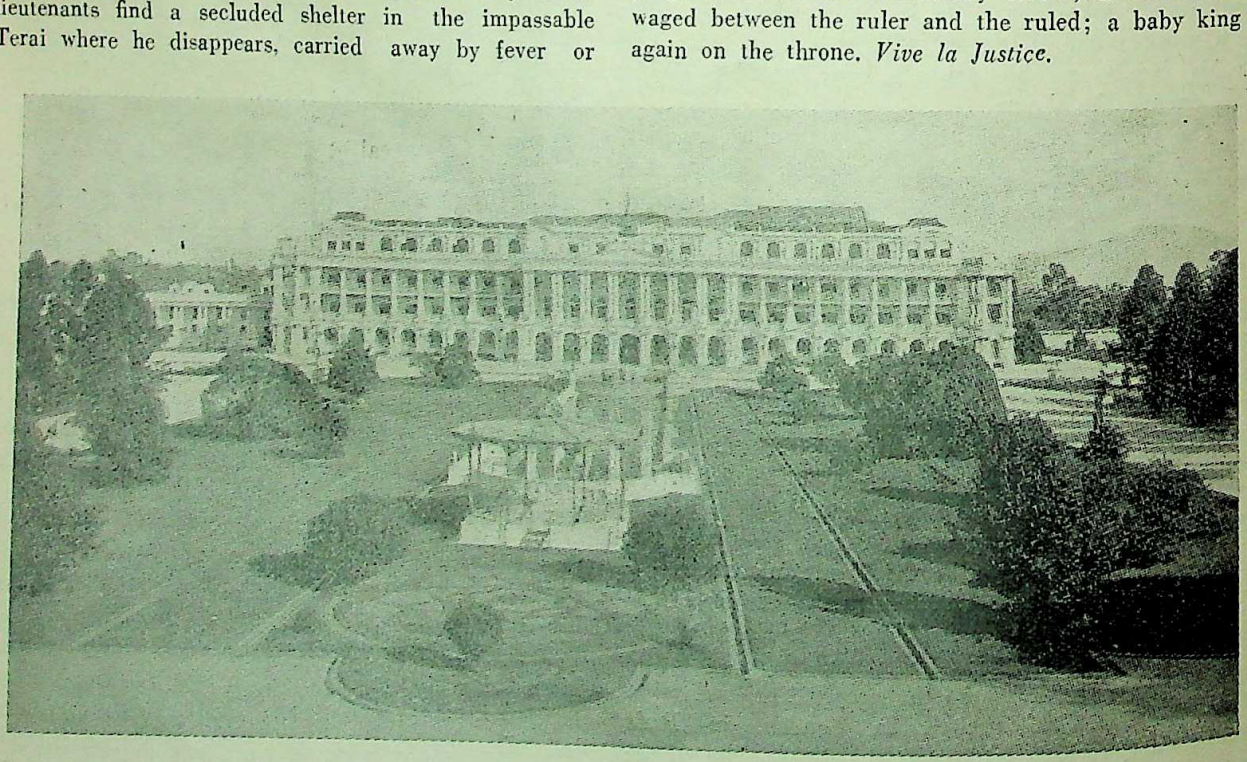
At his death Ranodip Singh, his brother, became Prime Minister. In 1881 King Surendra Vikram Sah died after '34 years of nominal reign. His grandson Prithivi Vir Vikram born in 1875 ascended the throne.

On the 22nd of November 1885 a new family tragedy brought to the power the nephews of Jang Bahadur, the sons of his brother General Dhir Shumshere. Ranodip Singh was assassinated: of the sons of Jang, some underwent the same fate, others disappeared in exile. Vir Shumshere Jang Bahadur Rana becomes Prime Minister. He died on 5th March, 1901.

Since then the members of the family of Dhir Shumshere have been ruling the country. The succession is agnatic not hereditary. In this succession the high lights are on the regime of Maharaja Chandra Shumshere Jang Bahadur Rana, who made Nepal what she is today.

After the death of Prithivi Vir Vikram Sah, his son Tribhuvana Vir Vikram Sah ascended the throne while he was still under his teens. Here the succession is hereditary.

Today in Nepal a tussle has ensued between the two worthy descendants of illustrious Prithvi Narayan Sah and the Great Jang Bahadur—Maharajadhiraj Tribhuvan Vir Vikram Sah and Maharaja Sir Mohan Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana; a conflict is in progress between the progressive and the reactionary forces; a war is being waged between the ruler and the ruled; a baby king is again on the throne. *Vive la Justice.*



The Singha Darbar

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STATE ORACLE OF TIBET

By Dr. R. NEBESKY DE WOJKOWITZ

Unlike any other people, the Tibetans firmly believe that it is possible to predict and influence future events. When a marriage has to be celebrated, a long journey undertaken, or the future of a new-born child ascertained,—a local magician or a lama, versed in divination, is consulted. He predicts these events by means of astrological books and various magical instruments.

Held in the highest esteem among the Tibetans are those oracle-lamas who are supposed to be the mouthpieces of certain minor Tibetan deities, usually of demons, who originally belonged to the pre-Buddhist Shamanistic Bon faith, and later became protectors and guardians of the Buddhist religion. These demons are believed to take possession from time to time of selected persons, who thus influenced develop supernatural physical and spiritual powers in a trance. With bloodshot eyes, foaming mouth, and in a rigour, they utter words and sentences scarcely comprehensible, which are carefully noted and later interpreted into a horoscope. For example, extraordinary physical powers are displayed by an oracle-lama in a trance when he bends and twists heavy Tibetan swords without mutilating his hands. High value is placed on such swords by Tibetans, who prize them as charms against demonical influences.

The best known among these Tibetan oracle-lamas is the State Magician of the Tibetan Government, who is usually named after the monastery he inhabits, the Nechung Oracle. The predictions of this clairvoyant influences the course of Tibet's internal and external policy by a far greater degree than is anticipated. Whenever a new high-ranking official has to be appointed or important political decisions have to be made, the State Oracle is always consulted beforehand. His greatest influence is felt when a search is being conducted for a new Dalai Lama. At this time his utterances are treated with the greatest respect.

In the course of Tibetan history, many important events were directed or largely influenced by the prophecies of the State Magician. His office was stabilized, as Tibetan chronicles relate, during the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama, who appointed the chief oracle of the Samye Monastery to this position. The reason, why this rank was created, is recorded to be the discovery made by this oracle-lama that the Nepalese merchants then residing in Lhasa were plotting to poison the population of that city.

On the death of fifth Dalai Lama, the State Magician—and later his successors who are always selected from amongst the monks of the Nechung Monastery—played an important part in the search for the succeeding Dalai Lama. This new spiritual and secular ruler of Tibet, the sixth Dalai Lama, proved himself very soon to be an extraordinary character. He was a gifted poet, and very intelligent. His works are still regarded as belonging to the best examples of Tibetan poetry. He soon stirred up, through his too wordly behaviour, the displeasure of the high Tibetan clergy. At last when the Chinese Government, which at that time controlled Tibet, turned against him, his days as Dalai Lama were numbered. On orders of the Chinese, he was removed from his office and later confined. He expired soon after this and there are strong indications that he was murdered.

In one of his poems, this Dalai Lama made a prophecy about his approaching end and mentioned the Eastern Tibetan town of Li-thang as the place where his rebirth would occur. After his death the Chinese appointed an elderly monk as the new Dalai Lama, but he was not recognized by the Tibetan clergy who started to search for the new reincarnation of its ruler. At first the State Oracle was consulted and this time the Magician did not give any oral answer. Instead he took into his hand a gong which was hanging near his throne and beat it vigorously several times. This event was later interpreted in this way: The metal from which a gong is made is called Li in Tibetan. The State Magician, therefore, by beating the gong tried to point to the place-name given in the poem of the sixth Dalai Lama, as the name Li-thang which when translated means "Plain of ore (or gong-metal)."

A very fateful part was played by one of the State Magicians in the political developments which led up to the British military expedition into Tibet in 1904. When at the beginning of this century the British moved into Sikkim, and started building strategic roads in the Indo-Tibetan frontier area, the Tibetan Government observed the situation with growing concern. The State Oracle was consulted regarding the measures to be taken, and he suggested that a certain mountain, situated a short distance within Sikkimese territory, should be occupied by Tibetan troops, as this mountain by its magical qualities would stop further advances by the British. This move, however, did not meet with success as the Tibetan troops were easily defeated.

After this event, the State Magician seems to

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have had some presentiment of the approaching misfortunes. He predicted. that in 1904—The Wood-dragon year of the Tibetan calendar—a great calamity would befall Tibet. Later on, he prophesied that a hostile force, coming from the South, would penetrate deep into the heart of the "Land of Snow." However, he seems to have been still of the opinion that eventually the Tibetan army would be victorious. The last prophecy seems to have played a major part as to why the Tibetan Government refused to negotiate with the advancing British force for such a long time, and reversed its policy only after Lhasa itself had been captured.

Shortly before the capital fell the Dalai Lama and the State Magician escaped from Lhasa and fled to Mongolia. They returned five years later to the Tibetan capital, and soon afterwards the Dalai Lama removed the State Magician from his office due to the false prophecies he had made previously. Later, another State Magician was appointed who after the death of the thirteenth Dalai Lama played an important role in the search for the present incarnation, and who was also frequently consulted during recent political decisions taken by the Tibetan Government.

The place where the State Oracle lives and where he delivers his prophecies is Netchung Gompa, situated near the great Tibetan monastery of Depung, in the neighbourhood of Lhasa. Standing in a shady grove is a magnificent building, one of the most interesting religious establishments in Tibet. In the main shrine is located the silver throne of the State Magician, near to which are numerous small tables on which lie his garments, weapons and various magical instruments.

Into this hall, the State Magician is conducted on the day when he anticipates being possessed by 'The Lord of all Oracle Demons,' the three-headed and six-armed 'King Pekar'. Robed in his precious garbs and holding the weapons of this demon, his head covered with the typical broad-brimmed hat of the oracle-lamas, he takes his seat on the throne. Once he enters his trance, all the words he utters are carefully written down by a priest, while other assistants take care that the Magician does not hurt himself during his contortions.

Thus the fate of Tibet hangs in the balance, and its destiny is guided by a supernatural power which lies without the sphere of influence of politicians. It will be interesting to note, once the fog of war clears away, whether the State Oracle will go on forecasting the trend of present events in the "Land of Snow."

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MALAYAN RUBBER INDUSTRY

By KRISHNENDRA SANYAL, M.Com.

Very often Malay is called 'the land of rubber.' Perhaps in no other country a single commodity has played so great a commercial part as rubber in Malay. To-day, Malay employs two million out of the five million people in this trade, supplying as she does more than 60 per cent of the world's natural rubber and the value of rubber constitutes more than one-third of her total exports.

Plantation rubber in which Malay now holds a key position is of later origin. Malayan rubber did not gain the present importance even as late as 1910. At that time, Malay's share in plantation rubber being negligible, it was the privilege of Brazil, Columbia, Venezuela and Belgian Congo to dominate the world market, particularly so far as wild rubber was concerned. But owing much to British capital and enterprise, Malay soon became a remarkable producer of plantation rubber and achieved a name of her own in the world market. After the first great war, the amount of Malayan rubber surpassed that of any other country which readily placed this small peninsula in the topmost position among the rubber-producing regions of the world. Then Malayan rubber acreage had risen to 2,641,000 including 1,559,000 estate acreage and 1,082,000 small holding acreage, which covered as much as half of the world's total acreage under rubber. But, for the absence of proper organisation, the production often led to a sort of maladjustment between demand and supply, and the price fluctuated accordingly.

In order to check that maladjustment between demand and supply and to regulate the resultant fluctuations of price 'Stevenson Scheme' was put into operation in 1922. This scheme urged 'the producers to restrict their output to a definite percentage of their full capacity, the percentage fluctuating according to demand and resulting price-level.' The main shortcoming of this scheme was that all the rubber-producing countries did not participate in it, and, therefore, it yielded no effect eventually.

Another 'International Rubber Restriction Agreement' was then entered into by all the producing countries in 1934 for the purpose of regulating production and export within an agreed quota and of keeping a parity of price thereby.

Despite all these restricting schemes, Malayan rubber industry continued to expand by leaps and bounds. In 1937, rubber was planted in 3,273,000 acres and the production exceeded 476,826 tons which was 42 per cent

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of the total world production of 1,135,337 tons. By 1940-41, just before the Japanese invasion, the output of Malayan rubber rose to a still higher amount of about 600,000 tons in the expanded area of 3,481,000 acres.

Japanese invasion in this peninsula during the years 1942-45, struck a death-blow to the whole structure of the industry. The extent of damage caused by Japanese rule may be well apprehended from the fact that the production of Malayan rubber fell from 600,000 tons in 1941 to 155,000 tons in 1942 and the export did not exceed 112,500 tons as against 573,000 tons in the previous year. In the later years up to 1945, the position of production and export was still worse.

After Japan had surrendered in 1945, prompt attempts were made to set the industry on pre-war footing by operating old development schemes in spite of the heavy loss and damage sustained during the war years. Research and development works were undertaken by three organisations, namely, The Rubber Research Institute, The British Rubber Producers' Association and The British Rubber Development Board. Post-war reconstruction plans necessitating increased use of rubber in Western countries gave a new impetus to this suspended industry. The Rubber Development Board carried out extensive publicity on behalf of Malayan rubber in the United States and other countries. The U.S.S.R. who was not an important purchaser formerly began to make huge purchase of Malayan rubber for developing her motor transport. In the year 1946, the industry progressed to such a degree that its output exceeded even pre-war level and export was also considerably increased, the U.S.A. alone purchasing the greater part of the supplies for surfacing roads and for other uses. The outstanding improvement during the post-war years in the production and export will be evident from the following figures :

Year	Estate (in tons)	Small holdings (in tons)	Export (in tons)
1946	173,787	229,932	366,911
1947	360,530	285,832	640,139
1948	403,628	294,561	679,016

In 1948, acres under rubber registered a record rise by about 3,500,000 as against 3,481,000 in pre-war time and all records of previous output and export were surpassed by 698,189 tons and 679,016 tons respectively.

Notwithstanding the speedy post-war recovery, Malayan rubber industry is now facing some serious problems, which if not combated, may jeopardize it to a large extent. As a reaction of these problems, the production fell down to 671,503 tons in 1949 as against 698,189 tons in the previous year and export also decreased to a proportionately less amount. The most serious of these problems is the introduction of synthetic rubber in the rubber-consuming countries. The United States, which is by far the largest importer of Malayan rubber, is using at present about 40 per cent of synthetic rubber of her total rubber requirement and her import from Malay in 1949 amounted to only 265,328 tons as against 348,303 tons in 1948. The U.K. also took rubber of lesser quantity. This decline in the export was partly covered by the increased purchase of Germany and the U.S.S.R. Of course, apprehension of competition with synthetic rubber has been now partly subsided as the production of synthetic rubber has been showing a gradual decline since 1947. The world production of synthetic rubber in 1949 totalled 440,000 tons as compared with 532,136 tons in 1948 and 554,324 tons in 1947. Another problem is that 'The International Rubber Restriction Agreement' having not been strictly adhered to by all the rubber-producing regions, there is often over-production in anticipation of possible demand causing selling price to be lower than the cost price.

On the other hand, the cost of production has risen because of the increased wages of labourers. More attention having been paid to rubber production, Malay is now facing acute food crisis, and as a result, prices of food-grains, particularly of rice, have gone up five times as high as they were in the pre-war period.

The magnitude of the problems has also been extended by the communist-sponsored movements in the land. The cases of depredations and plunders by communist-led bandits are not at all rare. Such a chaotic situation has contributed much to hamper the production. Now, of course, British estate-holders are trying utmost to rehabilitate the industry on a firmer footing, meeting all these problems. From the available reports of the last few months, it seems, the industry is again striding towards an upward direction.

In fine, one thing must be noted here that although Malay's rubber, tin and forest products are unparalleled in the world, and although Malay enjoys the advantage of Singapore—the world's biggest entrepot port, still it is almost a paradox that the Malayese are a very poor people. Per capita income is even lower than that in India. After making provision for the British interests out of the vast national resources, very little is left for Malayan people themselves to support their life in a human manner. The nature of the British exploitation in Malay has been very outspokenly described by Mr. John Gunther, a famous American journalist, in the following words: "The region as a whole is dominated by one momentous consideration, namely, that acre for acre it is the richest British possession or sphere of interest on the face of the Globe."

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SRINATHJI AT NATHDWARA

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By LEHAR SINGH MEHTA, B.A., LL.B., M.C.S.

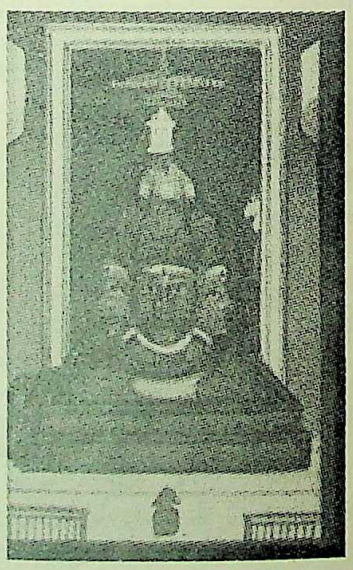
NATHDWARA is the most celebrated of the fanes of the Hindu Apollo. The etymological meaning of the word is 'the portal (Dwara) of God (Nath).' Nathdwara is the centre of oriental learning, ancient Hindu culture, Sanskrit literature, Prakritic vernaculars, Indian art, and Indian music. The place is about thirty miles north and north-east of Udaipur, and is seventeen miles away from Eklingji, the tutelary divinity of the Rajputs of Mewar. The shrine is situated in a defile on the bank of the river Banas. The

Shri Nathji

hills towering around it are of the primitive formation, having abundant springs of water, which keep verdant numerous shrubs and flowerage. The fane of Shrinathji is of white marble, having ample dimensions, and no more sublime conception of God has ever been presented to the minds of men than that which is furnished by this image of black crystolline rock of marvellous beauty, about five feet in height. The very first sight of the idol will enable a man not to turn his back upon religion, the greatest enlarger, the greatest enricher, the greatest ennobler of life that the world has ever discovered in all its long history. Within the quadrangle are miniature shrines, containing some of the minor deities. The temple reminds us of the noble remains of the sacred architecture, not in Mewar alone, but throughout India.

The great idol owes its origin entirely to the image of Shri Krishna, and it is said to be the same, which had been worshipped at Mathura between eleven and twelve hundred years before Christ. Shri Vallabhacharya, son of Lakshman Bhatta, a Tailang Brahmin, born in 1478, was a prodigy of learning. He taught Suddha-advaita or pure monism, and the path shown by him is called the Pushtimarga, which means the surest route of acquiring the grace of the Almighty. In 1509 he defeated the followers of Shiva in a public discussion in the court of Krishna Deva Raya, and later on visited Mathura, Vrindaban, and Banaras, preaching the chief doctrine of his sect. He discovered the idol of Shri Nathji at Govardhan Parvat and he was so much attracted that he dedicated the rest of his life to its service. Shri Vallabhacharaya brought together seven other images of Kanaiya and celebrated the festival of Annakuta, on the second day of Dewali. All these images remained in the same sanctuary until the time of Shri Girdhariji Maharaj, the grandson of Shri Vallabhacharaya, who having seven sons, offered to each a Rupa or image (of Sri Krishna) for worship. Shri Nathji is not included amongst the seven forms; he stands supreme.

Aurangzeb's orders were clear. It was to be no half-finished campaign; Shri Nathji was to be driven to bay and the 'royal rat' was to be dug out or killed in its hole. Shri Damodarji, son of Shri Girdhariji, under dreadful screams and lamentations, took to the desert of Rajasthan, along with the image, as his only refuge. He wandered in the deserts and jungles of Rajputana, appealing to the Rajas of Kotah, Bundi, Kishangarh, for shelter and support, which none were willing to give. Hopeless and homeless he cried for help, but none was prepared to give him shelter. It would have been wiser and more prudent, if Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur had shown him kindness in his misfortune. Then came the golden sun-rise. Maharana Raj Singh of Mewar, following the usual tradition of his ancestors and thinking that at least he would maintain the Rajput



Shri Eklingji

pride and independence, offered the heads of one hundred thousand Rajputs for the service of the deity; and thereupon the god was conducted by the route of Kotah and Rampura to Mewar. An omen decided the spot of the future installation. The chariot-wheel sunk deep into the earth at Siarh, upon which it was interpreted that

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Nathji desired to dwell there. The god was removed from the chariot, and in the course of time a temple was erected for his reception. The Siarh village developed into the town of Nathdwara, containing many thousand inhabitants of all denominations. To the east the town is shut in by a cluster of hills, and westwards flows the great Banas. The north and the south flanks are crowned with frowning battlements and high loopholed walls keeping ceaseless vigil.

Every year at Nathdwara you will find myriads of people coming from all over the world. The idol is held in the highest esteem by all Hindus whether living on the banks of the Indus or the mouth of the Ganges, on the coasts of the Peninsula or the shores of the Red Sea. During tha Annakuta festival the Hindus assemble here to the number of more than a hundred thousand. Determined upon renouncing the world people place their entire wealth at the altar of the deity, stipulating merely for food, raiment, and funeral rites. The most precious things are brought here as offerings. There is no donation too great or too trifling for the acceptance of Krishna, from the baronial estate to a patch of pasture-land, from the gemmed coronet to an orphan's mite, from the jewels of the successful sons of commerce to the penny-vegetable of a Mali. The spices of the Isles of the Indian Archipelago, the resins and pistachios of Kabul and Persia, the sugar-candy from Java, the Shawl from Srinagar, the famous silk of Bengal, the scarfs of Banaras, the brocades of Gujarat, all contribute to enrich the shrine. In the commercial cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Surat, Cambay, and Ahmedabad the Mookhias or comptrollers reside to collect benefactions and transmit them as occasions arise. The pious bounties also pour in from Muscat, Mocha, and Jedda; from Egypt and Siberia. These offerings are not permitted to moulder in the Bhandar. The apparel is distributed with a liberal hand as a gift from the deity to those who evince their devotion. Prasad (such is the denomination of the food sacred to Shri Nathji) worth about Rs. 1,500|- a day is given to the worshippers, devotees and other servants of the temple. The Mookhias also carry the sacred food to wheresoever the votaries reside.

The present Goswamiji is now about twenty-five years of age. He is a person of a benign aspect, with much dignity of demeanour, courteous, yet exacting the homage due to his high status. Though meek, as becomes the priest of Shri Krishna, he is endowed with the polished manners of one accustomed to first-rate society. His features are finely moulded, his complexion is good, and he is about the middle size. With a considerable knowledge of Sanskrit he encourages learning and gives impetus to the cause of Hindu culture.

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WOMEN'S INSTITUTES IN BRITAIN

By CICELY McCALL

THE widespread growth of the Women's Institutes throughout Britain is one of the most remarkable characteristics of present-day social life in this country. Thirty-four years ago, in 1916, the first Institute was opened in Wales, and to-day there are over 6,000 throughout villages in Britain.

The Institute has developed a new and enterprising spirit in village life and has brought women together into broader social and civic activities. It is essentially a rural movement, and aims at providing recreation and occupational relaxation for women in country districts.

Women's Institutes were founded principally through the perseverance of one woman, Mrs. Alfred Watt. It was her dogged determination that inspired a small group of men and women to try out the first Institutes. Mrs. Watt came from Canada. She had seen the success of Institutes there, where they had been founded as the counterpart of the Canadian farmers' clubs. She maintained that their non-party, non-sectarian basis had brought together people whose opposing views had hitherto made any communal work or fun impossible.

An Institute may have anything from 12 to 200 members. Some meetings are held in halls owned and built by the Institute. Others meet in the school, or in one of the members' houses, where they all sit round the fire.

But whether the meeting is held in Women's Institutes, hall or farm kitchen, the procedure is the same. The business is conducted by the officers and all decisions are taken by vote of the members. Officers and committee members are elected annually by secret ballot.

The Minutes are read by the secretary, and much of the responsibility for the well-being of the Institute falls on this officer. All honour is due to these busy countrywomen who undertake this work.

The treasurer gives a statement of account once a quarter, or more often. Though she may look twice at every penny expended, she has learnt that the treasurer is not the only member who can ask questions. If questions are asked, the average treasurer recognises it as a welcome sign of wakefulness on the part of her audience, and she will not take it amiss. In all democratic organisations, members must learn to differ without too much bitterness, to ask and be asked questions without feeling that it is a personal affront, and this is what Institutes have tried to teach their members. They have learnt that a complaint is not an insult. It is a point of view of another free-thinking, free-speaking

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individual, and as such has the right to be treated with consideration.

For the first two years of their existence, the Institutes' material resources were negligible. Each member paid two shillings a year. (In 1943 the subscription was raised to 2s. 6d.). Of this, two-pence went to the central organisation which was responsible for the inspiration and stimulus of a new, fast-growing movement. In 1917, the movement was taken under the wing of the Board of Agriculture, and a year later the first government grant was mode. It was £2,000. The following year it was raised to £10,000, on the understanding that each successive year for ten years a diminishing grant should be made till finally the Institutes became independent. In 1927, a year before the ten years were up, the Institutes felt sufficiently firmly established to be able to thank the Commissioners kindly and return their grant.

Women in a Sussex village making vegetable baskets under the tuition of a well-known basket-maker

At the meetings, after the Business, a lecture is given by a speaker or demonstrator. The subject may be history, cookery, gardening, upholstery, a foreign country, a well-known statesman, or knitting. Tea and what follows is the third part of the programme. It is called the social half-hour. It may be a childish game, played rowdily by old and young for ten minutes before going home, or it may be community singing for forty minutes. It may be an entertainment by the drama team or it may be dancing for everybody.

Some members are content with an enjoyable monthly meeting and want nothing further. Others realise the power of a women's organisation covering the whole country. Women's Institutes have fought for rural telephones, cheap milk for mothers and babies, women police and a better rural water supply. In the case of the first two, the fight has been wholly successful. The fight continues for many other country needs

These were peacetime activities, and during the war Women's Institutes had answered the Government's appeal to grow more food and preserve more fruit by opening centres where members could make jam and bottle and can fruit. Preservation centres were set up in garages, village halls, schools and disused barns. Headquarters bought the sugar, £1,400's worth of it. In three weeks it was distributed to preservation centres all over Britain. Headquarters bought canners too.

In 1941, over 5,000 Preservation Centres made enough jam alone to provide the equivalent of nearly a year's ration for every Women's Institute member in the Kingdom.

Women in a Kentish village preparing and bottling locally-grown fruit

Another scheme is the Women's Institute markets. These were started in 1931 and are run co-operatively. Some are held once a week on market day, in the square

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of the nearest town, some are trestle tables by the roadside, some are small shops. Produce can be bought by any market shareholder, and a share costs one shilling. Produce is priced by the controller according to current rates, and the grower is paid eleven pence in the shilling. The remaining penny goes towards the expenses of the market. The total turnover of the markets is £33,000 a year.

Women's Institute markets have a great variety of produce. Vegetables, fruit and flowers are the main source of income. Some markets sell rabbits, cakes and poultry, and, before rationing was introduced, they sold eggs and handicrafts. Women's Institutes have taught handicrafts ever since they first started, and members' high technique is well-known. The mastery of a craft has given infinite pleasure as well as profit to hard-working countrywomen.

Perhaps the aim of Women's Institutes—to improve and develop conditions of rural life—has best been realised in two ways: Institutes have taught countrywomen citizenship, and they have taught them to be articulate. Members have learnt to appreciate the potentialities of a body of 300,000 village women with opportunities to discuss and study questions of the day. In planning for the future, nationally and internationally, these countrywomen intend to make their united voices heard.

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BOYS' CLUBS IN BRITAIN

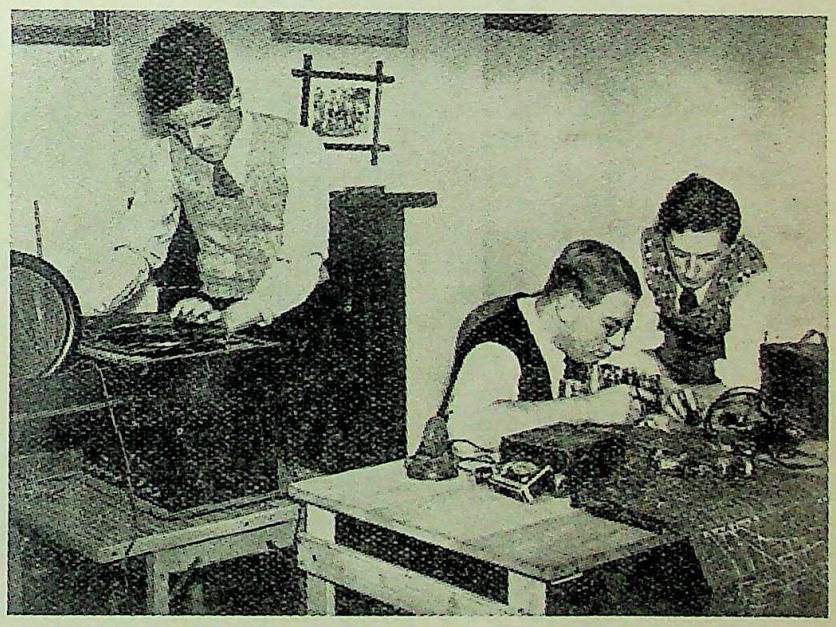
By RALPH COOKE

It is one of the characteristics of many English social institutions that they were begun as voluntary organisations by local groups and communities, because people wanted them, because there was a need in the locality. As they grew and widened their scope, two things happened. One was that the local groups came into contact with one another, compared experiences and aims, and so marked out the plan of a national organisation. The other, that their activities became of such importance to the community at large that they called for State recognition in many ways.

This often meant financial aid, but not necessarily control. Sometimes the monetary grants carry a measure of control, sometimes not. The voluntary element is so deeply rooted in the English character that there is an instinct to preserve it even when the State or the local government authority joins in.

The Boys' Club movement in Britain is a case in point. The first Boys' Club were formed over a hundred years ago. London and Manchester were early on the scene, as far as records go, and one or two of the clubs founded at that time are still in existence. Since then progress has been steady and widespread. It soon became clear that Boys' Clubs were an essential and growing part of the life of the community. General Charles Gordon (1833-1885), who died at Khartoum, was one of the pioneers of the movement. It is known that he had boys to his house at Woolwich, London, and helped them to organize their interests in much the same way as is done now.

In 1926 was founded The National Association of Boys' Clubs, to which are now affiliated about 1,500 clubs throughout Britain. There is also the London Federation of Boys' Clubs, which is itself affiliated to the National Association. In 1942-43 the number of clubs on the London Federation's register was 250—nearly the pre-war number. At the time of writing the pre-war total has been greatly exceeded.



Boys learning the construction of a wireless set from an electrical engineer

What goes to make a Boys' Club and how does it work? It is a community of boys, between the ages of

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about 14 and 18, under the leadership of a man. The word "leader" has misleading associations these days. In no sense is the leader of a Boys' Club the autocratic head of it. He might as well be called the president or the manager. He is, in effect, the person responsible for running it.

A table tennis match in progress at a club premises

The leader's influence and authority depend opon the confidence he inspires in the members and upon the work he does, not upon any special powers vested in the job. Sometimes he is paid, sometimes not; that generally depends upon the size of the club. He is responsible, finally, to a committee which may be formed by local representative people when the need for a club arises. This is generally called the Governing or Management Committee. Discipline and internal questions are in the hands of the leader and a boys' committee, so that the boys may take part in the running of their own club. It is of very great importance that they should learn that the club is being run with them, not for them. Discipline is more a matter of club tradition than of imposed rules.

A boxing match in progress, organised by the National Association of Boys' Clubs

One of the first things a good leader does is to gather round him a group of outside voluntary helpers, each of whom is willing to spend an evening at the club about once a week, regard himself as a member for the time being, and give the other members the benefit of whatever knowledge or experience he may have as a grown-up man following his occupation in the world. "Most men," remarks one of the handbooks of the National Association, "provided they enjoy the company of boys . . . can be made use of."

A club may be founded by a committee, which casts about for a leader; or by a leader, who gets a committee formed. There are many ways of enrolling the first members of a new club. A conventional one is to ask the Headmaster of an Elementary School for the names of boys who have reached the school-leaving age. But boys, normally, are sociable beings, and have a habit, in their spare time, of getting together in gangs for a variety of purposes. The existence of these groups will in itself suggest the forming of a club.

What happens at a Boys' Club? What do the boys do in the course, say, of a number of typical evenings? The answer is: practically everything constructive that boys like doing. Indoor games, plays, and concerts are stable features and lead to inter-club competitions. There are groups which do handicrafts, woodwork, wireless and electrical work, and practise modelling and other forms of art. A boy with a hobby will generally find others of the same bent. It is in these pursuits that the outside voluntary helpers come in. The local joiner's and car-

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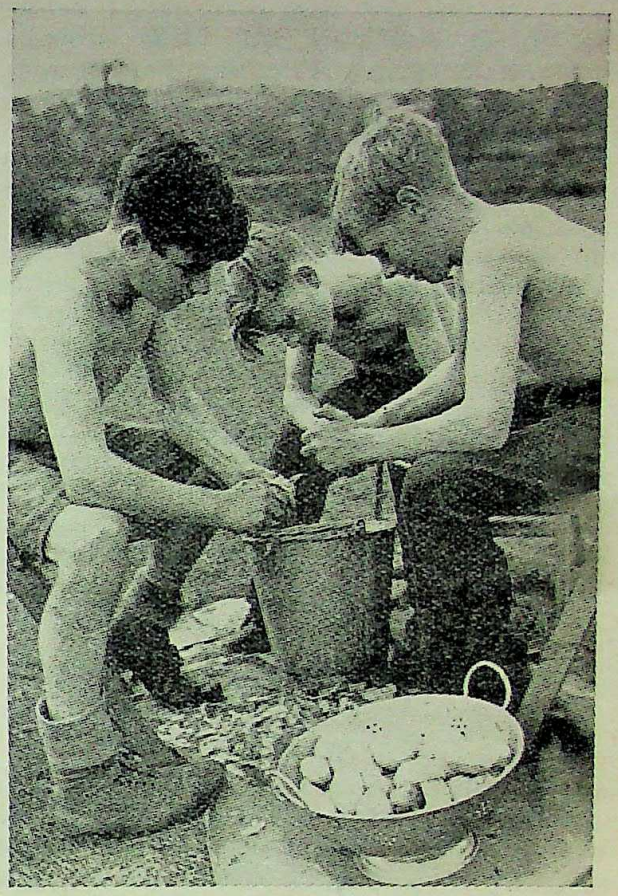
penter's guidance, for instance, is invaluable to the woodwork group.

There is always a library and a gymnasium, which mean debates and discussions and outdoor games and sports. A large and well-founded club with a membership of two or three hundred probably has a wide range of equipment, which may even include a billiard table and its own swimming-pool. A small one, lately opened, has to be content with collapsible table-tennis and the local river. But, in the words of the Secretary for Training at the National Association, fine premises do not necessarily make fine clubs. It is the club spirit that is aimed at all the time, and taken as the gauge of success.

In most clubs the members are divided into senior and junior sections, on the principle that boys of ages from 14 to 18 cannot profitably share the same club programme. Sometimes the division is into three sections. These are known as Houses, each of which has an elected captain. But for certain communal purposes—in the Canteen and the Games Rooms and at the Club Camp—the Houses combine.

Every club affiliated to the National Association is responsible for its own finances. The usual subscription for members is 2d or 3d a week, according to age. Grants of money are made from certain trust funds—notably from the Jubilee Trust founded by the late King George V—and other sources, and money is received from private donors, local communities and annual subscribers. In 1939 the Board of Education came actively on the scene. It had long had powers of giving financial aid to voluntary organisations for young people between the ages of 14 and 20 and it instructed local bodies to set up Youth Committees to investigate local needs.

This timely move came when many clubs were foreseeing difficulties about raising money during the war. But the grants made by the Board give it no control over the clubs : it works in collaboration with them, on the principle of the partnership of the State and the voluntary bodies. The free and voluntary nature of the work of the Boys' Clubs is their greatest asset and is not likely to be tampered with.



Summer camps are a great feature of Boys' Clubs. This picture shows boys assisting with the preparation of a camp meal

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GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

Mind and Message

By Dr. P. NAGARAJA RAO, M.A., D.Litt.

G. B. S. belongs to the wisdom of ages and is no longer a historical figure. His message is neither old nor new. It is eternal. Sophocles died at ninety, Shakespeare at fifty-two, Tolstoy at eighty-two and Shaw at ninety-four. A life vivid and varied, full of episodes and usefulness, unparalleled in its productiveness, has few equals in recent times and none surpasses him. Shaw was an institution and the twentieth century is the age of Shaw. He wrote his first letter to the *Public Opinion* on 3rd April, 1875, when he was nineteen. From his nineteenth year for a period of 75 years Shaw has been educating mankind through his novels, tracts, political treatises, dramas, art and music criticisms. The prodigious output and the phenomenal success of Shaw's works are unprecedented in the literary career of any artist of recent memory. He has to his credit over 30 plays performed within 56 years; his *Widower's House* was staged in 1892 and *Buoyant Millions* in 1948. His two political and economic tracts are : *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* (1928), and *Everybody's Political What is What* (1943). His criticism of art and music is entitled *Music in London* (1890-94), and there is another book of dramatic criticism, *Our Theatres in the Nineties.*

What is the secret of his success and what is his message and how does he differ from the great saints and moralists of the world who have gone before him? In answer to all these questions it is best to make Shaw speak for himself. He writes:

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"My plays are no more economic treatises than Shakespeare's . . . all my plays are written as plays of life, character and human destiny like those of Shakespeare or Euripides."

All the plays treat about some one or the other problems of social life and human civilisation. The problem of marriage is treated in *The Philanderer, Candida, Getting Married* and *Misalliance*. We all know Shaw's definition of marriage:

"It is the girl's prison and woman's workhouse."

On another occasion he wrote to Keyserling when he was asked to contribute an article on marriage to the symposium on *The Book of Marriage*:

"No man dare write the truth about marriage while his wife lives, unless that he hates her."

He tackles the problem of family life in his *You Can Never Tell* and *Fanny's First May*; of sexual prostitution and its economic roots in *Mrs. Warren's Profession*; of politics and statecraft in *John Bull's Other Island, Heart-Break House, The Apple Cart, Too True to be Good, On the Rocks*; on religion he speaks in his *Androcles and the Lion* and *Saint Joan*. His philosophy of creative evolution and of superman is stated in his two great works *Man and Superman* and *Back to Methuselah*. Shaw did not subscribe to the Christian theological doctrine. He writes:

"I detest the doctrine of atonement, holding that ladies and gentlemen cannot as such possibly allow anyone else to expiate their sins by suffering a cruel death."

He believed in a non-dogmatic religion called 'Life-force' which is immortal and eternal and it has produced in the course of evolution many marvels. Evolution is not mechanistic but is creative. It is not the unfolding of what is already contained as a film roll. He did not believe in Darwin's natural selection. He held that the Life-force is responsible for all our creative efforts. He was critical of science and its glut of marvels. He held the view that man needs to pull himself with a sense of morality and sobriety. He saw through the evils of Capitalism as well as Communism and so advocated Socialism. He realised the importance of money and all that it means to man. He writes:

"The crying need of the nation is for enough money. Money is the most important thing in the world. It represents health, strength, honour, generosity and beauty as conspicuously and undeniably as the want of it represents illness, weakness, disgrace, meanness and ugliness."

At the same time Shaw is not slow to despise the idle rich whom he characterises as "inefficient fertilisers, converting good food into bad manure."

Shaw held the view that the best way to teach men and improve them is to tell the truth. Truth is the finest joke in the world. He knew how to tell it. Shaw did not learn the art through chance nor was he born with it. He cultivated it. He had certain aesthetic sensibility inherited from his musical mother and he fostered it to the end. Shaw is the master of super-rhetoric which at times assumes the tone of poetry; the poetry is suppressed, and there is a studied restraint and abhorrence of the romantic and the . . . The fundamental humanity, the abounding wit and rhetoric lifts his plays to the level of high comedy. To Shaw, the drama is not a conflict of emotions but is an active mental action. His is the drama of the thinking man and thus he lifts drama from the physical and the emotional to the mental plane. Discussion is the root of all Shaw's plays. We witness in the drama the conflict of ideas through the wit and arguments of the characters. There is no catastrophic violence which is the inevitable climax in poetic tragedy. Argument is the master weapon, buoyant humour and flashing wit its aids. He believed firmly that Truth is close and clear, it is definite and statable. Lucidity is one of his most precious gifts. Throughout his plays he represents truths in a rational way. There is lucid exposition, cogent arguments supported by relevant facts, forcible assertion and conclusive demonstration. Effectiveness of expression is the soul of Shaw's art and genius. For examples of this quality one can turn to any page of Shaw. We find in "The Revolutionists' Handbook and Pocket Companion" in *Man and Superman*:

"He who can does, he who cannot teaches. The golden rule is there are no golden rules."

In all his dramas he knew how to provide his actors with speakable words and the audience with words that are readily intelligible. Shaw's words are easy on the actor's tongue and therefore on the listener's ear also. As a public speaker he had few equals. His voice and its resonance have become a byword. He writes:

"For every play I have written I have made hundreds of speeches."

Of his platform art and technique he writes:

"To be intelligible in public, the speaker must relearn the alphabet with every consonant separately and explosively articulated and foreign vowels distinguished from British dipthongs. Accordingly I practised the alphabets as a singer practises scales."

The most noteworthy feature of Shaw is his abounding self-confidence and self-awareness. He hated men who took to singing low about themselves. He writes:

"For the past five decades with an unprecedented pertinacity and obstination, I have been dinning into the public mind that I am an extraordinarily witty, brilliant and clever man. That is now part of the public opinion of England: and no power in heaven or on earth will ever change it. I may dodder and dote, I may pot-boil and platitudinize, I may become the butt and chopping-block of all bright, original spirits of the rising generation, but my reputation shall not suffer, it is built up fast and solid."

Shaw's life is the triumph of intellect. He did not trust in the reason of reasons. He wanted it to pass through the head.

Shaw like all great savants harkens humanity back to sanity and good life. One feels like echoing the last words of Saint Joan, "O Lord, thou hast created this beautiful world. When will it be ready to receive its saints? How long, How long!"

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ROOTS OF MODERN ENGLISH LITERATURE

By Prof. DARSHAN SINGH MAINI

II

Marxism and Its Influence

Marx, that great German genius of the last century, like Freud spent the later portion of his life in England. His epoch-making *Capital* was mostly written in this very country. He applied the findings of his enquiries to the 19th century England, which was then the most advanced and industrialized country in the world. However strangely enough, Marxist influence on English literature has not been so widespread as in some other parts of the world. In Russia, Marxism-Leninism has triumphed and when the theory becomes a reality, its influence on life and hence literature is bound to be vital and far-reaching. Marx was not the first man to point out the horrible inequality that exists between man and man; nor was he the first philosopher to point towards a classless society. Before him Plato and Sir Thomas More and other Utopians had pictured the vision of an ideal society, where there should be no hunger, want, fear or slavery. Marx, however, was the first man who applied critical analysis to the working of the economic structure of the world and gave it a purely scientific basis. He and his co-worker Engels traced the historical development of society and pointed out the fact that our society at a given moment is the reflection of the technique of the mode of production. This materialistic conception of history enabled Marx to arrive at another fundamental principle, *i.e.*, each method of production is an advance upon the last stage reached through centuries of co-operative living. Each mode of production has its political counterpart—Feudalism, Monarchy, Bourgeois Capitalism, Imperialism, Socialism and ultimately Communism. Each political system is also an advance on the last one and the inexorable forces of nature point towards the evolution of society into a classless society, governed in its earlier stages by the slogan of socialism, 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work' and in its final stage by the slogan of Communism, 'From each according to his ability to each according to his needs.' Marx was a great philosopher, trained in the dialectics of Hegel. He discovered that the materialistic conception of universe as prevailed in his own day was inadequate. He applied the dialectics of Hegel to the 19th Century conception of materialism and evolved a new philosophy, namely, dialectical materialism. Man is essentially a part of nature and nature as we have already noticed in Darwinism goes on changing. Nature and thus society, which is a reflection of nature, is always in a state of perpetual flux. Marx applied this scientific observation to human society and pointed out that society is not static but dynamic and in its evolution, its character goes on changing. This change is seldom very sudden; it takes place over a long period in history but sometimes there is a sudden break—a revolution, and the character of the society undergoes a violent change. And sometimes the change is so phenomenal that the change is not only in the quantity but the quality of the things. Moreover, there is a contradiction at the heart of all things and phenomena and in this internal struggle of opposing forces, the force that is more potent always wins and establishes itself till it is also driven out of the field by some stronger force. When we apply this scientific truth to our system of economy, government and culture, we arrive at the conclusion that the economy and government and culture of a particular period are governed by one fundamental basis, *i.e.*, the mode of production. Therefore, literature and art of a particular period are to be studied with reference to the economic structure of the society of that period. Any other approach to literature would be false and unscientific; whereas Marx and Engels set down the guiding principles of this scientific philosophy, it was left to Lenin to translate it into reality and establish the principle that a classless society could never be achieved without an armed struggle or a revolution on the part of the proletariat. And revolutions are not made according to the rules of cricket, as a character in Arthur Koestler's anti-Communist novel *Darkness at Noon* puts it. They are not made, as Stalin says, "with rose water and silken gloves."

After this brief summary of Marxism-Leninism, let us trace its vast influence on world literature in general and English literature in particular. As is quite natural, the complete vindication of this philosophy can only be found in Russian literature and even there the process is not quite complete; for it takes time in the building of a new society and a new literature. Marxist criticism evaluates old, established writers in the light of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Some critics in the first flush of the triumph of the Russian Revolution began to pooh-pooh such great and immortal writers as Shakespeare, Balzac, Goethe, Dickens and Tolstoy. This was done, however, in complete misinterpretation of Marxism, which does not apply the criterions of the 20th century socialist literature to the literatures of the Elizabethan or Victorian England, when the economic structure of the society was so vastly different from today. A fierce controversy followed in Soviet Russia in which such critics as Mikail, Lifshitz, Nusinov, Levin and Lunacharsky took a leading part. Fortunately however, under the inspiring leadership of Gorki, the

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deviationist tendencies of these critics were checked and a truly proletariat literature was born. Gorki is undoubtedly the tallest literary figure of his own times in Russia. He ruthlessly fought against the Trotskyists, the bourgeois philistines and the intellectual snobs of his day. His novels and short stories reveal the agony of the working class people under the stifling atmosphere of capitalism and monarchy. His great novel *Mother* is a revolutionary classic, dealing with the struggle of the Russian workers in the pre-Revolution days of the Czarist tyranny. In the field of fiction, there are other Russian novelists of great reputation and promise. Sholokhov, Alexie Tolstoy, Gladkov, Ehernburg and Wanda Wessileska, to name only a few, have already produced powerful novels. Such novels as form the famous trilogy of Sholokhov—*Quiet Flows the Don, Don Flows Home to the Sea* and *Virgin Soil Upturned* are great novels by any standard. He is surely in the great line of Russian novelists, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Turgenev and Gogol. The story of the Cossack hero, Gregor, is a stirring tale of the strife-torn period before and after the Revolution and is written by a man with a deep and lasting faith in the power of the proletariat. Alexie Tolstoy's trilogy. *The Road to Calvary* also deals with this very period. During the second World War, Soviet Russia saw a number of young writers and soldiers produce remarkable works and the resistance literature has now become a part and parcel of the national life. In the field of poetry, Yessenin and Mayakovsky represent the revolutionary upsurge. Unfortunately the suicide committed by both these poets have led some to believe that they had lost all faith in Marxism. That is entirely wrong, for both of them committed suicide on account of tragic love affairs. Their poetry remains progressive and revolutionary up to the end.

In France, Andre Gide, and Andre Malaraux also came under the influence of Marxism, though Malaraux has since his *Storm in Shanghai* travelled a long way away from the road of Marxism. Resistance literature during the last war is at its core revolutionary and often Marxist. Amongst the Indian writers, Mulk Raj Anand, Krishan Chander, Khawja Ahmed Abbas, Josh Malihabadi, Sahir Ludhianvi, Sardar Jafari, Gurbux Singh of *Preet Lari* and Balwant Gargi to name only a few have come under the influence of Marxism.

But our chief concern is with English literature; therefore let us turn to it and trace Marxist influence upon it. As has been already remarked above, Marxist influence in English literature is limited yet it is not negligible. George Bernard Shaw, a Fabian and H. G. Wells, a Utopian dreamer, associate themselves with Socialism but unfortunately their Socialism, notably that of Wells, is only skin-deep. Wells, on the contrary, developed the idea of a society to be ruled by a selected intellectual aristocracy. Towards the end of his life he had lost all faith in this life and universe. His swan-song "Mind at the End of its Tether" is a testimony of that. William Morris was a contemporary of Karl Marx and came directly under his influence. But he was too much of a dreamer, a visionary to make a Marxist. His *News from Nowhere* is a Fabian Utopia and like G. B. Shaw he remained a Utopian Socialist. Shaw is certainly the enemy of Capitalism and Imperialism in all its forms, but he treads the path of collaboration and not complete identification. Speaking on Lenin during his visit to Russia in 1935, Shaw said :

> "If the experiment that Lenin made, of which he is head, which he represents to us—if that experiment in social organization fails, then civilization falls as so many civilizations have fallen before."

English fiction has, however, yet to produce its Gorki or Sholokhov. In America, on the other hand, we find some important novelists, who are inspired by Marxism. Howard Fast, the writer of *Freedom Road,* Upton Sinclair, the writer of *Dragon Teeth, Wide is the Gate* and *Oil,* etc., do not hide their political sympathies. Howard Fast is a confirmed Marxist and his *Freedom Road* like Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* deals with the Negro problem in South America of the last century. Upton Sinclair is not 'red' but like his aristocratic hero, Lanny Budd, a 'pink' as he calls him. Sinclair Lewis in his *Babbit* and other novels exposed the fraud of capitalism but being essentially a member of the rich bourgeois class he compromised all along the line. Hemingways' famous novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* shows the violence of our times and deals with the heroic resistance of the Spanish people during the Civil War, which ended in the establishment of Franco's Fascist government there. Even Theodore Dreiser, the writer of that great book, *An American Tragedy,* turned a Communist shortly before his death during the last World War.

In England, poetry, however, was more influenced by Marxism than the novel or the play. Some of the poets of 'New Signatures' such as Auden, C. D. Lewis and Stephen Spender and Louis Macneice have been Marxists at some stage or the other. However, their Marxism or socialism has more been of the idealistic kind than the scientific one. Auden, the leader of this group, feels the injustice of the rapacious capitalistic system and being an extremely sensitive soul, protests against it. At times he rises above his usual Byronic witticisms and puns and gives a clear call for action.

> "If we really want to live, we'd better start at once to try;
> If we won't, it doesn't matter, but we'd better start to die."

But for Marxism, he now advocates the simple ordinary gospel of man's love for man :

> "There is no such thing as the state
> And no one exists alone;

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Hunger allows no choice
To the citizen or the police;
We must love one another or die."
—*Another Time*

Stephen Spender combines in his poetry romance and lyricism with revolutionary objectivity. He hails the new age of the machine and does not turn away from it. In his famous poem "Express" we see the beauty of the modern train. More than Auden, he is hurt by the class struggles that exist in our society. *Trial of a Judge,* a verse-play by him, shows how much he hates Capitalism and Fascism. Pity is, however, a weak weapon and it is pity in his poetry which takes the place of satire. Wilfred Owen said, "The Poetry is in the Pity" and Spender's poetry is full of that pity—pity for the underdog. But sometimes when he is inspired he knocks off revolutionary lines.

"Watch the admiring dawn explode like a shell
Around us, dazing us with its light, like snow."

Day Lewis is another poet of this group and his poetry is remarkable for its variations in metre, terseness and a tone of sincerity. "From Feathers to Iron" is the heading of a volume of his poems and these words are taken from one of the letters of John Keats, who also towards the end of his short life, was groping for an ideal and was proceeding from 'Feathers to Iron,' *i.e.,* from theory to an actual understanding of life. In another volume, called *The Magnetic Mountain* he is in search of Truth, beyond "the rail heads of reason." He refers to the tragic class war that is going on, in these lines:

"None such shall be left alive:
The innocent wing is soon shot down,
And private stars fade in the blood-red dawn
Where the two worlds strive."

He keeps publishing his poems in *The Penguin New Writing* and these poems show an understanding of contemporary problems of class-society but as in the case of Auden and Spender, he cannot produce true proletarian art, for as he himself acknowledges, "In me two worlds are at war . . ." Louis Macneice has collaborated with Auden in his work and he also feels a great overwhelming pity for the disinherited and the dispossessed. He is a classicist and tries to reconcile the old with the new. But before we end our account of Marxist influence on modern English literature, we should also make a reference to Marxist criticism in England. For, it is Marxist criticism in England, which is truly inspired by Marxism-Leninism. Whereas the novelists, the poets and the playwrights are lukewarm in their attitude, the critics are hard-boiled, uncompromising Marxists. Among them may be mentioned Philip Henderson with his book *Literature and a Changing Civilization*; Christopher Caudwell with his *Studies in Dying Culture* and *Illusion and Reality* and Ralph Fox with his book *The Novel and the People*. Amongst the scientists J. B. Haldane and amongst the writers on politics, Harold Laski, Sidney and Beatrice Webb and John Strachey have been notably influenced by Marxism. But on the whole, roots of Marxist ideology are not very firmly established in English literature. On the contrary, we see an increasing reaction against any kind of materialistic approach to life. And this brings us to the last important influence on modern English literature, namely, spiritualism.

Gandhism or Spiritualism

Hitherto we have identified different influences with particular individuals of eminence, although they were not the only men working in their own fields. For instance, Evolution is identified with Darwin, although Lamarck and others also made vital contribution. Similarly Psychoanalysis and other Psychological tendencies are identified with Freud, although the work of Adler, Jung, Pavolv, etc., is not insignificant. Scientific socialism derives its name from Marx, although besides Marx, Engles, Lenin and Stalin have enriched this ideology. However, when we come to discuss the spiritual forces working on modern English literature, we find it difficult to identify these forces with one man, however great he might be. In recent years, a number of such eminent men as Mahatma Gandhi, Vivekananda, Ramakrishna, Aurobindo Ghosh, Tolstoy, Tagore, Romain Rolland, etc., have engaged the attention of the thinkers and writers all over the world. Besides these eminent spiritual leaders, such old and established religions as Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and such historic books as the great Vedas and the Upanishads have powerfully affected the minds of men. Thus we see that there are so many spiritual threads running into one another and it is difficult to identify them with one man. Mahatma Gandhi, however, is the tallest amongst all the recent spiritual leaders; hence we shall for the sake of convenience refer to this spiritual approach to life as Gandhism.

It must have been already noticed that these spiritual influences are mostly Oriental and particularly Indian. In England such writers as T.S. Eliot, Charles Morgan, Somerset Maugham, Graham Greene, Evelyn Waugh, Myres, Aldous Huxley, and Christopher Isherwood have increasingly turned towards spiritualism for guidance and sustenance. Amongst the foreigners, Thomas Mann, Franz Kafka, Romain Rolland, Werfel, Tagore and Aurobindo Ghosh might be mentioned as instances of the same tendency.

A strong streak of spiritualism and mysticism has always been present in English literature. Milton, Bunyan, Blake, Wordsworth and Thompson, to mention only a few, were distinctly religious or spiritual in their interpretation of reality. After the first World War in 1914-18, there is a clear and unmistakable reaction against materialism. In England, T. S. Eliot was the first important poet to voice his dissatisfaction with the existing society which is built on materialistic foundations. *The Waste Land* is a symbolical poem,

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dealing with the spiritual barrenness of our times and the hollowness of our civilization and culture. It is a phantasmagoria of futility and boredom, which are eating like a canker into the vitals of our society. The directness and the sharpness of the following lines from the first part of *The Waste Land* show his fatalism and his view of contemporary civilization:

> "What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow
> Out of this stony rubbish? Son of man,
> You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
> A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,
> And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no relief,
> And the dry stone no sound of water."

In the third part, known as "The Fire Sermon", Eliot speaks of the sermon of the Buddha, who spoke of mankind burning in the flames of lust, hatred and infatuation. Fire has also a cleansing purpose and the cleansing of the soul is possible through sacrifice and renunciation. In the fifth part "What the Thunder Said" he points out the unreal and frail foundations of modern civilization.

> "Falling towers
> Jerusalem Athens Alexandria
> Vienna London
> Unreal . . ."

The barrenness of our life, we are told, can only be changed through Datta-Dayadhvam-Damyata, *i.e.*, self-surrender, sympathy and self-control. And the poem ends with

Shantih Shantih Shantih.

From *The Waste Land* to Ash Wednesday and *The Four Quarters*, T. S. Eliot is in search of a spiritual haven for his lacerated soul.

Gandhism has received fresh impetus from the idealistic tendencies in modern Physics and Biology. Sir James Jean, Eddington and Einstein have changed the materialistic approach towards the universe. Mind is now regarded by these scientists as real and fundamental and matter as derived from mind. Sir James Jeans says:

> "The Universe is a thought in the mind of a mathematical thinker."

This view is not much different from the Platonic conception of universe, namely, this world is a copy or reflection of the Idea that exists in Heaven. The fallacy of Platonism is that it puts the cart before the horse.

Novelists all over the world have been particularly influenced by this recent spiritual upsurge. Kafka's novels, *America, The Trial* and *The Castle*; Mann's *The Magic Mountain*; Romain Roland's *Jean Christopher*; Werfels' *The Song of Bernodette*; Graham Greene's *Brighton Rock, The Power and The Glory*; Evelyn Waugh's *Vile Bodies*; Aldous Huxley's *Time Must Have A Stop*; Somerset Maugham's *The Razor's Edge*; Myer's *The Pool of Vishnu* and Isherwood's *Prater Violet* are all different efforts towards the discovery of an ideal. Of the foreign writers, Mann and Kafka—both German—have written powerful books. Mann's *The Magic Mountain* is the study of the soul of its consumptive hero, who lives in a sanatorium upon a hill. *The Magic Mountain*—the title is suggestive and symbolical. In quest of the Holy Grail, the soul lifts itself from the plane of mundane reality and seeks salvation on the high altitudes of the Magic Mountain. Kafka's novels were published posthumously. They show two things; his unquestionable belief in the Divine Grace and the unconditional surrender of man. Although the method that he follows is that of irony, yet there is no doubt about the goal that he wants to reach. His novel *The Castle* is a modern version of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and K—the hero of *The Castle* is the old Christian, except in one thing, *i.e.*, whereas Christian's progress is assured that of K remains doubtful.

Aldous Huxley, the most outstanding English novelist today, began as a materialist and has ended up by being a Vedantist. A streak of asceticism is visible even in his earlier novels, such as *Those Barren Leaves, Point Counter Point, Eyeless in Gaza* and the rest, but since the publication of *After Many A Summer*, the wheel has come full circle. Huxley regards body as the source of all troubles and ills. Body is the villain of the piece and subjects human beings to great humiliations and tortures. Whereas in his earlier novels, spirit is presented as an appendage of the body, in his later work, the spirit becomes the only reality. Spandrell in *Point Counter Point* hates love for it subjects him to physical humilitations. The old banker in *After Many A Summer* employs a doctor and urges him on his experiments on the longevity of life. The last powerful scene, at once, bizarre and ironical, wherein, the old banker meets strange physical monsters, shows to what extent the loathsome human body engages the mind of Huxley. *Time Must Have A Stop* is a step farther in the same direction. The portrait of Uncle Eustace in this novel is that of a man, whose life is governed by the demands of his body. His death in his lavatory and the reflections of his soul after its release from the fleshly garb, fill dozens of pages in the novel. Bruno Rotini is his mouthpiece in this novel and through him Huxley expresses his own views on life. Egotism he considers as the greatest enemy of man. Like a Buddhist, he regards serenity and detachment to be the essence of life. Buddhism believes in renunciation and sacrifice. That is perhaps why Huxley and Isherwood are now living as ascetics in a temple in Hollywood. They are reported to be following the pattern of the life of Larry—the hero of Somerset Maugham's novel *The Razor's Edge*.. This escape from life is essentially defeatist and no surprise that Huxley should have come down from the brilliance of *Point Counter Point* to the obscure vacuum of *Time Must Have A Stop* and

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Ape and Essence. In his books *Ends and Means* and more particularly in *The Perennial Philosophy* Huxley sets forth these very ideas which he propagates in his later novels.

The Razor's Edge by Maugham has attracted considerable attention since its publication and has now been also filmed. Its hero, Larry is a typical American belonging to the idle bourgeois class. He tries to break away from his moorings by coming to India and burying himself in the mysticism of the East. This escape from the reality to a higher or fundamental reality, as a mystic would term his escape, is making literature more and more subjective, personal and esoteric. The Nirvana, however, cannot be achieved through a retreat into "the ivory tower"; if, anything, it can only be achieved by grappling with the living problems of life—the problems of hunger, disease and dirt.

Graham Greene is supposed to be one of the chief writers whose sole pre-occupation is the solution of that fundamental problem—the problem of Sin and Evil. He is a Roman Catholic by conversion and writes with that feeling in his bones. He generally takes up such characters for his keen, analytical study as have lost their spiritual moorings. This principle of Evil also engages the minds of thinkers and philosophers, such as C. S. Lewis, C. E. M. Joad, Bertrand Russell and Radhakrishnan.

Of late, such spiritual phenomena as telepathy, seances, clairvoyance, etc., have found their way into serious fiction. The problem, whether the soul exists after our death, has always troubled the mind of man. In the past, faith in the survival of the soul was almost universal but science and materialistic philosophy in the 19th century undermined the roots of this belief. In the 20th century, we see again a revival of that faith, and in order to satisfy their critical minds, the 20th century spiritualists have tried to give a scientific semblance to this belief. The seances, with their trained 'mediums' and 'controls' have not yet been established as authentic experiments. There is always a sense of trickery about them. Thomas Mann in his novel *The Magic Mountain* deals with these *seances*, etc. The result is not always happy. Similarly in Huxley's *Time Must Have A Stop* we have long and tedious reflection on the spirit which has detached itself from the body of Uncle Eustace. If future fiction takes this road, we might soon have no living characters but sheer clairvoyance, telepathy and the mysterious dialogues between the departed souls. If and when that time comes, it will be a sad day for the novel. It will then simply cease to exist.

In the end, we might repeat that all these influences that have been traced above, have not as yet taken strong roots in English literature. Darwinism, Vitalism, Freudism, Marxism and Gandhism, etc., have yet to be synthesised completely with life. Which particular ideology is ultimately going to be established, is not easy to tell, though Marxism tempered with Gandhism may perhaps be the shape of things to come.

(Concluded)

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LAND-SLIDES IN THE HIMALAYAS

By KUMUD BHUSHAN RAY, I.R.S.E. (Rtd.), B.E., C.E., M.I.E. (Ind.)

Land-Slides

To the many calamities, from which West Bengal is suffering, has been added land-slides in Darjeeling district. Photographs in newspapers show the havoc caused by land-slides—railway lines hanging across the gap caused by the slide, or sliding down and disappearing in the Tista; buildings on hill slopes carried down and damaged; roads blocked by debris. Sikkim, Kalimpong, Darjeeling and other places are cut off by uncounted number of land-slides, several of which are as much as a mile in extant. It has been stated, that "a road recently built at a cost of Rs. 2 lakhs, is now as if it never had been. A whole mountain side is said to have fallen into the Tista."

Geological Eras

Why do such land-slides occur in the Himalayas? Is heavy rainfall the only cause? To answer these questions, the structural and topographical features of the earth which are the results of numerous changes from the dawn of geological times to the present day, have to be studied. Geologists have divided geological times into five eras, each era covering many million years. The earliest rocks of the pre-Cambrian era are in the Deccan. In the Primary or Paleaozoic era which followed, the Deccan continued to be a land mass, to the north of which was a broad sea, covering what is now the Gangetic Basin and the Himalayan Region. In the next era—the Secondary or Mesozoic—volcanic outbursts covered 200,000 square miles of the Deccan with lava flows. This was followed by the Tertiary era in which great mountain-building movements caused the formation of the 'young' mountain chains of the 'alpine' group—the Atlas in North Africa, the Alps, Carpathians, etc., in Europe, the Caucasus, Himalayas, etc., in Asia, the Rockies in North America, the Andes in South America. The Quarternary era which followed includes present times.

Mountain-Building Movements

The mountain-building movements which caused the formation of the 'young' Himalayan ranges in the Oligocene and Miocene periods of the Tertiary era have continued through the Pleistocene period of the

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Quarternary era to the present times. This explains why the Himalayan region is exposed to the effect of earthquakes, which are associated with the mountain-building process. Some of these earthquakes—that of 1897 in Assam and in North Bengal, and of 1934 in North Bihar—have been serious, while earth tremors are of frequent occurrence. With the thrusting that has taken place and is probably still taking place in connection with the mountain-building process, much of the Himalayan strata must be in a shattered condition. The formations indicate that some of the strata—the greasy schists for example—are rock types specially conductive to slipping. This explains the existence of extensive scars of numerous land-slides all along the southern slopes of the Himalayas which are thus regions of exceptional instability. No notice is usually taken of such land-slides, occurring in uninhabited or sparsely populated Himalayan regions.

It is only when such land-slides occur in an important district like Darjeeling that the public becomes aware of the fact. As explained, exceptional instability of the 'young' Himalayas, due to the shattered condition of its strata on account of thrusting connected with the mountain-building process, helped by heavy rainfall, is the cause of land-slides.

Sand, Clay, etc. from Land-Slides

Mention has been made that "a whole mountain-side is said to have fallen into the Tista." The debris from other land-slides also will be ultimately washed down by rain water into river channels. Rivers in North India, rising from the Himalayas—the Ganges, the Kosi, the Tista, etc.,—thus move enormous amounts of sand, clay, etc., along their channels. Mention has been made of a broad sea, covering what is now the Gangetic Basin in the Primary era. In ancient times, the Ganges flowed along the foot hills of the Himalayas, hugging the base of the Tertiary formation. Its tributary streams, emerging from the foot hills, were obliged to fall suddenly, because the Ganges had eroded and deepened its bed at a faster rate, so that alluvial 'fans' were formed, and a 'piedmont' alluvial plain resulted from the conjunction of several 'fans.' As a result, the Ganges receded southwards and the courses of the tributaries became longer. The area of the Gangetic basin, now known as the U.P., was thus reclaimed from the broad sea, north of the Deccan Plateau, by the materials washed down mostly from the land-slides in the Himalayas. The deltaic plain of Bengal was also thus reclaimed from the sea, and this process is continuing. It has been stated by Everest of the Geological Survey of India, that the Ganges waters move "annually to the Bay of Bengal, at a conservative estimate, more than 356 million tons of sand and clay."

Dams and Lakes in the Himalayas

This brings in the question—Are Dams safe in the Himalayas, which are regions of exceptional instability? Will not the lakes above the dams be filled up by the sand and clay, etc., from the land-slides? In this connection, the conclusion arrived at as to the feasibility of the dam and lake type of river control in the Missouri which rises from the Rockies belonging to the 'young' mountain chains of the 'alpine' group, is well worth studying. The TVA pattern of river control by dams and lakes was proposed in the Missouri. But it was calculated that "in the 1930 season alone, 140 million tons of silt would have collected in the lakes, all of which would have to be dredged out. The cost of dredging will rise from year to year, because of the growing difficulty of disposing of the materials." The conclusion arrived at was that "the plan of slack-water dams, so successfully employed by TVA, would not be the most economical for the Missouri." The Himalayas are regions of exceptional instability, subject to serious earthquakes and land-slides, so that exceptional care and expense will have to be incurred to make a dam safe. But even then the life of the reservoir capacity of the lake, for purposes of river control, will be short, because the sand and clay, etc., from the land-slides, collecting in the lake above a dam, will fill it up. As in the Missouri, the cost of dredging out the deposit from the lake would be prohibitive. The cost of the River Valley Projects being colossal, and in view of the facts as explained, the feasibility of these projects by dams and lakes in the Himalayas need careful consideration.

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THE TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS OF EARLY SIKHS

By Prof. BALWANT SINGH, M.A.

Sikhism, with its gospel of At-One-Ment with God, along with the attainment of Self-perfection, Self-renunciation and unceasing Service of Humanity, was the message of Guru Nanak. This message, with its universal appeal, runs through the Sikh Scripture. The message was meant for humanity, Hindus and Muslims and all. Guru Arjan, a great scholar and a stainless saint, with his wondrous catholicity of vision collected in his unique Granth devotional hymns of the ancient and contemporary saints, Hindus and Muslims, of high caste and low-caste. Never before in the annals of man had such catholicity of religious thought been shown. It was a magnificent feat. Till about the end of Guru Arjan's life countless Hindus, as well as Muslims, flocked to the Guru for his soul-

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healing message. Jehangir, the "Great Moghul," recorded this fact in his autobiography, with the revealing words that he felt enraged at the Muslim crowds flocking to the Guru, and that he was intent on "shutting down the shop of falsehood." And he easily got a handle to lay hands on the unoffending Guru. The rebellious son of Jehangir, Prince Khusro, who was fleeing from the wrath of his frenzied father, sought the hospitality of the Guru. The successors of Guru Nanak, like Nanak himself, were incapable of saying 'No' to those who sought of them shelter, sustenance, or means of living. Guru Arjan's succour was misinterpreted and distorted, the Guru was summoned to Lahore, and was asked to incorporate the praises of the Prophet in the Granth and to accept Islam or suffer tortures of death. The Guru accepted death. The Guru was boiled alive in boiling cauldrons of water, red-hot sand was poured over his blistered body and he was seated on iron pans, while a furious fire raged under them. Thus was Guru Arjan martyred. At one stroke, Jehangir dissipated Guru Nanak's dream of Hindu-Muslim unity and the ideal of a solid, united nation, strong enough to repel foreign invaders. As Jehangir thus laid the axe at the root of the Mughal Empire, the rift between the Sikhs and the Mughal rulers widened, till the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur by Aurangzeb at Delhi turned it into a yawning, unbridgeable gulf. They who were to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity were turned into irreconcilable foes of the Mughal rule. Since the army of the Mughal rulers was mostly composed of Muslims, the struggle assumed the colour and complexion of Sikh-Muslim strife. It is indeed a great tragedy of history, and perhaps the gravest tragedy in the history of religions. Service of humanity was no doubt a part of the message of Guru Arjan and he had made his followers fearless and chivalrous and saintly. But even for the disciples of Guru Nanak, the overthrow of the mighty Moghul empire was a stupendous, staggering, colossal task, and yet the Sikhs had to do it, for there was no other way to rid India and the Punjab of the intolerance and relentless persecution of some of the successors of the great Akbar, notably Aurangzeb and Farrukh Siyyar—and a number of the Mughal Governors of the Punjab, of the stamp of Mir Main Uddin, whom the Sikhs called Mir Mannu. The Sikhs suffered terribly and yet the victims of Mir Mannu sang merrily :

> "Mannu is our scythe and we are his crop; the more he mows us, the more we grow in homes and hamlets."

In the time of Farrukh Siyyar, the Sikhs were outlawed and a price was set on their heads. No wonder if the Sikhs were decimated. But they were not exterminated. The blood of martyrs is ever the seed of the church. Sikhism thrived. The Sikhs grew from more to more and Banda struck smashing blows at the Mughals and snatched the whole vast area between the Ravi and the Jumna. But a cruel fate awaited Banda. After a long, exhausting siege in 1716, Banda and his 740 followers, preceded by 2,000 heads on pikes, were led in chains to Delhi, where daily one hundred of them were publicly beheaded while Banda himself was subjected to torments which brutes know how to devise and inflict. He was ordered to cut the throat of his own son and then his own flesh was torn with red-hot pincers. This was by no means surprising; Aurangzeb had also subjected Guru Tegh Bahadur and his comrades to inhuman tortures. From 1716 to about 1765, the Sikhs passed through several blood-baths. Some of the Governors of the Punjab were intent on exterminating them. Bhai Mani Sing who was hacked limb from limb in 1738, and Bhai Taru Singh who was broken on the wheel in 1750, cheerfully suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Punjab Governors. The Sikhs had also a brush with that redoubtable invader, Nadir Shah. Ahmad Shah Abdali's tail had been repeatedly twisted by the Sikhs. Ahmad Shah Abdali had his sweet revenge in 1762, when in the great holocaust—the Sikhs call it "Ghallu Ghara" — 25,000 Sikhs were mown down. But the Sikhs rose again and twisted Abdali's tail with redoubled energy and in 1768, the Khalsa Commonwealth extended from Panipat to the Indus, while in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's time, the trans-Indus area up to and a bit beyond the Khybar pass was conquered. One of the objectives of Guru Govind Singh was attained. "The object that the Guru set before himself was to infuse a new life into the dead bones of the Hindus, to make them forget their differences and present a united front against the tyranny and persecution to which they were exposed, in one word, to make once more a living nation of them and enable them to gain their lost independence....Govind had seen what was yet vital in the Hindu race and he resumed it with Promethean fire. He was the first Indian leader who taught democratic principles and made his followers regard each other as 'Bhai' or brother and act by *Gurmata* or general counsels."—*Transformation of Sikhism* by Dr. Gokul Chand Narang.

The Sikhs had to make tremendous sacrifices to rid India of tyranny and of foreign invaders. *The preservation of this heroic spirit, the will to do and the soul to dare, is now the crux of the Sikh problem.* The Akalis and some others are anxious to preserve this spirit.

The poet's millennium of the Federation of the World and the Parliament of Man may not dawn on the world for a thousand years. In the meantime India will not cease to have foes. Human nature cannot be changed by a magic-wand or a magic-lamp. The Sikhs must ever have the unique privilege of fighting foremost India's foes. *May they ever defy India's foes and be a perpetual bulwark of free India for ages to come!* May they ever live and die for India, for who lives, if, God forfend, Bharat withers ?

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RAILWAY GOODS TARIFF AND COTTAGE AND SMALL INDUSTRIES

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By AMULYAPRASAD CHANDA

"*Jaular marge tena, nikarir kane sona,*" is a familiar saying on the Padma in East Bengal. Paraphrased, it means, for all his deprivations, — he has to be away from home for months at a time—risks, discomfort, and hard work, together with plenteous gifts of the river, the fisherman's reward is a rag to cover his loins, while the middleman wears gold rings on his ears. The lot of handicraftsmen, and part-handicraftsmen, the multitude living in the lakhs of villages of India or the suburban areas of towns and cities, is no better. Relatively poor in the resources of the pocket and the head, they are exploited by the superior intelligence and finances of the middlemen. Working hard early and late, they are not able, therefore, to make both ends meet.

Obviously, when this vast population lack adequate purchasing power, the standard of living and efficiency of the country as a whole is low, per *capita* consumption of goods is poor, industrial production stagnates, circulation of money is restricted, return on capital is inadequate, and, revenue from sales tax lacks elasticity. This state of affairs will continue, *first*, as long as the policy-makers are not clear in their minds about what it is they want. Such confusion of thought as finds expression in the sentence, "Any emphasis put on these types of industries does not necessarily mean that they are to play a part antagonistic to the interests of large-scale industries."* Clearly, large-scale industries are his first love, and he is labouring under an apprehension that in a clash it will go down. Large-scale industries serve a historical need, and there need be no fear on that score. Rather, widespread increase in the purchasing power of the vast majority of people at the bottom rung of society will cause, as it were, incense to rise from the surface on an extensive area and fill the entire upper air with fragrance, and, will directly lead to unprecedented demand for comforts or even luxuries, not to speak of necessaries, leading to, among other things, development and growth of large-scale industries also, undreamt of at the moment. And, *secondly*, they would have to make up their mind that the role of middlemen and technical advisers will have to be filled by the Government of the land exactly as they are doing for the silk industry in West Bengal.

All this may take some time to devise. But the Government may at once relieve the burden of the iniquitous Railway freight rate system which, among other evils, strangled the growth and development of this type of industries in the past, and, is continuing to do so still. In the case of products of small industries the freight is disproportionately heavy, relatively to freight paid by large-scale industries. And, as things are, as price of a commodity is determined by the price of the factory produce, the handicraftsman gets poor wages in return. No wonder, how hard he works, he cannot expect to make both ends meet. Yet, a rupee paid to a member of the "low income group" as these people are will at once go into procuring necessaries of life, and circulate many times over, and thus, promote economic activity to a greater extent than the rupee going into the bank account of the big capitalist by way of dividend from his investments in centralised industries.

A glance at the columns of freight rates given in the Parcels Rates Ready Reckoner, or the Goods Ready Reckoner reveals the fact that (i) for parcels four several schedules of rates, the full rate, the half rate, the quarter rate, and the special rate, for packages from 5 seers to 40 seers, and from 20 miles to 1550 miles, with a minimum rate of rupee one—irrespective of distance and weight are in vogue. And that (ii) for goods, there are 15 different telescopic rates per maund from 20 miles to 1550 miles, subject to a minimum of seven seers, for 15 different classes of goods, and there are 13 different wagon load rates from 20 miles to 2,000 miles.

Obviously, the parcel rate was originally intended mainly for passenger traffic, and, in special cases for carriage of commercial goods. Those who need quick and scheduled transport, and can afford it, generally avail of this facility. But for whom a penny saved means a lot, and who do business on a large scale, these avail of the goods service generally.

For the purpose of a critical examination of the rates given in the two volumes, the formula $f/mw=q$, where f=total freight (pies), m=total miles, w=weight (seers), and q=quantum, is made use of for comparison. Tested with this formula, the following state of affairs emerge: q for sending a 5-seer parcel to a distance of 20 miles at the minimum charge of rupee one=1.92p; whereas q for sending a 40-seer parcel 1550 miles =0.06392p. In the case of goods, q for sending a package of 7 seers, the minimum according to rule 81 of Goods Tariff (28), 20 miles =0.07144p. According to the minimum rate (WL/A), q=0.004062p, whereas the maximum rate (WL/H) gives the value of q as 0.007137p. This conclusively proves, if anything, the policy-makers (i) discourage short distance traffic and encourage long distance booking, and, (ii) prefer wagon load booking. And that by introducing so many different rates for different kinds of commercial goods, obviously based on relative intrinsic value, they have seemingly tried to make these rates equitable.

An examination of the position of handicrafts in this background is called for. At the present moment handicrafts products are despatched from station to station at ordinary parcels rates, and, sometimes, pay as much as 40.01 times they should, with reference to the minimum quantum. In the case of goods, the minimum charge, according to Rule 81, is as much as 17.59 times of the WL/A rate.

This brings us to the crux of the matter. The ratio

* Foreword to *Cottage and Small-scale Industries in West Bengal* —a Directorate of Industries Publication, August, 1950---by Hon'ble Shri Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, Minister, Finance, Commerce and Industries, West Bengal.

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between the quanta of the minimum parcel rate and the minimum goods rate is 11.81. Unless, therefore, a special goods rate is introduced for the carriage of handicrafts which will be uniform, no matter whether the distance is short or long, and will not be dearer than the minimum telescopic rate, and, compare favourably with the cheapest rates devised to encourage foreign trade originally, the handicrafts products being usually despatched in small packages and to near distance, they can never expect to prosper, and bring the craftsmen something like a fair return, except by a reversal of the policy that shattered his economy earlier. And why not? So many special rates are in vogue already that one more would not matter, should it be justified in the interests of national weal. As the object is to encourage short distance traffic all over the country, and encourage local trading, the minimum in respect of distance and weight, together with freight charges would have to be modified suitably.

A comparitive study of Indian Railway rates with shipping rates with the help of this formula may be of use to our trade and industries as well.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

STRAY GLIMPSES OF BAPU : *By Kaka Kalelkar. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1950. Pp. iv + 153. Price Rs. 2.*

This small book contains 101 anecdotes about Gandhiji related by Kaka Kalelkar who was one of the closest associates of Gandhiji ever since his return to India from South Africa. The anecdotes throw a great deal of light on the character and greatness of Mahatma Gandhi.

BAPU (Conversations and correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi): *By F. Mary Barr. International Book House, Limited, Bombay, 1949. Pp. ix + 214. Price Rs. 2-12.*

The present record of the author's association with Mahatma Gandhi will be read with great interest by readers who wish to know more about the character of Mahatma Gandhi. A friend of mine said the other day that Gandhiji was more a man of love than of truth. Perhaps he was not wholly right; for, in Gandhiji's case, to be true to one's self was to establish one's oneness with the rest of humanity; and this could evidently be done only through love. Thus, love the means led him to what he held was true.

Mary Barr's book reveals how loving he could be in respect of those who came into intimate contact with him through common service to the poor. Perhaps a large part of the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi was due to this.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

INDIA—A RE-STATEMENT : *By Sir Reginald Coupland. Published by the Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. 311. Price 12s. 6d.*

This book is a good supplement to the author's other monumental work "Report on the Constitutional Problem in India" which presented the complicated Indian problem in a new light against the background of the development of Indian politics in the last phase of British rule in India, that is, after the growth of Indian nationalism and also the author's contribution towards the solution of that problem. The present work, although it contains a gist of that Report is not exactly its summary. It is a "re-statement" of the Indian problem but in quite a new setting. It covers a much wider ground, marshalling all the relevant facts about Indo-British connexion and the resulting political situatoin in India in a masterly analysis. Here the author lays greater emphasis on the historical background of the Indian problem and questions other than purely constitutional. The book is divided into four parts. Part I begins with a contrast of some features of Indian and European history and traces the origin and consolidation of British rule in India in an original way. Part II presents the debit and credit sides of British rule in India, both in its political and economic aspects, striking a balance between the two sides. Part III dwells on the growth of Indian nationalism, itself a product of the impact of British rule on India and the process of consistent development of representative and responsible government by stages by way of concession to growing national self-consciousness in India. The changing phases of the advance towards full responsible government as an integral part of the British Empire, that is, Dominion Status which was accepted in 1917 as the ultimate goal of British policy in India, in response to changing course of Indian politics, are described at length. The account is brought right up to the August movement of 1942. In Part IV, the author gives a resume of the political developments that took place during the four eventful years of Indian history since 1942 right up to the time of writing of the book and the attempts that were made from time to time to resolve the political impasse created by the wholesale imprisonment of Congress leaders and banning of the Congress organisation. These constructive efforts prepared the ground for the eventual settlement of 1947 based on complete transfer of power and partition of India into two separate Dominions. The author concludes by reviewing the possible ways of reaching a settlement among the parties concerned—the Congress, the Muslim League, the Indian States and the British Government—which in the author's view was the condition precedent to achievement of

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Indian freedom, indicating his own performances also.

It is hardly possible to expect absolute objectivity and a purely scientific approach either in the appraisal or interpretation of facts and problems or in regard to conclusions relating to the kind of subject dealt with in the book from anyone and more so from an Englishman or an Indian whose approaches are bound to be influenced by the respective emotional backgrounds and therefore different. The author himself is not unaware of this as is evident from his observation in one place of the book. Speaking on the mutual gain and loss to Britain and India arising from the connexion between two countries the author observes: "A scientific attempt, indeed, to assess the worth of the British Raj to each of the two countries would involve so many imponderable factors that it might well daunt the most self-confident investigator. The whole subject, moreover, is nowadays highly controversial. For a long time to come no two verdicts, especially if one is British and the other Indian, are likely to be the same. However objective they may try to be, British and Indian patriots must view the picture from different angles and be affected in some degree by an inescapable, if unconscious, bias." What he says here with regard to this question applies equally to the whole range of issues raised in the book. Yet we must give the author every credit for trying to bring to bear on his treatment of the subject an objectvity of a scientific investigator and a sympathetic understanding within the limitations of the basic fact stressed above. Even these limitations hardly detract from the value of the work, as students of politics and government must weigh between different points of view to form their own judgment and conclusions on every question. The book bears ample evidence of laborious research and hard thinking and may be commended to all serious students of history and politics specially those who are interested in the study of the history of Indo-British connection.

A. K. GHOSAL

WHITE DAWNS OF AWAKENING: *By Lotika Ghose. Published by Thacker Spink and Co. Ltd. 1950. Price Rs. 4-8.*

It is in the fitness of things that Srimati Lotika Ghose should find her true vehicle of expression in poetry; she is the daughter of Manmohun Ghose and niece of Sri Aurobindo. Of Manmohun Ghose Laurence Binyon, his school-mate at St. Paul's in England, writes in the introductory memoir to Ghose's *Songs of Love and Death*: "Circumstances had prevented him from being, like Rabindranath Tagore, an interpreter to the West of Indian thought and life. But at least he was an eloquent interpreter of the West to India. No Indian had ever before used our tongue with so poetic a touch . . . Yet to us he is a voice among the great company of English singers; somewhat apart and solitary, with a difference in his note, but not an echo." But Lotika Ghose, though she has inherited her father's poetic temperament, is more influenced by Sri Aurobindo than by her father. She expresses herself in exquisite English, but in her thoughts she is purely Indian. The key-note to her poetry is to be found in the very first lines of the opening poem:

"The mystic unborn in my heart is calling
Out of some shoreless sea,
Whose waves are a bliss and joy unending
Whose chant is eternity."

English literature is rich in Romantic poetry but mysticism is almost alien to it. The lyrical outburst of the seventeenth century vaguely approaches to something like mysticism.

"I saw Eternity the other night
Like a great ring of pure and endless light
As calm as it was bright"

is marvellous poetry; but English critics while appreciating the lyrical genius of the Caroline poets such as Crashaw, Herbert and Vaughan have dubbed them along with their great master John Donne of an earlier period as metaphysicals.

In the oldest literature of the world, poetry and religion were inextricably interwoven. It was so in Ancient India. The Vedic hymns are an illustration to the point. Mediaeval poetry also was largely influenced by religion. But spiritual poetry is to be distinguished from sacred poetry, and all spiritual poems are not mystic in character. It is only when the Great Unknown manifests Himself to the individual soul in an all-embracing love and there is a communion between the divinity and the devotee and the soul participates in His *lila* that we meet with mysticism. It is a rare spiritual experience which can be expressed not directly but in allegory.

"What is the music you play my Beloved
From the earthly instruments drawn,
Whose tune is eternal whose words are a flame
Whose flute is the spirit's dawn."

It is, I think, an eminent French critic who observes that poetry is worship. In these days of *vers libre* and aggressive realism it is refreshing to find the writer to be concerned solely with poetry,—with poetry of imagination, of passion, of wonder and of devotion. *White Dawns of Awakening* is a collection of lyric poems closely interlinked with one another. The book is divided into three parts. The first part bears the title of the book, the second and the third parts are entitled "At the Vedic Altar" and "Waves of Eternity" respectively. In a poem in the second section she says:

"Our life is a stairway of hopes that are shed
And despairs that buried moan,
And that which is joy is the treble note
From sorrows undertone."

In the third part, "The Meeting" opens with the lines:

"In the verge of the known and the unknown
Is your meeting with me."

In "My Abode" we find:

"On the way of your coming and going
I have built my abode."

She says:

"I have felt the flame of your touch in my blood."

But:

"Hushed is my heart with its burden of ecstasy,
My soul with its mighty release,
For I have conquered the demon desire
And known the soul's wide peace."

To an Indian the mystic note is not so strange. The Vaishnava poets, the Sufis and the mediaeval saints like Nanak, Kabir and Dadu are mystics. Tagore's *Gitanjali* has done more than anything else to acquaint the West with such mystic poetry. The note Lotika Ghose has struck in the *Dawns of White Awakening* may not be quite novel but what she writes is real poetry.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

BULLETIN OF THE BARODA MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY, Vol. VI, Parts I—II. 1948-49.

The place of honour in this double number of the Bulletin is rightly given to a learned description (accompanied with 50 well-executed illustrations) from the able pen of Dr. H. Goetz, of a richly-carved Jaina *mandapa* which has recently been acquired for the Baroda Museum. This fine structure rightly called "a

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monument of old Gujarati wood-sculpture" (and architecture) would have shared the fate of another beautiful Jaina shrine which has now been safely deposited in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, but for the princely patriotism of the then ruling Gaekwad of Baroda who purchased it for the museum from a Bombay firm of art-dealers in 1947. As is usual with Dr. Goetz's writings, his analysis of the architectural and other features of this structure is able, illuminating and suggestive. He finds that in spite of numerous additions and alterations, it is resolvable into an older shrine of late 16th and early 17th centuries and its restoration in the sixties or seventies of the last century (p. 6). While most of the wood-sculpture is purely decorative, a few statuettes and relief panels deal with processions, figures of deities and those of heavenly musicians (pp. 7-13). The forms of male and female costume, the varieties of musical instruments, the architectural elements and the ornamental pieces are subjected to a detailed treatment in their chronological and historical setting (pp. 13-22). This is followed by a valuable outline of old Gujarati wood-sculpture in the light of the foregoing analysis (pp. 23-30). The rest of the Bulletin (pp. 31-48) is occupied with the report on the working of the Museum during the period under review.

U. N. GHOSHAL

TODAR MULL : THE CONQUEROR OF BENGAL, an historical novel *by Romesh Dutt, rendered into English from "Vanga Vijeta" by Ajoy Dutt. Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. viii + 165.*

Readers of *Vanga Vijeta* in Bengali will certainly miss the charm and thrill of the original in the translation. It is one of the best works of literary art of the great master. Still we must admit that the translator has done full justice to his father's genius. It is a readable good novel in the English form, and will be much appreciated by non-Bengali readers.

LETTERS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA : *4th edition. 1948. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Pp. viii + 501.*

These letters when first published served two-fold purposes. They shed some light on the obscure corners of Swamiji's life and inspired the readers with fervent patriotism. In the present edition the letters have been better arranged and fifteen more letters added. The names of many persons hitherto omitted from various considerations have now been given. The short illuminating notes at the end of the book will be found very useful. It is also a commendable exemplar of book production. We learn that more letters of Swamiji have been found after the book went through the press, so we are anxious for the fifth edition of the book.

B.

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

TECHNICAL TERMS AND TECHNIQUE OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR, Part I: *By Kshitish Chandra Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer, in Comparative Philology and Sanskrit, Calcutta University. Visvanath Chatterji, 81 Shyambazar Street, Calcutta, 4. Price Rs. 10.*

Honour to whom honour is due. Dr. Chatterji has broken entirely new ground in his *Technical Terms and Technique of Sanskrit Grammar* and demonstrated clearly that Bengal, though fallen on evil days, can even now produce works on Indology that invite and bear comparison with the best work produced in any part of the world. Who ever thought that all the

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technical terms admitted of satisfactory explanation and who ever imagined that a work on grammatical terminology could be made as delightful as a novel? In this volume of nearly 350 pages the technical terms of Sanskrit grammar from the Brahmanas, Nirukta, Pratisakhyas, Panini, Katyayana, Patanjali, down to Prayogaratnamala and Harinamamrita have been considered critically and historically in all their bearings and apparently arbitrary technical terms like *gha, bha, lat, lit,* etc., have been traced to their sources. We have nothing but admiration for this masterpiece of scholarship and warmly recommend it to our readers.

SIVANARAYAN SEN

SANSKRIT

NYAYASIDDHANTATATTVAMRITAM (of Srinivasa): *Critically edited with Introduction by S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.O.L., Government Oriental Library, Madras. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is No. XIX of the Madras Government Oriental Series published under the authority of the Government of Madras. A comparatively late work, it gives a detailed account of the seven categories of the Vaisesika system in a lucid style. The author belongs to the Deccan School of Indian logicians. He is fully conversant with the views of logicians hailing from Karnataka, Gauda, Dramida, Magadha and Mithila whom he frequently quotes and criticises. The present volume especially criticises the views of Raghunatha Siromani who considers many topics in the Vaisesika Sastra as redundant. It is at times interesting as it presents views not found in the extant Vaisesika texts and condemns the popular theory of *Kayavyuha.*

References in the present volume would seem to indicate that the author intended to complete the work with the addition of two sections on definitions and epistemology. But it is not known if the proposed sections were ever written.

Numerous misprints have so to say disfigured the book which is otherwise an important addition to the Vaisesika Literature.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

BENGALI

UPAJIBIKA HISABE VIJNAPAN (Advertisement as a Profession): *By Santosh Kumar De. Published by Bengal Publishers, 14 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Pp. 120. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This book is, we think, the first of its kind in the Bengali language to describe the possibilities of Advertisement as a profession, and a quite respectable profession at that, as respectable as that of an Insurance-man. The young writer is himself engaged in it, and what he writes on comes from his own experience of about 15 years. And as his line of work touches journalism in certain of its phases, he has acquired a style that has a distinct appeal. His book by its illustrations and techniques show how this appeal through the eyes and the mind move men and women to make their purchases. Pp. 115-20 should have a special value to journalists. As a pioneer Santosh Babu should be an exemplar to his generation.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

HINDI

TULSI: *By Ramesh Bedi. Published by Himalaya Herbal Institute. Gurukula Kangri, Hardwar, U. P. Pp. 178. Price Rs. 2.*

This is the second enlarged edition (a proof of its popularity) of the well-known research scholar's brochure on *Tulsi* ("holy basil") in his projected series on Indian Materia Medica. The virtues—and they are one hundred and one—of the sacred plant are disclosed and "applied," to many an everyday illness in the shape of simple prescriptions.

G. M.

MALAYALAM

PRACHEENA INDIAYILEY CHRISTUMATA-PRACHARAM (Propagation of Christianity in India in the early Centuries): *By T. K. Joseph. Published by the Malayalam Christian Literature Committee, Tiruvalla, Travancore, with illustrations. Crown. Pp. 90. Price twelve annas.*

Mr. T. K. Joseph, well-known as an author and writer, has now produced another small treatise on the lines of his *Malabar Christians and Their Ancient Documents* (1929), something of a source book. This time he deals with the history of the propagation of Christianity in India from the early centuries of the Christian era to the mediaeval period. The book consists of five chapters and a copious index and references and he has put together the main events of every century in an ordered sequence. There is none, at least in Kerala, who is more competent than Mr. Joseph to compile such a history bearing on the origin of Christianity in India based on documentary, historical and archaeological evidences gathered from the vast terrain from the N.-W. Frontier Province to Cape Comorin, with the authority of a scholar and a historian. An immense amount of study of contemporary records has gone into the making of the book. For a long past, legends and tradition were the main sources on which students of history relied for a knowledge of the origin and subsequent history of the church, but Mr. Joseph's present work which is based on authoritative historical records, makes the reader feel uncommonly well informed which one can put his faith upon. By tradition and legends, St. Thomas, an apostle of Jesus Christ, is believed to be the founder of the church in South India, whereas the cross discovered at Taxila in 1935 (p. 83), ascribed to the 4th century, throws additional light on the prevalence of Christianity at that place about that time, and leads also North India to make an equal claim on St. Thomas, although the subsequent history of that church remains in oblivion for the present. From all points of view, the book is a mine of information and is extremely valuable as a reference or source book to scholars who are engaged in historical research. It is written in an easy style, but the theme is not presented as a connected narrative survey like a history or a story showing the progress of Christianity from century to century; a treatment like that would have been an added attraction to a general reader. In any case, the Malayalam Christian Literature Committee is to be heartily congratulated for getting a veteran scholar and archaeologist to contribute on a subject which is of great interest to Christians in India and the book, as such, is a welcome addition to Christian Malayalam prose literature.

P. O. MATTHAI

GUJARATI

SHREYASI: *By Mrs. Jayavati Pranlal. Bombay. 1947. Illustrated jacket. Cloth-bound. Pp. 234. Price Rs. 4.*

In this short story, Mrs. Jayavati has shown both the dark and bright sides of the life of Hindu families. She has adapted the new to the old, and her characters, like Vina and Vidya, Maina and Kumudini, Nilam and Rashmi, are not imaginary; they are mere types and can be found in our present society. The story is written with a moral and she has succeeded in her propaganda that our society can and should drop whatever is evil in the old and orthodox life and amalgamate the good and uplifting ingredients of the new or modern life.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

First Elections in the Indian Republic

An election is a trial of strength between rival political parties for the right to conduct the country's government. Principal Sri Ram Sharma writes in *The Indian Review* :

The history of elections in India during the last thirty years suggests that substantial efforts will have to be made to secure fair election practices on the day—or the days—of the election. District collectors who supervised the arrangements were never averse to using their influence in favour of one party or another. Some of them even gloried in the fact. The richer candidates of all parties resorted to corrupt or illegal practices which went unpunished because almost every candidate was more or less tarred by the same brush. Election expenses permitted were too high for the purposes for which they were allowed. The use of private cars for conveying voters to the polling booths favoured the richer cndidates and legitimately led to the poorer candidates spending money on the fares of their—or alleged to be their—partisans. The fact that the voters were illiterate and some provinces did not adopt picture signs for candidates led in some cases to the presiding officers' favouring particular candidates when these officers were requested to mark the voting papers. It was alleged, at least, in one election petition, that false bottoms to the ballot boxes were provided in order to make it easy to tamper with the ballot boxes. Elections were also sometimes marred by religious, caste, tribal or even racial hysteria.

Many of these evils could be checked by an enlightened public opinion or a roused public conscience. Parties—though not the candidates—may realize that an unfair practice which favoured them in one election may favour their opponent elsewhere and may join together to stamp it out. The fear that an exposure of malpractices through election petitions may ultimately lead to the loss of a seat thus won may also have some effect now that the judiciary has been seen to act independently and fearlessly. All the election arrangements will be made by the Chief Election Commissioner. He is an independent officer unconnected with the government, national or state. This is an improvement on the previous system and will make for fair elections everywhere. He would be able to secure, it is expected, greater impartiality and fairness from all who would be associated with him in this work.

But the arrangements for distributing and receiving ballot papers on the election day would be in the hands of the administrative officers. The paucity of competent persons was said to be the main reason why elections in the past were spread over several days in a constituency. Almost all parties are now agreed that this pratice should stop and all over India election should be held on the same day. The choice of polling and presiding officers has so long been confined to public servants. This would be no longer possible or necessary. Who should select the large number of polling and presiding officers needed for the next election ? Despite past history, the district collectors under direction from the Chief . Election Commissioner form the only machinery capable of doing this work. The District and Session Judges should not be dragged into this political affray because some of them at least may later on sit on the election tribunals. The district collector now can be expected to be impartial and just in discharging his duty on behalf of the Chief Election Commissione,. He stands to lose much more than does a candidate if he makes a bad guess in any constituency. But the election of such officers should not be limited to public servants only. To find competent and honest non-officials for this purpose may be a difficult task but not one which a modern collector cannot be expected to discharge well now that he comes into contact with all sections of public opinion in his district. If the parties are alert and arrange to safeguard their own interest adequately, there need be no fear that the polling officers or presiding officers will be able to cook the result. The polling officers issue the ballot papers to voters as they claim them. The identity of every claimant for a ballot paper can be challenged by the agents of the candidates before the paper is issued to the voter. If the candidates take reasonable precautions, their interest would be safe. In some provinces at least the representatives of the candidates were allowed to be present in the room where the voter filled the ballot paper and cast his vote. This may—and it did —secure the candidates against malpractices by a presiding officer in marking a ballot paper if requested to do so by a voter. But if candidates adopt simple symbols—devoid of religious significance—the presiding officer will have no chance of interfering with the choice of the voters. The presence of the agents of the candidates in the presiding officer's room would be superfluous ; it was strongly objected to in some places both by conscientious voters as well as presiding officers. It is not necessary to continue it.

The counting of votes should start the day after the election is over. Again it may be necessary here as well to seek the co-operation of non-officials if the results are to be speedily compiled or announced. Fewer persons would be needed. They should be appointed by the Chief Election Officer.

Red Sunset in Korea

The New Review observes :

The war in Korea is coming to an end. From all published reports, tactical operations did not witness the appearance of new weapons or new vehicles; it was the old equipment of World War II.

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The value of mechanised transport was vividly illustrated, with its superiority in speed, and its disadvantage of being largely tied down to roads. North Korean troops operating in a hilly country were supplied by primitive means independent of roads and organised many surprise attacks on road-bound American columns. Such surprise attacks, which badly confused and delayed the U. N. local commanders were organised by regular troops; there were few guerillas and little fifth-column activity in South Korea, which proved surprisingly loyal to President Syngman Rhee. Another lesson of the Korean war is the real importance of the political commissars with the Red armies; they prevented panic in the days following the Inchon landing. Democracies also might profit by the action of morale builders on units isolated or defeated; the practice can easily be made to respect the unity and primacy of the military command. The Korean operations once more confirmed the ancient axiom that infantry is the queen of battles. The air arm is only a formidable addition to reconnaissance squads and artillery, even if it has the great advantage of working at many levels.

The great feat of the campaign was of course the landing at Inchon. The operation was not provided against by the North Koreans because of the huge variations in tides along the western Korean coast, but American genius in engineering and seamanship, and perfect logistical organisation succeeded with masterly ease. The parachute landing beyond Pyongyang was as well executed as any of the last war. In two months time, American forces had got back into their best shape.

Once the beachhead was established, operations followed a normal course: withdrawal of North Koreans, hot pursuit by U. N. forces, short local resistance in pockets, rounding up of prisoners and then the final assault across the 38th parallel, with one spearhead rushing along the east coast, and another making straight for Pyongyang. Wonsan and Pyongyang fell easily, and the pursuit of the shattered remnants of the North Korean armies continues.

The Inchon landing had succeeded when the enemy still held the initiative and numerical superiority. It was the turning point. Overwhelming superiority passed to the U. N. forces. MacArthur had seven U. S. divisions, and two regimental combat teams (about 125,000 men), six South Korean divisions (about 60,000 men), one Australian and two British battalions (about 3,000 men). The North Koreans had lost the best of their thirteen divisions; they had still two reserve divisions and a crowd of raw recruits. Their trucks and tanks lay abandoned south of the 38th parallel and their navy was limited to a few patrol boats and mine-layers. The U. N. forces were in fine mettle, victory-flushed and impatient of ending the war by the fourth of November. The U. N. navy had six aircraft carriers, one big battleship, six cruisers, hundreds of destroyers, landing craft, and other vessels, with British, Dutch and French naval support. With sea supremacy and air monopoly, they were unhampered in their land conquest. Russia left the North Koreans to their fate; with the connivance of Red China, she launched on a new adventure in Indo-China.

The military had had their day in Korea; and at once statesmen and politicians came back to the fore in Flushing Meadows. The U. N. O. voted a plan to administer and rehabilitate, unify and democratize the whole of Korea.

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A National Gallery of Art

Prof. O. C. Gangoly writes in the *Nation* :

The opening of the Exhibition of Bengal Folk Art at the Government House on the 15th August last, must have reminded the citizens of Calcutta the immediate necessity of building up a National Gallery for India, worthy of this great city. Every city in Europe and America possesses its city Art Gallery, packed with masterpieces of painting and sculpture, visited by thousands of citizens in search of visual education, spiritual stimulation, and happy respites from the strenuous drudgery of modern life, deprived of all colour, light and sunshine and stimulating forms of creative Art. The cure for all the ills and evils of city life is happily provided by a well-planned and well-stocked Gallery of Art which offers a panacea for all the demands of social, spiritual and economic needs. A National Gallery is as much a necessity as a National Library, a National Stadium, and a National Theatre. When a new city is built in America they start with the four essential elements of city life, a Town Hall, a Theatre, a Library, and a Gallery of Art.

It is argued that a Gallery or Museum of Art is an essential institution for culture as well as a seat of learning. Pictures educate us by cultivating our mind and helping to learn by seeing. The identity of culture with artistic enjoyment is by no means an accepted commonplace among us; nor is the distinction between culture and education by any means clearly drawn by all of those who use the words. It must be assumed that culture consists at bottom in the spiritual process of liking things that other people before us have made to their liking, whether these things are habits of speech or behaviour, political institutions, or the things we narrowly call works of Fine Art. More closely defined, in harmony with modern usage, culture means sharing in such likings as have an authoritative basis of one kind or another, and are thus representatives of what we call standards of taste. According to this definition, culture and education differ doubly. Culture is an affair of the feelings of what are called the "sensibilities." Education may train the sensibilities, but it may also train other capacities, bodily or mental. Moreover, the sensibilities without training are often capable of the sympathetic response we call culture. While the scope of education extends beyond culture (many of our uneducated folks are possessed of large doses of culture), culture is, in a measure, independent of education. Not all education is cultivating, and not all culture is educative. Each term in its way covers more than the other. Galleries and museums and universities and schools supplement each other.

Among opportunities of culture, of liking things that others have made to their liking, works of Fine Art are pre-eminent. And we may be pardoned for naming them as exclusive instruments of culture, through the study of the creative activities of man, throughout the ages. A gallery or museum is an institution devoted to preserving certain of these creative activities which are still likable, although not usable as they once were. The ideal of a gallery or museum-purpose here called that of culture, affirms that such institutions ought to offer their contents primarily for the exercise of the likings they illustrate, or less abstractly, for the enjoyment of their Beauty. And Beauty has the uncanny power of chasing away the brute in man and of humanising and sublimating him.

Enough has been said to establish the theoretic basis of setting up galleries and museums of Fine Arts. Our immediate necessity is to take steps to discharge this civic and national responsibility of collecting and exhibiting our national works of Art as practical expressions of our spiritual life, our truly human existence.

We have no doubt occasional and temporary exhibitions of painting and sculpture, mostly of modern works, which have yet to establish their permanent values in the education and elevation of our mental powers. It is seldom realized that a good deal of what our living artists are producing today are ephemeral experiments, not endowed with permanent merits and are destined to die and be cast into oblivion after being judged by the critical eyes of time. Many works of lesser merits, which charmed and beguiled us by their novelties at one time, have not survived the critical examination of the ages, and have been legitimately cast into the wastepaper-basket of oblivion. Many of the modern concoctions on which we are doting today are not destined to live and cannot outlive the short-lived glory of the day's popularity. And it is not wise to burden the walls of our galleries with modern works, yet awaiting the judgement of posterity. Wise citizens build their galleries with works of Art of proved merit, which have survived the vicissitudes of passing fancies and ephemeral fashions.

Yet the average man, with no critical judgment for understanding of pictures, are misled by the wooings of the contemporary artists in dire necessity for earning a living, and posing as the new Messiah of Art come to provide the eternal verities and values of life in their dubious "isms" with spurious promises of questionable optimism.

In building our National Gallery we have to be guided by our trained connoisseurs not by the popular votes of democracy, misled by the varnish of the new canvas or the shine of the gilt-frame.

The question of setting up our National Gallery has been discussed occasionally by art-lovers and cultured citizens and has evoked the keen curiosity of our living artists with ambitions for fame and permanent places in our national memory. And a good deal of loose talk have been indulged in, in prattling about a "National Gallery," without thinking of their legitimate implications. The word has been borrowed by many, particularly by our England-returned nationals, from the world-famous National Gallery of London which is packed with masterpieces of dead artists, the tried classics of Art, and which has banished

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from its wall the most talented works of the moderns. So that when many of our citizens, particularly our contemporary artists, talk glibly of a 'National Gallery,' they mean the Tate Gallery or the Luxembourg, which are dedicated to the assemblage of tried "modern masters."

The conflicting claims of the old and the new masters have been a matter of great embarrasment to our connoisseurs and collectors of Art. Many have been inclined to offer postmortem oblations, while many others have pleaded for "feeding the living gods." Similar conflicting claims meet us in the field of literature and music. The fames of Bhasa and Kalidasa, of Suradas and Tulsidas, are formidable barriers in the path of new aspirants of poetical fame. The protagonists of Tagore's songs are hard put to it to establish their claims against the time-honoured appreciation of Tansen and Shori Mea, of the *Bauls* and the *Kirtaniyas*. Our indignant Radio-reviewers vociferously vote for banishing modern songs from our All-India programmes. On the other hand, our modern pictorial artists, jealous of the merits of our old masters, would like to banish the Rajputs and the Moghuls and cast them into the holy waters of the Ganges. Fortunately for them, our average citizens have not yet developed a burning love for the old masters who are the favourites of a handful of collectors and connoisseurs. But things are difficult in the West where the average citizen has developed a capacity to judge of the merits of old masters, and generally regard the claims of the moderns with suspicion. This has been brought about by the excellent opportunity which the chosen masterpieces of the National Gallery and the Louvre (not to speak of the Galleries of Florence, Rome, and Milan) provide for the art-education of citizens, who quickly develop into connoisseurs by repeated visits to the galleries. The tyranny of the old masters is nowhere better demonstrated than in the statistics of the auction-rooms. Whilst the most fashionable favourites of the modern welders of the brush cannot command a fee more than a thousand pounds (with occasional exceptions), the old masters frequently levy their taxes in staggering figures of five or six digits. The fight between the dead and the living is carried on in peculiar terms of controversy. While the living artist can plead for their claims in their living voice of vociferous arguments and in journalistic propaganda (they frequently hire literary hacks to boom and boost their works), the pen and the voice of the moderns is drowned by the silent dead through the astounding biddings of the auction-rooms. Thus, at the Holford auction a Rembrandt fetched 148,000 guineas. Even a living painter cannot compete with prices he himself fetches after his death. Thus Sir Joseph Duveen made the mammoth bid of £72,000 for Gainsborough's *Harvest Wagon* thus avenging the painter who never saw in his life-time any one of his landscapes bring more than 3½ guineas at Christie's. Such is the index in appraisement between a living and a dead artist, between a new and an old master.

But things are different in India. A moderately successful exhibit and prize-winner at Lady Ranu Mookherjee's show in Calcutta cannot be acquired for any thing less than Rs. 300 to Rs. 500, while the finest examples of Rajput drawings (which put to shame the finest Fragonards), and the faded portraits of Moghul *Kalams*, (which challenge the refinements of Durers or Holbeins) daily change hands in the cities of India for no more than fifty rupees. Yet the finest masterpieces of Indian painting have long ago been exported to foreign countries picked up by tourists systematically for the last fifty years, taking advantage of the sinful ignorance of our educated nationals, impervious to the beauties of their own national art-treasures. The recent purchases of old paintings at New Delhi for the Central National Gallery have somewhat raised the demands of the dealers in Indian pictures and no time should be lost in acquiring the yet surviving remnants of old Indian paintings and drawings, which, many of our local collectors and connoisseurs claim, represent qualities far above those of the average modern production.

While one is not oblivious of the necessity of patronizing modern artists and keeping art alive in modern life, one should not forget the no less sacred duty of securing the best available specimens of old masters, very valuable and priceless from many points of view. The products of ancient and by-gone times provide valuable standards of comparison with the relative achievements of the moderns. Even the most decadent and conventional styles of the old *Ustads* of the Moghul period reveal a high standard of technical achievement in strength and subtlety of drawing, which is beyond the dreams of our best contemporary artist. Secondly, the products of the dead artists of past ages provide valuable materials and data for art-history and for tracing the evolutionary change and the development of Art through the spirals of social and spiritual values—a study which is one of the fascinating branches of the humanities. Thirdly, for sheer merits most of the old masters stand on unapproachable heights of grandeur and eminence impossible to be attained by any moderns working under depressing social and economic environments. To maintain

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standards, a study of the old masters is an essential instrument for art-teaching. Our National Galleries must therefore devote a large part of their collections in representing the old schools of painting now very much neglected by our modern practitioners.

Very able arguments have been adduced by critics for a plea for the worship of the moderns and for an appreciative valuation of new ideas in Art. It has been said that an age ought to be ceaselessly producing art of its own instead of merely collecting and copying the art of other periods; that the proper time for the appreciation of a man's work was in his own lifetime; that the age we live in actually has a beauty of its own which deserves to be recorded and adapted; and that we must use the tools we have to produce an art that definitely answers to present-day needs and requirements.

These conflicting claims of the dead and the living painters have been recognized and met in Europe and America by providing different accommodations for the old and new masters. The London National Gallery is reserved for collections of the old masters while the Tate Gallery and the New Gallery pay honours to the chosen masterpieces of the moderns. In Paris, the claims of the old masters are represented in the Louvre while those of the moderns are honoured in the Luxembourg Galleries. The National Gallery of Art in Washington has, from its beginning in 1849, collected and exhibited the old as well as the modern schools of painting with a bias for and exphasis on the old masters. The patriotic citizens of New York, alive to the claims of the moderns, have set up a special museum, called the Museum of Modern Art in which the latest contemporary movements are systematically represented.

In our National Gallery we could represent both the old and the new, by assigning different wings to represent the two phases. What we should guard against is the jealous disregard for and an ugly bias against the ancients which many of our modern artists have revealed in their talks on proposals for our National Gallery. To safeguard their interest a special fund like that of the Chantery Bequest could be set apart to acquire modern works of special merits.

But our talks for a National Gallery in Calcutta have not yet taken any definite shape. The first step is to secure an adequate accommodation to house our national treasures of art, ancient and modern. The second step is to inaugurate a society corresponding to the National Art Collection Fund in England, a private body run by expert Committees, to which all and sundry contribute donations as a mark of their appreciation of national Art.

We have heard whispers that if His Excellency the Governor is approached, His Excellency may be pleased to spare some wings of the spacious Government House in Calcutta to start our National Gallery. In his recent speech the Governor has claimed to be a Servant of the People anxious to serve the needs of all and sundry. Many people think that one of the dire spiritual needs of the aesthetically starved inhabitants of this city is the provision for a permanent Temple of Art, where all *communities* and *sects* could assemble in communal harmony, in joint prayers for the worship of Beauty, the mystic mask of the Divinity.

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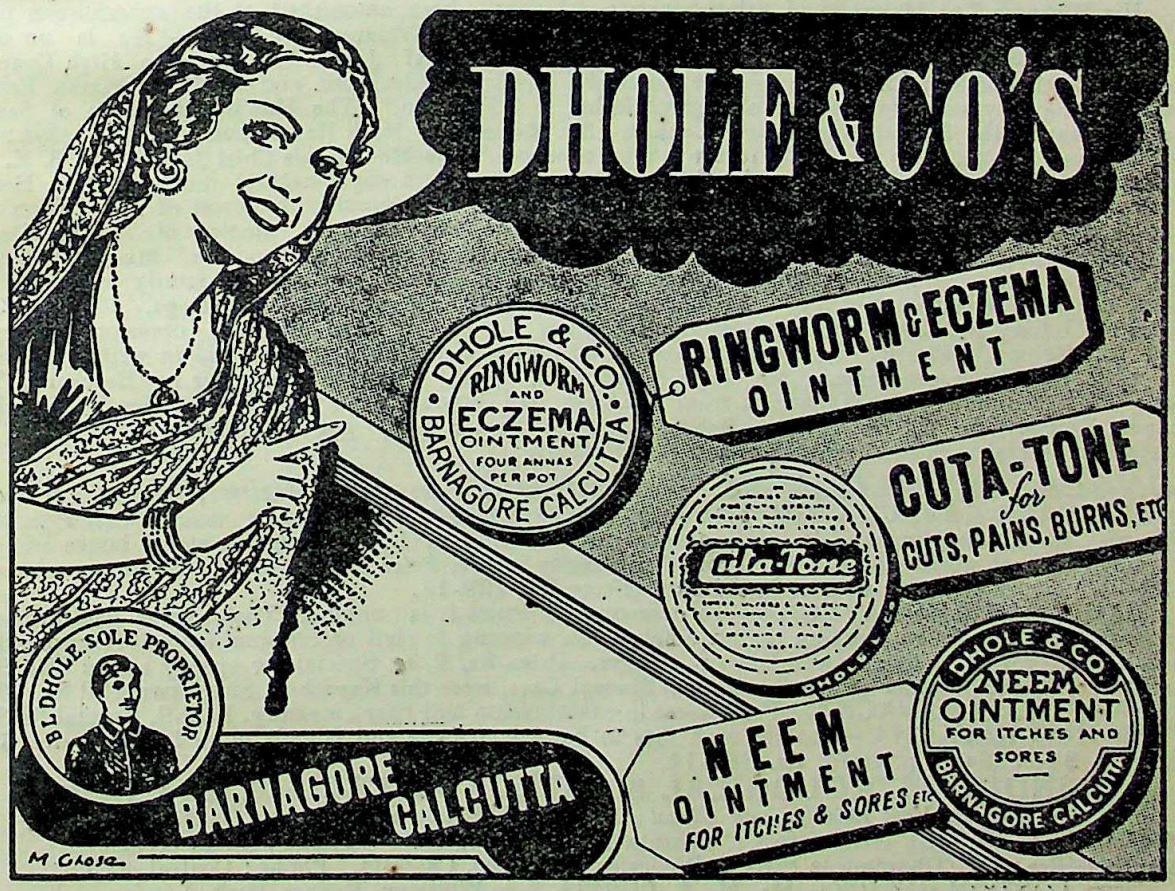

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Cultural Heritage of Korea

"Land of the Morning Calm"

And who are these Koreans? Anonymous John Smith wants to know—and finds himself repeating like a chant the question of Walt Whitman: *"Yellow man, yellow man, where have you been?"* Where were the Koreans before the cannons, before the tanks, before the bombers? For, just three months ago, Korea became the centre of the world; it rose up suddenly, covered with blood. Rose up from what historical past?

Not so very long ago this past was little more than a phantom to most people around the world. A fine colony, whose inhabitants were ordered to forget their past, their national soul, even their language which it was forbidden, under penalty of the whip, to use in schools, even in playtime.

At the end of the 14th Century, there was the kingdom of Tyo-Ssyen, Land of the Morning Calm, with its capital at Seoul. The land was governed by a vassal of the Chinese Ming Dynasty. The rare travellers who tried to tell the rest of the world about the treasures of this kingdom attributed a Mongolian origin to this homogeneous people. They remarked on the individuality of the language and the simplicity of its alphabet of 25 letters. They recounted a formidable list of discoveries and inventions:

Long known as the *Hermit Kingdom,* Korea is said to have evolved, quite alone, many things which other nations produced only by united effort: the spinning wheel, the art of pottery, movable metal type, paper money, the barometer, even the armour-plated ships used by Yi Soon-sin to defeat Japanese invaders in 1592.

The Travellers' Tales

Ancient travellers told how education flourished. They actually meant Chinese education, for the Koreans, it seems, did not consider themselves learned unless they could, with the light strokes of a brush, show themselves conversant with the language of Confucius and work their way up in the administrative hierarchy, relying only on the Chinese classics. They judged their own fine alphabet too simple, and good enough only for children.

What high ramparts enclosed this people! Only the most poetically inclined historians were interested in them. Records provide a description of thatched cottages where the Korean peasant lived, the marriage ceremonies and a few ritual dances and traditions of native cooking. Most travellers gave only a superficial picture of their own adventures in Korea. Only a few of them recounted Korean proverbs.

Yet Korea has a rich collection of folklore, fables and fairy-tales: Cinderella is called Kongji; little Red Riding Hood will be eaten up by the tiger. Both the tiger and the tortoise figure as prominently in Korea as in China; the genii or jinns are as powerful as those in Norway.

Well, in what niche at last can be pigeon-holed this "culture" of the old ancient lords, of peasants always in white, always in mourning, of beribboned dancers and of the silent silkworm breeders crouched on the mud floor unwinding the silk that they will never wear?

Old Beliefs Die Hard

Religion may give an answer. There are learned men who give this explanation: about two thousand years ago, Buddhism was introduced into the kingdom of Silla, accompanied by a flow of Chinese ideas. Buddhism spread its influence through the princely courts in marvellous works of architecture, piety and philosophy; the temples, still rising noble and serene above the fir trees are favourite subjects of the modern photographer.

Then, Confucianism replaced Buddhism: and the official doctrines of family and national loyalties were built on the ruins of monasteries where the monks eked out a miserable existence, though still receiving the humble devotion of the womenfolk. The ancestor cult was confined to the educated class: the masses undoubtedly never abandoned their old beliefs, their sacrifices to Heaven, their rites in honour of the Sun, the Moon and the Stars. Holy places are still revered, mountains shelter genii, and under the sacred trees the passer-by still places pebbles....In the 15th Century, Korean learned men compiled an encyclopaedia in 112 volumes, but it is doubtful whether they even wrote about these daily practices of the common people. In any case, the average Korean would not have access to these works, for, like the Official Public Records, they were not written in his language.

Yet, for more than a thousand years, many aspects of Korean art have been truly great. Experts have spoken of the pottery of the country as the finest in the world. It is known that Japanese sculpture developed in the 6th Century from Korean art and that, generally speaking, Korea was an indispensable channel through which civilization was introduced into Japan; for many centuries the Japanese called Korea the Treasure Land of the West.

What System of Values?

Today, the sparse accounts of historians and adventurers are being supplemented by the stories of war correspondents with their despatches which describe the extent of the ruins, the weight of arms, the thousands of fleeing refugees. The sufferings of these refugees, some with hope in their hearts, others dulled with misery, can easily be imagined.

But what system of values have they now? Beyond hunger and fear, what fantasies fill their dreams? What do they think about in their waking moments? For already they are beginning to think of the future and their thoughts will not be created out of nothing; the past is still with them and whatever the future holds will be influenced and coloured by that almost forgotten heritage from their ancestors—in short, by their culture.

It is the duty of every thinking person to try to understand this people that war has so brutally thrust into world prominence, to study the records of their philosophy and an art of the highest kind which is still existent today. He will gain far more than just an historical background. He will discover the character and manner of life of present-day Koreans living under the symbolic flag, in which the yang and the yin, fire and water, sun and night, life and death are mysteriously intertwined.—*Courier* (UNESCO).

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Tribute to Harold Laski

For most people Harold Laski will be best remembered for his work as a Professor of Political Science at the University of London, a member of the Labour Party Executive, and the author of brilliant books on democracy and socialism. But by Unesco he will also be remembered as one of the most ardent and valued collaborators in several of its early projects.

In 1947 he was consulted, with other philosophers and sociologists, on the philosophic bases of a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and his contribution was a brilliant and courageous essay. In it he summed up his views on the world of the future by saying that the Declaration "would have to take account rather of the possibilities struggling to be born than of the traditions dying before our eyes."

Like others he had been struck by the sceptical indifference bred in peoples by a surfeit of hollow formulae and principles betrayed, and so he called for a declaration which would be both bold in its general character and concrete in its detailed conduct.

Of the division of the modern world he wrote : "Under circumstances such as these, the issue of a Declaration of Rights would be a grave error of judgment unless it set out deliberately to unify, and not to separate men in their different political societies. It must, therefore, emphasize the identities, and not the differences, in the competing social philosophies which now arouse such passionate discussion."

Later he joined the Committees of Experts convened by Unesco to study the question of Human Rights, and he entered into their deliberations with the enthusiasm he brought to everything.

Militant, tenacious and combative he was at times, but with repeated flashes of transforming humour and the felicity of expression that was one of his gifts was also a part of his own vivacity. His learning was prodigious and ready to hand, with history particularly the history of thought, at his fingertips to support his views. To it he joined a mercilessly critical spirit; there can rarely have been a man more concerned with the clear definition of terms and their proper use. In a word, he had exactly the qualities needed in a good committee man, and especially the gift of stimulating debate and clarifying the issues.—*Courier* (UNESCO).

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Wayang

The word "wayang" means "shadow" or "shadows." The shadows appear on a white screen, when the wayang puppets are placed or moved about between the screen with a lamp hanging in front of it. So "wayang" can also mean "Shadow" or "Silhouette play." The same word refers also to the wayang puppets, which are made of perforated gilt leather, colourfully painted.

The puppets are made of the hide of the Indonesian buffalo. First of all the fresh, wet hide is braced tightly over a bamboo frame and dried in the sun. When it is quite dry, the hair is scraped off with a sharp short knife. Then it is smoked so as to get rid of the remaining fat. The wayang maker then lays his pattern on the hide, and copies the figures with a special instrument after which he cuts out his puppet. It is then touched up and polished. Next, the wayang-maker dips it into a mixture of boneash and gluewater. It is then taken to the dyer, who paints and gilds the puppet, and flattens it between two boards padded with thick linen or drill. The boards are then removed and the puppet is fitted with a horn handle. And so the wayang-puppet is ready for the stage.

A wayang-show traditionally begins at nine in the night and ends the following morning at six. When such a performance is in progress, the puppets are placed or moved about between the lamp and the white screen. Formerly the lamp was filled with coco-nut oil, but now-a-days an electric lamp is often used. The white screen is tightly stretched on to a wooden or bamboo frame. At the lower end of the screen two trunks of a banana-tree hold the puppets which are planted in them. They are neatly arranged in two rows (to the right and to the left of the wayang conductor), leaving an empty space in the middle of the screen for the puppets which are actually "on the stage." To the left of the wayang-showman or *dalang*, who sits crosslegged under the lamp, is a wooden box (about 4 feet long and 2 feet wide) in which the remaining puppets are kept. From the side of the box nearest to the dalang hangs a rattling instrument made of iron sheets, on which the dalang beats with his right foot when he considers it necessary to stress his words or the actions of the puppets. With that instrument and a horn gavel with which he knocks against the box with his left hand (if this hand is not holding the puppet) he also leads the music. The musicians sit behind or beside him. They must be able to see everything the *dalang* does.

There are actually several kinds of wayang, but here we shall only discuss *wayang purwa* which means "earliest wayang." As far as the stories are concerned there are three great cycles, namely: (1) the Ardjuna Sasra Bau Cycle, (2) the Rama Cycle or the Adventures of Prince Rama of Pantjawati, also known as Ramayana and (3) the Pandawa Cycle also known as Mahabharata. These epics originated from India, but as they were handed down from generation to generation, they underwent so many changes that, although the framework is still perceptible, they have now become Javanese stories with typically Javanese characteristics.

It goes without saying that wayang is very popular among the Javanese. In rapturous delight they will watch the graceful movements of the leather puppets when they appear upon the screen, playing their parts as born actors. For many hours they will listen to the story of the wayang-showman, as he dwells upon the good and bad sides of human nature, picturing at the same time the numerous difficulties we encounter during our lives in this world of joy and sorrow. The performer presents not only those problems, but also points out in the minutest detail how to solve them in the best possible way. Young and old, rich and poor, they all get what they want. Boys and girls can admire the heroes, who perform brave deeds in the firm belief that they fight on the side of the good for the well-being of all mankind. Older people who, no less than the young folk, take a keen interest in the play, can compare their way of thinking with the wise words flowing from the lips of the wayang conductor in his capacity of spokesman for truth.

Perhaps you can now understand why the wayang plays such an important part in the inner life of the average Javanese. He likes those wonderful stories because they give him something to think about, which proves to be of much value to him and which sets his conscience at rest. They love them because they make him forget his sorrows, and because they bring him joy and happiness. To him they mean a great deal, in fact he regards them as sparks of light, guiding his steps along the perilous path of life, so that, when his time comes, he can safely reach the abode of the blessed, where he will enjoy peace and happiness.—*Merdeka*, July, 1950.

Projected Industrial Development of Pakistan

Hamid Ali, Deputy Trade Director for Pakistan in London, writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, July 1950 :

The areas that constitute Pakistan produce a number of valuable raw materials in abundance, but industrially they are very backward. It will be no exaggeration to say that the country depends almost entirely on imports for her requirements of manufactured articles, including machinery and consumer goods ; the only exceptions being cement, sports goods, surgical instruments, handloom cloth, indigenous shoes, and some other leather goods. She produces 70 per cent of the world's jute, yet she does not possess a single jute mill; her production of cotton—and most of it is long staple cotton—accounts for 15 per cent of the world's production, yet she can boast no more than

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a dozen or so small textile mills! Her jute and cotton, as well as other products like hides and skins, bones, guts, oilseeds, gypsum, chromite and other mineral products, are exported, and she has to import jute bags, textiles, some leather goods, chemicals, and a variety of other consumer goods. If the Government of Pakistan allow this state of affairs to continue, the country will remain a primary producer, and like all agricutural countries the standard of living of her people will remain generally very low.

It will not be out of place to give here a brief outline of the geographical position of Pakistan and her economic resources. The total area of the country is 360,780 square miles. The two parts constituting Pakistan are separated from each other by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. The area of West Pakistan is 306,860 square miles, and that of East Pakistan 53,920 square miles. The total population of Pakistan is estimated to be 80,260,000: of this 46,720,000 are in East Pakistan and 33,540,000 in West Pakistan. In order of population, Pakistan is the largest Muslim state, and the fifth largest state in the world. The density of population in Eastern Pakistan is 870 per square mile, and in Western Pakistan 109 per square mile. The density in Pakistan as a whole is 222 per square mile. Percentage of urban population to total population is as follows :

Eastern Pakistan—4.8 per cent
Western Pakistan—14.5 per cent
Country as a whole—11.1 per cent.

The very low percentage of urban population in Pakistan indicates the importance of agriculture in the economy of the country, and the comparative lack of development of industries. This is particularly so in Eastern Pakistan where the urban population is 4.8 per cent of the total.

The physical features of Western and Eastern Pakistan, separated from each other by 1,000 miles of Indian territory, are in marked contrast. Western Pakistan has in the north and west peaks rising up to 14,000 feet, and in the south, the desert and plains of Sind and West Punjab. These plains are watered by five rivers and by their extensive canal system. Rainfall is scanty and variable, averaging 9.4 inches a year in Karachi to 20.8 inches in Lahore. The temperature of the inland plains is extreme, varying between a maximum of 120 degrees in summer, and a minimum of 28 degrees in winter nights. Eastern Pakistan on the other hand is largely a flat alluvial plain, through which the Ganges and Brahmaputra with their tributaries meander to the sea, covering the land with fertilizing silt during the rains. It has a tropical monsoon climate. The rainfall varies from about 75 inches in Dacca to 160 inches in Sylhet, and the temperature from between 45 degrees in winter to 102 degrees in summer.

Communications in Pakistan are not adequate in all respects. There are two main railway systems; the North-Western Railway in the west, and the East Bengal Railway in the east. On both railways, but particularly on the East Bengal Railway, locomotives and coaches had been subjected to exceptionally heavy wear during the war. The rolling stock is gradually

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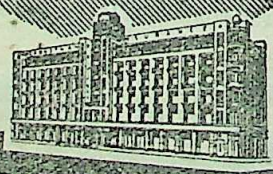

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being replaced, though deliveries of locomotives from abroad have been slow.

For strategic reasons, the metalled road system of Western Pakistan has been better than that in many parts of India; in spite of wear during wartime and use by refugee convoys immediately after partition, it provides useful links between the various provinces in the west. There are hardly any metalled roads in Eastern Pakistan, and the province depends mainly on river transport as the means of communication.

Sea voyage from Karachi to Chittagong takes almost two weeks, but the regular Pakistan civil air service takes only seven to ten hours from Karachi to Dacca. Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Quetta in West Pakistan are also linked to Karachi and Dacca by two Pakistani airlines, namely, Orient Airways and Pakair, flying Dakota and Convair aircraft. Pakistan has no international line of her own, but most of the principal foreign airlines pass through Karachi, which is one of the best and longest established aeroplane and seaplane bases in Asia.

Until her production of oil and coal is considerably increased, Pakistan has to depend on the expansion of her water resources for power. A six-year development plan aims at trebling the existing supply of electrical power.

The main products of Pakistan are jute, cotton, wool, hides and skins, dried fruit, saltpetre, gypsum, chrome ore, rock salt, all of which are exported to foreign countries. The nature of these products indicates that Pakistan is primarily an agricultural country, and the standard of living of her people is therefore not very high. If this standard is to be raised—and the Government are pledged to raise it—it is essential that the growth of suitable industries should be encouraged. My Government have been giving earnest consideration to this problem ever since they assumed power.

Pakistan came into being on the 15th of August, 1947, and less than four months later, on the 13th of December 1947, the Pakistan Industries Conference assembled in Karachi. It was attended by representatives of all the provinces and states of Pakistan, and concluded its task on the 17th December. This was the first step on the road to industrialization. After the recommendations of this Conference had been examined, Government issued, in April 1948, a statement of their industrial policy. This statement embodied the conclusion reached by Government on various aspects of the problem of industrialization in the light of the recommendations made by the Pakistan Industries Conference.

Old Hindu Balinese Art

Merdeka of the Indonesian Information Service, reproduces the following extract from the *Island of Bali* by Coverrubias:

Already in the records of Chinese travellers of the fifth century it is mentioned that in the country of "Poli," perhaps Bali, there were Hindu princes, and that the travellers were received by priests who danced around them blowing conchshells. Bali was already a colony of

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the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram, the earliest recorded ruler of which was, according to Stutterheim, King Sandjaya or Sanjaya (A.D. 732) of the Sailendra dynasty, who ruled also over southern Sumatra. The Sailendras were Mahayanic Buddhists, and their highly developed art was like that of the great Gupta period of India. Sivaism was introduced towards the middle of the ninth century and, by degrees, the power of the Sailendras waned, but it was within this period, from the seventh to the ninth centuries, the golden age of Javanese art, that the finest monuments of Java were built, the Buddhist Borobudur and the Sivaist Lora Djongrang in Prambanan. Soon this great civilization disappeared mysteriously and Bali came under the rule of independent kings in Pedjeng and Bedulu. From their time we have remains of the classic style in the neighbourhood of the present villages of the same names, some in ruined temples, in caves, or among the ricefields, in the strip of land between the rivers Pakrisan and Petanu, where so many of the antiquities of Bali are found. Towards the beginning of the eleventh century there was a renaissance in East Java, in Kediri, brought about by the Balinese-born king Erlangga. Under him Bali became again an integral part of Java and classicism received a new impetus. It was Erlangga who instituted Javanese as the official language of Bali and Erlangga's brother ruled Bali in his name. This brother was buried (according to Stutterheim) in the spectacular "Kings tomb" in Gunung Kawi near Tampaksiring. Tantric black magic seems to have played an important part in Erlangga's time and while he was having trouble with his greatest political enemy, his own mother had sworn to destroy his kingdom by the black arts.

Among the important relics of the ancient period are the following :

Gunung Kawi : On the banks of the river Pakrisan, descending a steep ravine, is a group of sober, undecorated monuments shaped like the ancient burial towers (tjandi), hewn out of the solid rock, each inside a niche, four on one side and five on the other. To the right of the main group is a sort of monastery with coves also carved out of the rock, arranged around a central cell with a platform in the centre. The monuments are supposed to belong to the eleventh century, when cremation had not yet been introduced into Bali, and Lekkerkerker thinks the cells were probably designed to expose the corpses to be destroyed by decay and wild animals, such as was the custom among Indonesians. The monuments were only discovered in 1920, but the Balinese knew them, and kept them with reverence because they attributed them to the giant of mythical times, Kbo Iwa, who is supposed to have carved all the ancient monuments with his own fingernails. The natives formerly called the tombs Djalu, but the present place-name, Gunung Kawi, means "mountain of poetry" or "mountain of antiquity."

Bukit Darma : In Kutri near Bedulu there is another antiquity of the classic period, also related to Erlangga. It is the beautiful statue of Mahendradatta, Erlangga's mother, as the goddess of death, Durga. It is preserved in the sanctuary of Bukit Darma, which archaeologists believe to be the burial site of Erlangga's mother. The statue is badly worn, but it can still be seen that it was of the purest classic lines.

Gua Gadja : Together with Gunung Kawi, the best known relic of the ancient art is the famous "Elephant Cave" near Bedulu. Gua Gadja is a great hollowed rock, perhaps the former residence of a hermit, elaborately carved on the outside, covered with representations of stylized rocks, forests, waves, animals, and people running in panic because directly over the entrance is the head of a great monster with bulging eyes who splits the rock with his enormous fat hands. Nieuwenkamp says that it may represent Pasupati, who divided the mountain Mahameru into two parts and, taking them in his hands, placed each half in Bali as the Gunung Agung and the Batur. There are a number of ancient stone water-spouts outside the cave, and on the inside is a statue of Ganesa in a central niche, with a linga on either side. The Gua Gadja dates also from the eleventh century and perhaps receives the popular name of "Elephant Cave" because of the statue, inside, of the god Ganesa, shaped like an elephant. But Goris attributes the name to the fact that the river Petanu, which runs near the cave, was called in old times Lwa Gadja, the "elephant river." Elephants have never existed in Bali and the elephant motifs that appear so frequently in Balinese art were importations from India or Java. As of Gunung Kawi, Kbo Iwa is also, according to popular belief, the author of the cave. Other hermitages with rock reliefs are the one near by called Toya Pulu; the Gua Racksasa near Ubud; Djakut Paku, both on the river Oos (Uwos); and the caves near Kapal in Bandung.

Other statues worthy of mention are the figures of Durga in the temple Pondjok Batu on the road to Tedjakula in North Bali and the great statue of Dewa Batu Pantjering Djagat, over twelve feet high, the largest statue in Bali, kept jealously out of sight in the tower (meru) of the temple Trunyan, a Bali Aga village on the easternshore of Lake Batur. The statue is cinsidered very old and is held to have magic power.

Job Placement for Students Aided by New U.S. Program

Washington, June 5.—Industrialists, businessmen, and teachers in a city in the United States are learning at first-hand about each other's operations and problems in a program designed to improve the vocational guidance given to students in the schools of the city. These leaders believe the association with each other will help them conserve human resources by aiding them in placing young people in jobs for which they are best suited, the *New York Times* reports.

Recently, while the 40,000 boys and girls in the schools of Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, were given a vacation, their 1,600 teachers spent the day as guests of 70 of the city's factories, banks, insurance companies, department stores, and other business firms. Top-level management officials took the teachers on inspection tours of the plants and offices, explained the operation, and discussed their problems with the teachers.

Many of the teachers arranged to work during the summer in some of the firms to get more knowledge for counselling their pupils. Also, a number of companies offered to provide the schools with business information, motion pictures, and speakers to address pupils on job opportunities.

The program also includes visits to the schools by the industrialists to observe operations and discuss problems. —USIS.

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